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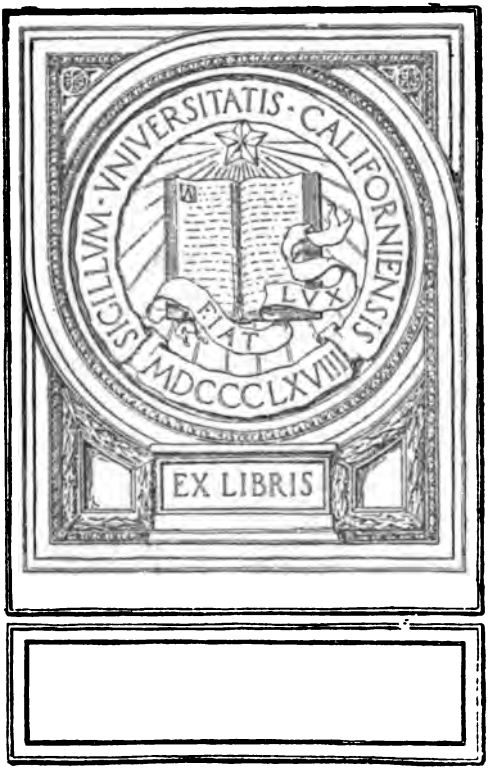
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WHAT'S WHAT IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Make for thyself a definition or description of the thing which is presented to thee, so as to see distinctly what kind of a thing it is, in its substance, in its nudity, in its complete entirety, and tell thyself its proper name, and the names of the things of which it has been compounded, and into which it will be resolved. For nothing is so productive of elevation of mind as to be able to examine methodically and truly every object which is presented to thee in life, and always to look at things so as to see at the same time what kind of universe this is, and what kind of use everything performs in it, and what value everything has with reference to the whole, and what with reference to man, who is a citizen of the highest city, of which all other cities are like families; what each thing is, and of what it is composed, and how long it is the nature of this thing to endure.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.

WHAT'S WHAT IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

A Dictionary of Labor Affairs and Labor Terminology

Compiled by

WALDO R. BROWNE

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PREFACE

"THIS that they call 'Organizing of Labour' is, if well understood, the Problem of the whole Future, for all who will in future govern men." It is well over three-quarters of a century since Carlyle set down these words in "Past and Present," but the intervening years have deepened rather than dulled their truth. Those years, indeed, cover the main story of the "organizing of labor" to the present day; and the "blind irrational giant" of Carlyle's time has become, if not wholly "a seeing rational giant, with a *soul* in the body of him," at least a coherent and powerful and momentous influence in nearly every phase of public affairs—an influence which, more than any other, is slowly but inevitably reshaping modern civilization.

Whatever our individual attitude toward the Labor Movement may be, whether we regard it as a salvation or a menace, it is imperative that we should at least understand it. And yet one might say with truth that no other large force or factor of these times is less commonly understood—or, worse still, is more commonly misunderstood. At the bottom of much, perhaps most, of the heated argument and conflict of views in regard to "labor" there is an amazing lack both of common knowledge regarding elementary facts and theories and of common agreement regarding elementary definitions. Here, as in other fields, men quarrel not so much over actualities as over mere words—words to which they have attached a variety of arbitrary and opposing ideas, for the most part utterly unrelated to facts. They are like persons attempting to communicate with one another in a language of which each has invented his own alphabet.

There are many and various reasons for this deplorable condition, but by no means the least is the fact that there has hitherto been available no popular comprehensive handbook to the Labor Movement as a whole—one which describes and explains that movement in all its parts; which outlines the theories that animate it, the

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policies that guide it, the purposes that it has in view; and which defines the principal terms associated with it. The existing encyclopædias and dictionaries are notoriously deficient in their treatment of labor affairs, and most of the innumerable books on one or another phase of the general subject take for granted in their readers precisely that broad background of elementary information of which the average person stands most in need.

The present volume aims to fill this most conspicuous gap among current reference books, and to provide a convenient and concise *vade mecum* to the subject which will be permanently valuable to the individual employer and trade unionist as well as to the general reader, and which will prove of daily service not only in public libraries and newspaper offices but among the necessary reference equipment of industrial organizations of every sort—employers' associations, chambers of commerce, civic federations, trade union "centrals," etc. The attempt to compress so vast and protean and kaleidoscopic a subject within the covers of a single moderately-sized volume will seem to many a rash undertaking. But the insistent need for such a work will, it is hoped, be considered a sufficient justification for the present attempt.

While some of the material contained in this volume has of necessity been gleaned from the current newspaper and periodical press, the compiler has for the most part depended upon the standard literature of the subject, and upon official governmental reports and similar documents. In the American field, liberal use has been made of the exhaustive report on "Labor Organizations, Labor Disputes and Arbitration," prepared by Messrs. Charles E. Edgerton and E. Dana Durand for the Federal Industrial Commission, and published in Volume XVII of the Report of that body. A number of the entries on trade unionism and the legal aspects of labor affairs in the United States are in large part either quoted or paraphrased from that work. The "Monthly Labor Review," published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, has also been a very valuable source of information. In view of the comparative frequency with which the "Staff Report" of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations is quoted in these pages, it may be well to recall that in this Report, according to the chairman of the Commission, "no statement or conclusion of fact adverse to the attitude or interest of any person or group of persons is submitted, except as declared or assented to by the person or by the individuals comprising the group affected."

While limitations of space make it impossible to give a complete list of the many other publications consulted and utilized by the compiler, mention must at least be made of the following, which have proved particularly useful:

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To the authors and publishers of the above-mentioned books, many of whom have allowed a generous use of copyrighted extracts, the compiler is under a heavy debt of gratitude. Thanks are also due on similar grounds to "The New Republic," "The Freeman," and Professor Ernst Freund. For individual assistance generously given by many persons during the preparation of this book, the compiler can offer only a collective word of acknowledgment—save in one important instance. Without the devoted and unremitting collaboration of his wife, whose contribution to this task is scarcely less than his own, the book would never have been carried through to completion.

WHAT'S WHAT IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Throughout the following pages the use of SMALL CAPITALS in the body of a paragraph indicates that the term thus emphasized is separately dealt with elsewhere in the book, in its regular alphabetical order. This plan of denoting cross references as they occur in the text is not, however, followed in the case of such constantly recurring terms as "trade union," "labor movement," etc. Where a cross reference is indicated by the use of SMALL CAPITALS in the body of an entry, it is not as a rule repeated among the cross references given at the close of the entry.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

WHAT'S WHAT IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

A

A. D. G. B. See ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND.

A. F. of L. See AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

A. W. O. See AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' ORGANIZATION.

A. W. U. See AUSTRALIAN WORKERS' UNION.

Abnormal Place. In British coal-mining, a position in the mine where, owing to especial difficulties presented by the conformation of the coal seam, the miner is unable in a given time to extract the amount of coal necessary to secure the average, or something like the average, PIECE WORK earnings. In nearly all wage scales in the coal-mining industry, the complications presented by the "abnormal place" are duly provided for. (See CONSIDERATION MINERS.)

Absentee Capitalism. The modern CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM is often so called, because of the widespread extent to which income is derived from industrial enterprises by investors, or stockholders, who have no direct relations in the way of management or supervision with the enterprises from which they derive their income. This situation has a very definite and important bearing upon labor conditions and industrial relations. "Stocks are bought either as a speculation or as an investment, and in case either the physical property deteriorates or the productive organization tends to become inefficient, the well-informed stockholder generally takes no steps to correct the condition, but merely throws his stock upon the market.

This marks a very real and definite distinction from the actual ownership of a property or business which must be kept in good condition by its owner as regards both plant and organization. If all industries were owned and operated by individuals, there might be some reason to hope that generally satisfactory wages and physical conditions might be attained through the education of the owner to a realization that permanent success depended absolutely upon the maintenance of the plant in the best condition and the permanent satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the workers, but with the impersonal, remote and irresponsible status of control by stock ownership, such a hope must be purely illusory. The ordinary stockholder in a large corporation actually occupies a less direct relationship to the corporation in which he is interested, has less knowledge of its actual operations, and less control over its management, than the ordinary citizen has over local, state and national governments." (See CORPORATION.)

Absentee Committee. See TIMEKEEPING COMMITTEE.

Absenteeism. In a labor sense, this term has reference to the practice or habit, on the part of individual employees, of being temporarily absent from work. As a fairly constant factor in industry, absenteeism makes for lowered plant efficiency and decreased production; while it involves a huge annual loss of wages to the workers. (See CLOCKING.)

Academic Socialism. See SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR.

Accessions. See MOBILITY OF LABOR.

Accident Benefits. See DISABILITY BENEFITS.

Accident-Reporting Laws. Legislation requiring an employer of labor to file with the proper public authorities, within a specified time, detailed information regarding any industrial accident that may occur in his establishment. Compulsory accident reporting is a necessary part of any system of WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION. In the case of occupational diseases, a similar reporting duty usually falls upon the physician.

Accord System. As found in some parts of Germany, this is a system of CONVICT LABOR which corresponds to what is known in America as the PIECE PRICE SYSTEM.

Adamson Law. In September, 1916, the demands of the RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS for the basic EIGHT-HOUR DAY were about to cul-

minate in a strike of national proportions, when President Wilson asked Congress for legislation to meet the situation and to remedy the obvious failure of the NEWLANDS ACT in providing for settlement of railway wage disputes. The result of this request was the passage of a measure known as the Adamson Law, which specified that after January 1, 1917, "eight hours shall, in contracts for labor and service, be deemed a day's work and the measure or standard of a day's work for the purpose of reckoning the compensation" of railroad trainmen. Provision was also made for a Federal Eight-Hour Commission, to study and report upon the workings of the act. This Commission reported inconclusively shortly after the railroads were taken over by the government for the period of the war. The Adamson Law was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court in the spring of 1917.

Adjustment Board. Ordinarily, either a board set up by a trade union for the settlement of internal union disputes, or a joint board of employers and workers set up to deal with grievances.

Administrative Orders. With specific reference to STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONS, these are orders or rules issued by, or under the authority of, such a commission, in its work of enforcing and interpreting the state laws relating to industrial matters. Such orders are commonly of two kinds: (1) General orders, applying to all establishments or all persons of the same class throughout the state; and (2) special orders, applying to a single establishment or person. While provision is made for appeal from such orders in a prescribed form and process, they have generally the binding force of legislative enactments.

Admission to the Trade. See APPRENTICESHIP.

Admittance to the Trade Union. Aside from the various trade union rules regarding qualifications for membership, some of which are noted in the entry RESTRICTION OF NUMBERS, the method by which qualified persons enter a trade union is described in the following summary from the FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION'S Report: "A few national unions provide for admission to membership on application to the national officers, if the applicant lives outside the jurisdiction of any local union. Those who join in organizing a new LOCAL are almost necessarily admitted by action of the national officers. In all unions, however, the regular mode of entrance is by vote of a local. In many cases a written application is required, endorsed by two MEMBERS IN GOOD STANDING.

Such an application, when it is required, is usually referred to a [membership] committee, and the committee is often forbidden to report at the same meeting at which the application is presented. Whatever the preliminaries may be, the admission of the candidate depends upon the vote of the members. Often the vote is required to be taken by ball ballot; but many unions leave the method to the option of the locals, and a few require an open vote. In many a majority is sufficient to admit a candidate, and in many others the required majority is two-thirds. In several, two, three, or five black balls work exclusion. In a large proportion of these, however, those who cast the black balls are required, either in all cases or when they do not exceed a certain number, to give their reasons. Sometimes the reasons are presented in writing, and the names of the objectors are not known except to the president. If no reasons are given, it is usual to declare the candidate elected. If reasons are presented, a new vote is taken; in many unions a two-thirds majority is then sufficient to admit. . . . Some sort of pledge of faithfulness to the union is always administered. . . . Obligations of a more general character, relating to moral and social duties, are sometimes added. The pledge is not usually made binding by oath, but simply by a promise upon honor." (See EXAMINING BOARD.)

Adventurer. See ENTREPRENEUR.

Advisory Councils. As found in some of the larger British trade unions, whose membership extends throughout the United Kingdom, these are delegate bodies representative of all BRANCHES in Scotland or in Ireland. Although such councils have no executive power, they occupy an important place in British trade union structure, inasmuch as their recommendations may influence the CENTRAL EXECUTIVE in determining policy within the area represented by an advisory council.

Afa. See ANGESTELLTEN.

Affiliation. In labor terminology, the name for a limited connection between one trade union and another, or between one union and a group of unions, or between a group of workers and a central association of any sort. It usually implies the payment of a joint fee or tax and the readiness for joint action; but it is not adopted when the connection is already so close that the respective bodies are integral parts of the same unit. A LOCAL may be affiliated with the CITY CENTRAL of its locality, but it is a constituent part of its national union, which in turn is usually affiliated with the AMERICAN

FEDERATION OF LABOR. Affiliation, in the trade union sense, is generally synonymous with FEDERATION; although, on the other hand, it may denote a connection for which the term "federation" would be inappropriate.

Agent Provocateur. In connection with American labor affairs, a secret agent who poses as a workingman or ultra-radical and endeavors to stir up factional strife within a labor organization or between different labor elements; or who endeavors to incite workingmen to make rash statements or take violent action, so as to render them liable to criminal prosecution or to discredit them and their organizations before public opinion. The agent provocateur is an important factor in creating that atmosphere of mutual suspicion upon which the system of ESPIONAGE IN INDUSTRY so largely thrives. (See UNDER-COVER MEN; PLANT.)

Agitator. While this term is applicable to any one in any field who agitates or urges any specific reform or course of action, it is most commonly used in opprobrious designation of working-class leaders who are charged with inciting their followers to rash or hasty or "radical" action. "In particular, it is frequently alleged by employers and others that many, if not perhaps most, strikes are due, not so much to the general desire of the body of the workingmen to better their conditions, as to the influence of a few extremists. There are many professional agitators, it is claimed, who have altogether exaggerated and erroneous ideas regarding the rights of the working classes and the injustice of existing conditions; or who perchance hope to secure a purely selfish advantage, whether notoriety or some pecuniary gain, through fomenting labor disputes. So-called WALKING DELEGATES are especially often criticised for their part in promoting strikes." There is some measure of truth in these assertions, especially as they relate to the building trades; but, in general, the influence of "agitators" in the labor movement is immensely exaggerated. It is the common testimony of those who have impartially studied trade unionism that labor leaders are as a rule far more conservative than the rank and file unionists. Moreover, in all but a very few unions, strikes can only be inaugurated after a majority (frequently two-thirds or three-fourths) of all the members have endorsed the proposal by secret ballot. Officers and BUSINESS AGENTS doubtless often exercise great influence in bringing propositions for strikes before their organizations, and in persuading the members how they shall vote—which is equally true of all human organizations; but they have no dictatorial power.

The saying of a great Englishman, Sir Charles Napier, that "the only real agitator is injustice" holds at least as true in the labor movement as in any other field.

Agrarianism. The principle or theory of an equal division of land; or, more generally, any theory involving radical changes in the tenure of land. Also, the movement or agitation in behalf of such theories. Agrarianism played a somewhat prominent part in the early American labor movement. The original agrarians, those among the New York workingmen, held that both land and capital should be equally divided among the entire population; but the later movement, beginning about 1840, had reference only to land. The agrarian agitation was largely instrumental in shaping the "free soil" movement of the middle 19th century, the homestead movement, and the SINGLE TAX movement under Henry George's leadership. (See LAND QUESTION.)

Agreement System. A term commonly applied to the plan by which the terms and conditions of labor in an industry as a whole or in one department of an industry are formulated in a written agreement, resulting as a rule from formal negotiations between organizations of employers and employees. Such agreements may be either national, district, or local in scope. "While the existence of a written agreement does not always imply that COLLECTIVE BARGAINING has been developed to a higher degree than in cases where no such agreements are adopted, it is nevertheless true that usually where the practice of collective bargaining has been most thoroughly and successfully worked out, the results of the bargain are set forth in written agreements. Many of these written agreements also provide for the ARBITRATION of minor disputes arising regarding the interpretation of their terms. The methods by which written agreements are adopted, their contents, and their bearing upon the relations of employers and employees, vary greatly in different cases. The reference of particular disputes to arbitration is not uncommon even where systematic collective bargaining and written agreements do not exist." (See JOINT CONFERENCE SYSTEM; TRADE AGREEMENT.)

Agricultural Cooperation. That form of COOPERATION which consists in the formation of buying and selling organizations among farmers, by means of which farm supplies are bought at wholesale, expensive machinery or breeding stock is held and used in common, CREDIT UNIONS are formed, and various agricultural products are marketed by joint effort.

Agricultural Labor. In respect of the total number of workers engaged, agriculture probably outranks any other industry in this and other large countries. Agricultural labor may be divided into three main classes: (1) That furnished by the occupier's family; (2) hired labor domiciled on the farm or adjacent to it; (3) that floating or migratory contingent which year by year seems to become a larger feature in the farm labor supply of Europe and the United States. Although special phases of farm enterprise have developed new and increasing demands for skilled workers, farm labor is for the most part unskilled labor, a considerable portion of which consists of children, women, negroes (in the southern United States), and coolies (in the western United States). It is a field in which long hours, low wages, and CASUAL LABOR are almost universal. The seasonal nature of the industry makes the task of adjusting the supply of agricultural labor to the demand one of the most intricate and difficult problems of American industry. Whether the lack of organization among farm laborers is a cause or an effect of their comparatively low economic status, it is nevertheless true that trade unionism has as yet made little headway in the agricultural industry. The I. W. W. has had some success in organizing the casual and migratory harvest hands of the West, but beyond this there is little if any industrial organization of farm workers in the United States. Hoxie's standard work on American trade unionism does not even mention the subject. In Europe, however, though organization in the agricultural field is still comparatively backward, there are strong national unions of farm workers in several countries. The movement towards trade unionism among British agricultural workers is advancing rapidly, the total number of those organized being now over 300,000—or about one-third of all the male wage-earners in agriculture. (See LABOR OUTINGS; NEGRO LABOR; AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' ORGANIZATION; MÉTAYAGE; CROPPER; PRODUCT SHARING.)

Agricultural Workers' Organization. The most energetic and numerous section of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, consisting of farm laborers and harvest hands, was organized under this name in April, 1915. The "A. W. O.," as it is usually called, has its headquarters in Minneapolis, and is strongest in the Middle West and Northwest.

Akademie der Arbeit. This, the first "university of labor" to be established anywhere in the world under government auspices—was opened in June, 1921, at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Its sponsors

its control. At its 1919 session, the German Trade Union Congress resolved to bind the national unions more closely and effectually together by creating a national federation, styled the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*—popularly known as the A. D. G. B. The main general objects of this organization are: (1) Furthering trade union propaganda by the collection and utilization of socio-political material and trade union statistics, and by the issue of pamphlets; (2) fostering the protection of the working classes by the retention of counsel in legal cases and by managing the election of socio-political representatives of the workers; (3) the arrangement of courses in trade unionism, the delimitation of spheres of organization and agitation of the unions, the management of exceptional conflicts, and the furthering of international relations with the unions of other countries. In general the functions of the old *Generalkommission* will be continued by a directorate of fifteen members, of whom seven are salaried officials; this directorate is assisted by an advisory council composed of one representative of each affiliated national union—usually the president. Every third year the directorate must convene a Trade Union Congress. The method of election of delegates to the Congress is left to each affiliated union, the number they are allowed to send being one delegate for every 10,000 members. The Congress elects an Executive (*Vorstand*) of fifteen members, which reports to a Council (*Ausschus*) consisting of one representative from the executive of each affiliated union, which meets as occasion requires but not less often than half-yearly. Special congresses may be convened, if necessary, on resolution of the advisory council or on motion of at least one-half of the adhering unions. If a union is unable to continue with its own means a wage movement commenced by it the Federation shall, after approval by the directorate, grant strike benefits to that union. The funds required for this aid are to be had by assessments against all the affiliated unions. Some fifty-two national unions, with a total membership of about eight and a half million workers, are now federated in this organization. (See ARBEITERSEKRETARIAT; GEWERKSCHAFTHÄUSER; ANGESTELLTEN.)

Alliance of Labor. See NEW ZEALAND LABOR MOVEMENT.

Allied Printing Trades Councils. Delegate bodies representative of various separately-organized printing trade workers (typesetters, pressmen, stereotypers and electrotypers, book-binders, and photo-engravers), set up in localities where there are local branches of at least two of the national unions involved. Such a

council is composed of three workers from each local union of the different trades, and is governed by officers of its own election. One of its principal purposes is to administer the allied printing trades label placed on printing jointly produced by the unions which are members of the council. All local branches of the national organizations involved must withdraw their individual labels as soon as an allied council is formed. Appeals from the decisions of the local councils in regard to the label and other matters are heard by a national joint conference board, composed of representatives of the national unions in the printing trades which are party to the agreement. (See TRADES COUNCIL—AMERICAN; PRINTING TRADES INTERNATIONAL JOINT CONFERENCE COUNCIL.)

Allied Printing Trades Label. See ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCILS.

Allied Trades Council. See TRADES COUNCIL—AMERICAN.

Allocation of Work. The distribution among the workers in a given group of particular pieces of work or working places. "The question is of some importance in many PIECE-WORK trades, and there is much complaint among the miners and others that favoritism in assigning working places and jobs is used as a covert method of VICTIMIZATION." (See CLICKING SYSTEM.)

Amalgamation. In trade union terminology, the merging of two or more unions into one integral body, with a single constitution, set of officers, plan of action, etc. Such bodies are commonly known as "amalgamated societies," "amalgamated associations," etc. Amalgamation may be merely a fusion of two or more rival organizations following the same craft or occupation, in which case the resulting "amalgamated society" still remains a CRAFT UNION. Or it may be a fusion of two or more craft unions in different occupations of the same industry, the result being an INDUSTRIAL UNION. Amalgamation has been most highly developed in the German trade union movement, where it has done much to solve the problem of JURISDICTION and to minimize other evils of SECTIONALISM, while immensely strengthening the bargaining power and fighting resources of German labor. The process of amalgamation is hindered by many difficulties—legal, financial, official, and psychological. Nevertheless, the movement toward amalgamation has made tremendous progress of late in the trade union world, and is likely to be one of the most marked developments of the future. Amalgamation should be carefully differentiated from FEDERATION and AFFILIATION, the

its control. At its 1919 session, the German Trade Union Congress resolved to bind the national unions more closely and effectually together by creating a national federation, styled the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*—popularly known as the A. D. G. B. The main general objects of this organization are: (1) Furthering trade union propaganda by the collection and utilization of socio-political material and trade union statistics, and by the issue of pamphlets; (2) fostering the protection of the working classes by the retention of counsel in legal cases and by managing the election of socio-political representatives of the workers; (3) the arrangement of courses in trade unionism, the delimitation of spheres of organization and agitation of the unions, the management of exceptional conflicts, and the furthering of international relations with the unions of other countries. In general the functions of the old *Generalkommission* will be continued by a directorate of fifteen members, of whom seven are salaried officials; this directorate is assisted by an advisory council composed of one representative of each affiliated national union—usually the president. Every third year the directorate must convene a Trade Union Congress. The method of election of delegates to the Congress is left to each affiliated union, the number they are allowed to send being one delegate for every 10,000 members. The Congress elects an Executive (*Vorstand*) of fifteen members, which reports to a Council (*Ausschus*) consisting of one representative from the executive of each affiliated union, which meets as occasion requires but not less often than half-yearly. Special congresses may be convened, if necessary, on resolution of the advisory council or on motion of at least one-half of the adhering unions. If a union is unable to continue with its own means a wage movement commenced by it the Federation shall, after approval by the directorate, grant strike benefits to that union. The funds required for this aid are to be had by assessments against all the affiliated unions. Some fifty-two national unions, with a total membership of about eight and a half million workers, are now federated in this organization. (See ARBEITERSEKRETARIAT; GEWERKSCHAFTHÄUSER; ANGESTELLTEN.)

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Allied Printing Trades Councils. Delegate bodies representative of various separately-organized printing trade workers (typesetters, pressmen, stereotypers and electrotypers, book-binders, and photo-engravers), set up in localities where there are local branches of at least two of the national unions involved. Such a

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latter being merely forms of common association rather than of fusion or merging. (See MALS; COMPOUND CRAFT UNION; TRADE UNION AMALGAMATION ACT.)

American Association for Labor Legislation. See INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION; LABOR LEGISLATION; LABOR PRESS.

American Federation of Labor. This, the leading labor body of America, came into existence in 1881, under the name of "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions." It was reorganized and given its present title in 1886. The main constituent units of the A. F. of L. (as it is commonly called) are well over a hundred NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL UNIONS, mainly of the craft type, which retain almost complete autonomy within the Federation. In addition to these, a considerable number of local bodies known as FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS and LOCAL TRADE UNIONS are directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. The membership of the above-named groups represents the constituent membership of the Federation. It is perhaps the chief purpose of the Federation to further the organization of new units in these groups; and also to promote the sub-federation of the existing units into CITY CENTRALS, STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR, and so-called national DEPARTMENTS, all of which (though constituting a dual membership) are separately represented in the Federation's annual convention. The other main objects of the Federation are: (1) To further mutual assistance and cooperation between its affiliated units and sub-federations; (2) "to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor"; (3) "to aid and encourage the sale of UNION LABEL goods"; and (4) "to aid and encourage the LABOR PRESS of America." The Federation maintains headquarters in Washington, D. C., and holds an annual convention. This convention is a legislative body, with practically sovereign powers. Voting on ordinary questions is decided by a show of hands, but in case of a roll call each delegate is entitled to cast one vote for every hundred members or major fraction thereof whom he represents. The permanent officers of the Federation are a president, eight vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer. These eleven officers form the executive council, or governing body of the Federation. The executive council carries out the convention's orders, and issues statements on labor questions from time to time. It initiates many of the measures brought before the convention; it watches and initiates national and

state labor legislation, organizes federal labor unions and local trade unions, reports BOYCOTTS for endorsement, unifies organizations, sends out speakers, grants and revokes charters at the order of the convention, and performs various other functions. The Federation's revenues are derived from CHARTER FEES, MEMBERSHIP DUES from affiliated bodies, and a PER CAPITA TAX laid upon every unionist belonging to an affiliated body. The Federation maintains a defence fund contributed by the federal and local labor unions, which is used in paying strike benefits to the members of these bodies. The total membership of all unions affiliated with the Federation is now about four millions. One of the two main principles upon which the Federation has been built up is that of craft as opposed to industrial organization, although a considerable measure of the latter exists among its affiliated units. The other main principle is that of non-political activities, although in this case also the Federation has been forced to a considerable degree of compromise. In general, the Federation is decidedly representative of the conservative elements in American trade unionism. "The basis of the Federation is that principle of alliance, and union for certain purposes, of independent minor republics, upon which the union of the American states proceeded. Each trade is independently organized, not, it is conceived, by virtue of any authority emanating from the head of the whole, but by its own independent power. Each trade organization retains its sovereign control of its internal affairs, and only joins with the others in a federal organization for the consideration of common interests and the promotion of the common good." The Federation now includes a considerable majority of the organized workers of America. The strongest of the RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS —the engineers, the firemen, the conductors, and the trainmen— remain outside of it, and so do a few other important organizations. (See LABOR FORWARD MOVEMENT; BUSINESS UNIONISM; CLASS UNIONISM; PURE AND SIMPLE UNIONISM; REGULAR UNIONISM; ORGANIZER; FEDERATION; COLOR LINE IN TRADE UNIONISM; SUCCESSIVE STRIKE; BUCK STOVE AND RANGE CASE; INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS; PORTO RICAN FREE FEDERATION OF WORKERS.)

American Labor Union. See INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

American Plan. A term often used by employers in designation of what they call the "OPEN SHOP principle," it being contended that the discrimination against non-union workers involved in the

CLOSED SHOP principle is un-American. But many advocates of the so-called "American plan" use this name to camouflage an at least equally un-American discrimination—directed in their case against trade unionists. In fact, as some of its most prominent adherents interpret the "American plan," what is intended is not the open shop at all, but the "closed non-union shop" or "anti-union shop" —one in which no member of an "outside" trade union would be permitted to work. Non-union and anti-union shops are sometimes called by the employers "American shops" or "independent American shops."

American Shop. See AMERICAN PLAN.

American Social Democratic League. Organized in 1918 by a small group of prominent pro-war secessionists from the SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA. The League has never attracted the rank and file of the socialist movement, though figuring largely in the press. It received considerable approval from the government, its members being the only socialists from this country who were permitted to attend international conferences abroad during the war.

American Standard of Living. Although this vague term, much used as it is, has never been and probably never could be exactly defined, perhaps as good an approximation as any to its meaning is contained in the following, from John Mitchell's "Organized Labor": "The American standard of living should mean, to the ordinary unskilled workman with an average family, a comfortable house of at least six rooms. It should mean a bathroom, good sanitary plumbing, a parlor, dining room, kitchen, and sufficient sleeping room that decency may be preserved and a reasonable degree of comfort maintained. The American standard of living should mean to the unskilled workman carpets, pictures, books, and furniture with which to make home bright, comfortable, and attractive for himself and his family, an ample supply of clothing suitable for winter and summer, and above all a sufficient quantity of good, wholesome, nourishing food at all times of the year. The American standard of living, moreover, should mean to the unskilled workman that his children be kept in school until they have attained to the age of sixteen at least, and that he be enabled to lay by sufficient to maintain himself and his family in times of illness, or at the close of his industrial life, when age and weakness render further work impossible, and to make provision for his family against his premature death from accident or otherwise." (See STANDARD OF LIVING.)

Amsterdam Trade Union Internationale. See INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

Anarchism. In its derivative sense, the theory or fact of non-government or "government by none"—just as the word "monarchism" denotes the theory or fact of "government by one." Broadly speaking, anarchism may be defined as a social doctrine based on the conception that all constituted authority is ethically wrong and antagonistic to man's highest development. Anarchism would abolish all constraint save intelligent obedience to natural laws, and would substitute for the present political State a voluntary association of free individuals, acting in harmony with the law of MUTUAL AID. Says Bertrand Russell: "It is opposed to the State as the embodiment of the force employed in the government of the community. Such government as Anarchism can tolerate must be free government, not merely in the sense that it is that of a majority, but in the sense that it is that assented to by all. Anarchists object to such institutions as the police and the criminal law, by means of which the will of one part of the community is forced upon another part. In their view, the democratic form of government is not very enormously preferable to other forms so long as minorities are compelled by force or its potentiality to submit to the will of majorities. Liberty is the supreme good in the Anarchist creed, and liberty is sought by the direct road of abolishing all forcible control over the individual by the community." Two different, and in some ways opposing, schools of anarchism may be noted: (1) *Individualist or philosophical anarchism*, mainly an American intellectual movement, which would have all forms of voluntary organization spring from the individual, and advocates a revolution of ideas; (2) *anarchist communism*, mainly a European working-class movement, which accepts the CLASS STRUGGLE and would overthrow present forms of government by force if necessary, substituting therefor a communal life whose ideal does not greatly differ from that of SOCIALISM save that it would not be realized through the State. Most anarchism of today is of the latter type. To quote Mr. Russell again: "Socialism and Anarchist Communism alike have arisen from the perception that private capital is a source of tyranny by certain individuals over others. Orthodox Socialism believes that the individual will become free if the State becomes the sole capitalist. Anarchism, on the contrary, fears that in that case the State might merely inherit the tyrannical propensities of the private capitalist. Accordingly, it seeks for a means of reconciling

communal ownership with the utmost possible diminution in the powers of the State, and indeed ultimately with the complete abolition of the State. It has arisen mainly within the Socialist movement as its extreme left wing." Anarchism differs from SYNDICALISM chiefly in that, while the syndicalists would substitute for the present political State a government of trade unionism solely in the interests of the working class, true anarchists are opposed to any form of coercive government. (See FORCE ANARCHISTS; BOLSHEVISM.)

Anarchist Communism. See ANARCHISM; COMMUNISM.

Anarchists of the Deed. See FORCE ANARCHISTS.

Anarcho-Sozialismus. See GEWERKSCHAFTEN.

Angestellten. Salaried or non-manual workers—the class familiarly known as BLACKCOATS in England and WHITE COLLARS in America—are so called in Germany. They are for the most part organized separately from the manual wage-earners, in strong national unions, with a central federative body—the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft freier Angestelltenverbände*, more commonly referred to as "Afa." The latter works in close cooperation with the ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND.

Angestelltenrat (Non-Manual or Salaried Employees' Works Council). See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW.

Anti-Sabotage Laws. See CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAWS.

Anti-Screening Laws. See SCREENING SYSTEM.

Anti-Truck Laws. See TRUCK SYSTEM.

Anti-Union Shop. See OPEN SHOP; NON-UNION SHOP; AMERICAN PLAN.

Apportionment Lists. In the British labor movement, some of the bodies designated to settle DEMARCATION disputes issue from time to time printed circulars embodying their findings in a series of decisions. These "apportionment lists," as they are called, are supplied for the information of the trades in the particular districts to which they apply.

Apprentice. One who, "by promise, indenture, or covenant" for a specified time, is being taught a trade by a master of the trade or by some one in the latter's employ. During the time of such instruction the apprentice may receive only nominal wages, or no

wage at all; or he may even work without compensation and pay for his instruction as well. The latter basis, however, is now rare. (See APPRENTICESHIP; LEARNER; HELPER.)

Apprenticeship or Apprentice System. The custom of requiring a beginning worker to serve a period of preliminary training and learning before being permitted to follow his trade or craft reaches back at least as far as the 16th century. During Queen Elizabeth's reign it was enacted that no person should exercise any trade or "mystery" without serving an apprenticeship of seven years. The apprentice was "bound" or "indentured" to his master by a strict contract for that period; he lived in the home of the master, and the latter became his guardian, responsible not only for his manual training but for his physical and moral well-being. With the introduction of machinery and the DIVISION OF LABOR, the old "indentured" apprenticeship system began to decay, until in the sixties it was largely a thing of the past. Today, except in some of the older and more highly-skilled trades, it has been practically replaced by various schemes of VOCATIONAL EDUCATION carried on outside the shop, and covering a much shorter period. But the problem presented by large numbers of young and comparatively unskilled workers employed in the guise of apprentices or LEARNERS, and working in competition with older skilled craftsmen, is still an important one to trade unionists. Hence the strong trade union insistence on what is called the "limitation of apprentices." Professor Carlton summarizes this matter as follows: "Many unions composed of skilled men demand that the number of apprentices in a shop be limited and that provisions be made for adequate instruction. The length of apprenticeship insisted upon is usually three or four years, instead of the seven of the traditional apprenticeship system. The apprenticeship period usually begins between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one years. The common ratio of apprentices to journeymen is one to five. In some of the building trades a progressive restriction is agreed upon. The Stone Cutters only allow one apprentice in a yard employing less than fifteen journeymen, not more than two in case less than one hundred are employed, and not more than four in any yard. 'Except in the old handcrafts, which have suffered little deterioration from machinery or new processes, together with the building, the metal, and the printing trades, no provisions regarding entrance to the trade are usually contained in the agreements between employers and employees.' Strong unions in trades requiring skilled work are most insistent

upon rules regulating apprenticeship. Only a comparatively small number of unions are able effectively to enforce rules limiting the number of apprentices." (See PATRIMONY; ILLEGAL MEN; OPEN TRADES; INDENTURED SERVICE; WISCONSIN APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.)

Approved Societies. See NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT.

Arbeidernes Faglige Landsorganisation i Norge (Norwegian National Trade Union Federation). The principal labor organization of Norway; established 1899. A membership of 150,000 was represented by the Federation in July, 1920. Close relations are maintained with the *Norske Arbeider Parti* (Norway Labor Party), which since 1918 has been dominated by the communist elements. In 1919 the Party decided to join the third INTERNATIONALE, and a year later it adopted a resolution favoring a Soviet government for Norway. This revolutionary programme was endorsed by the Federation at its 1920 Congress.

Arbeiter. Manual wage-earners are so called in Germany—the non-manual or salaried workers being known as ANGESTELLTEN.

Arbeiterbildungsausschuss. See WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.

Arbeiterkammern. Austrian chambers of labor or INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS, established under a law recently enacted by the National Assembly. Their general purpose is "to represent the economic interests and to promote the economic and social conditions of manual workers and salaried employees in industry, commerce, transportation, and mining." Each chamber of labor is to be composed of two sections—one for manual workers and one for salaried employees. A chamber may be composed of not less than thirty and not more than one hundred members. The election of members is to be effected according to the principles of proportionate representation, by direct secret ballot, and for a term of five years. Each section forms a separate electorate. The costs of the chambers of labor are to be borne by the workers and salaried employees themselves, and they are placed under the supervision of the Ministry for Social Administration.

Arbeiterrat (Manual Wage-Earners' Works Council). See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW.

Arbeitersekretariat. In the German trade union movement, an office for the collection, classification, and dissemination of

trade union information, statistics, etc., and for general aid to trade unionists. The secretary of a GEWERKSCHAFTSKARTELL (trades council) is usually the local *Arbeitersekretar*, acting as "a guide, philosopher, and friend in industrial and political matters to all Social Democrats and trade unionists in the region under his charge. The *Arbeitersekretariat* often carries out extremely valuable social research work. For instance, that of Nuremberg some years ago investigated the FAMILY BUDGETS of many thousands of workmen in that city, and published the results as a special report." A *Zentralarbeitersekretariat* is attached to the Berlin office of the ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND; among its other duties is that of representing individual members of trade unions in regard to matters of old age and sickness insurance which come before the national insurance bureau.

Arbeitsgemeinschaft freier Angestelltenverbände. See ANGESTELLTEN.

Arbeitsgemeinschaften. In Germany, these are joint committees or INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS of trade unionists and employers for specific trades or industries. They were instituted during the war for the furtherance of industrial peace and cooperation, and have continued their functions since the armistice.

Arbitration. In an industrial sense, the plan of referring the settlement of differences or disputes between employers and workers to an "impartial" agency, public or private, with powers to conduct an independent investigation of the matter and to hand down a "neutral" decision or award. Arbitration should not be confused with CONCILIATION. Whereas under conciliation the disputants merely endeavor to reach an agreement between themselves, with or without the assistance of a third party, under arbitration the decision or settlement is arrived at by a presumably neutral or impartial agency. Arbitration may be either voluntary or compulsory. In the former case, the two parties voluntarily refer their dispute to a chosen agency of arbitration. In the latter case, the law directly or indirectly compels the disputants to submit their quarrel to an outside agency for decision. In either case the usual procedure of arbitration consists in the following steps: (1) Submission of the dispute to the decision of a third party; (2) submission to an investigation; (3) refraining from strike or lockout pending investigation; (4) drawing up an AWARD. The award may or may not be binding on the contending parties, according to the terms

its control. At its 1919 session, the German Trade Union Congress resolved to bind the national unions more closely and effectually together by creating a national federation, styled the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*—popularly known as the A. D. G. B. The main general objects of this organization are: (1) Furthering trade union propaganda by the collection and utilization of socio-political material and trade union statistics, and by the issue of pamphlets; (2) fostering the protection of the working classes by the retention of counsel in legal cases and by managing the election of socio-political representatives of the workers; (3) the arrangement of courses in trade unionism, the delimitation of spheres of organization and agitation of the unions, the management of exceptional conflicts, and the furthering of international relations with the unions of other countries. In general the functions of the old *Generalkommission* will be continued by a directorate of fifteen members, of whom seven are salaried officials; this directorate is assisted by an advisory council composed of one representative of each affiliated national union—usually the president. Every third year the directorate must convene a Trade Union Congress. The method of election of delegates to the Congress is left to each affiliated union, the number they are allowed to send being one delegate for every 10,000 members. The Congress elects an Executive (*Vorstand*) of fifteen members, which reports to a Council (*Ausschus*) consisting of one representative from the executive of each affiliated union, which meets as occasion requires but not less often than half-yearly. Special congresses may be convened, if necessary, on resolution of the advisory council or on motion of at least one-half of the adhering unions. If a union is unable to continue with its own means a wage movement commenced by it the Federation shall, after approval by the directorate, grant strike benefits to that union. The funds required for this aid are to be had by assessments against all the affiliated unions. Some fifty-two national unions, with a total membership of about eight and a half million workers, are now federated in this organization. (See ARBEITERSEKRETARIAT; GEWERKSCHAFTHÄUSER; ANGESTELLTEN.)

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That is to say, through a process of narrowing down the points at issue he may gradually and imperceptibly force each disputant to a recognition of such justice as may lie in the other's case; so that his award, when it is finally given, is likely to be accepted by both parties as inevitable. (See ARBITRATION.)

Argentine Federation of Labor. See FEDERACIÓN OBRERA REGIONAL ARGENTINA.

Aristocracy of Labor. The skilled artisan class, as represented in the larger and stronger CRAFT UNIONS, is often so called. (See CORPORATISME.)

Armed Guards or Company Guards. In connection with STRIKES and other serious labor disputes, it has been a common practice of large American industrial corporations to employ a corps of armed men—often provided by LABOR DETECTIVE AGENCIES—who patrol the plant and grounds of the corporation and operate under its direction in endeavoring to "break" the strike. This system of substituting private for public police authority has led to many bloody incidents in the past, and is probably the most common source of violence in labor disputes. In recognition of this fact, a number of states in this country have enacted laws forbidding the private importation of armed men from other states for the protection of property. In three or four states the employment of armed bodies of men under private control is specifically declared illegal. But in a community where the local authorities are in sympathy with the corporation, as is often the case, the obviously illegal status of armed guards may be overcome by the simple process of having them "sworn in" as "special deputies," "special police," or members of the state militia. Armed guards are usually referred to as "gunmen" among the working classes. (See POLICING OF INDUSTRY; VIOLENCE IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Arsenal Plan. A successful plan of EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION introduced in 1918 in the Federal arsenal at Rock Island, Ill. The men selected an advisory committee to cooperate with the War Department, were permitted to choose their own foremen, and had part in fixing PIECE WORK prices. Main emphasis in the "arsenal plan" is placed upon the workers' joint responsibility with the management in increasing the output; hence when contracts were under consideration the workers were fully consulted in regard to the costs and conditions under which the work must be executed.

Artel. A Russian word meaning "gang"; originally a transitory body of Russian workmen, of any number, coming together to undertake a particular piece of work in cooperation and dividing the joint profits. More recently in Russia the term chiefly denoted a permanent trade organization, with collective responsibility for its individual members. (See COOPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.)

Asiatic Barred Zone. The Federal IMMIGRATION act of February 5, 1917, provides in part for the exclusion from the United States of natives of the continent of Asia and adjacent islands lying within certain specified meridians of longitude and parallels of latitude. The "barred zone" thus described includes India, Siam, Indo-China, parts of Siberia, Afghanistan, and Arabia, the islands of Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, Borneo, New Guinea, Celebes, and various lesser groups. Exception is made in favor of government officials, travellers for curiosity or pleasure, and persons of certain specified professional classes, so that in effect laborers only are prohibited. The actual boundaries of the barred zone include a portion of China, but the act provides that where immigration regulation—or rather exclusion—is "provided for by existing treaties" the geographical exclusion is not applicable; hence China is not within its scope. (See CHINESE EXCLUSION LAWS.)

Assignment of Wages. See WAGE EXEMPTION.

Assistance Fund. See STRIKE FUND.

Assisted Immigration. This term is often used in a sense synonymous with INDUCED IMMIGRATION, but it refers more properly to that class of immigrants who receive financial assistance (either from their relatives already in this country, or from various public or private sources) in making their way to the United States.

Associated Standard Recognized Railroad Labor Organizations. See RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS.

Association or Associationism. An Americanized form of FOURIERISM, introduced into the United States in 1834 by Albert Brisbane. Several definite experiments made by Brisbane and his fellow "associationists" on the main lines laid down by Fourier resulted in failure.

Association Ouvrière. In France, an association of workingmen for other than ordinary trade union purposes.

Associationism. See ASSOCIATION.

Associations Ouvrières de Production (Working-Men's Associations of Production). French societies of workers engaged in cooperative production. Such societies are now of considerable number and influence, particularly in the building trades. While they vary in type, they are in the main combinations of workmen formed to carry on their industries with their own capital or that of their trade unions, assisted by a government subvention. The law governing such societies provides (1) that public contracts shall be split up into such size that associations of workmen can bid on them; (2) that such associations shall not be obliged to deposit any guarantee when the contract is under a certain amount; (3) that workingmen's associations shall be given the preference when bids are equal; and (4) that payments shall be made to such associations every fifteen days. The government printing of France has for many years been done by these so-called "cooperative companionships." Several hundred of these societies are federated in the *Chambre Consultative des Associations Ouvrières de Production*, which looks after their general business and legal interests, carries on educational and propaganda work, etc. (See COOPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.)

Assumer. See ENTREPRENEUR.

Assumption of Risk. See EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY.

Attachment of Wages. See WAGE EXEMPTION.

Attack Strike. See LOCKOUT.

Auchmuty System. A method of TRADE SCHOOL instruction named after Colonel Richard T. Auchmuty, founder (in 1881) of the New York Trade School. The student is at first put on simple work, but as he acquires skill and workmanlike qualities he is advanced to work that is more difficult and complicated, until he finally becomes familiar with all the processes of his trade. Both the practical and the theoretical aspects of the trade are dealt with, "so that not only is skill quickly acquired but the scientific principles that underlie the work are also studied." (See INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.)

Australian Arbitration Courts. Most of the Australian states require the submission of industrial disputes to a central state arbitration court, consisting generally of a single judge. In some cases, "assessors" representing the two sides are appointed to sit with the judge, but nearly always the latter has the power

of ultimate decision. Proceedings are conducted as in a civil court. The litigants engage advocates and file claims and replies, evidence is presented, witnesses examined, etc. The court decision, when rendered, becomes the state standard for the industry concerned in the dispute. (See COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.)

Australian Labor Movement. The earliest beginnings of trade unionism in Australia consisted in the formation of local branches of large British unions. By 1885 there were more than a hundred trade unions, with a combined membership of about 50,000. Defeat in several strikes from 1885 to 1890 awakened the workers to the need for political organization, and as a result the AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY was established in 1892. Since then the labor movement in Australia has been strongly political in character, working for socialistic legislation through the Federal Parliament. At the present time Australian trade unionism is numerically strong, but weak in organization. In 1919 there were 627,685 trade unionists, or 12.6 per cent of the total population, organized in 394 unions —an average of 1,590 members per union. There is no central unifying body for Australian trade unionism. In the larger towns are Labor Councils, which secure some measure of coordination; and sometimes these Labor Councils in a state capital, such as Sydney, receive affiliations from other parts of the state. But even these latter Councils are seldom fully representative, and their function is deliberative and advisory, rather than executive. Some of the larger unions, organized on a national or inter-state basis, are not affiliated with the Councils. The inter-State conferences, held at irregular intervals, are of similar character to the Councils. The ONE BIG UNION idea has come to play a considerable part in the Australian labor movement of late—both generally, within the trade unions, and more specifically in the WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION. Although the AUSTRALIAN WORKERS' UNION also claims to embody the One Big Union principle, it opposes the more revolutionary Workers' Industrial Union.

Australian Labor Party. Organized in 1892, largely as a result of the great maritime strike of 1890, in which the workers had suffered defeat. In 1893 twenty-four representatives of the Labor Party were elected to the New South Wales legislature, and from that time the movement steadily grew. The Labor Party has since been in control of affairs at various periods in every legislature and in the national government. At the outbreak of the war it had reached its high water mark, every state with the exception of

Victoria having a labor government, while in the Federal government labor was in the majority. The Labor Party's programme is mainly socialistic, though it includes a considerable measure of nationalism also. In actual structure, the Party is a loose federation of the six state parties, each of which is practically independent. Each determines its own state policy, and sends delegates to a Federal conference. The Federal conference defines a Federal platform and appoints a Federal executive; but the latter, since it meets infrequently and has no funds, has little power. The real strength lies in the regular support of the trade unions, which are affiliated separately in the various states. The trade unions also own most of the labor press. (See AUSTRALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Australian Workers' Union. An organization devoted to the principles of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM "on sane lines suitable to Australian circumstances and conditions." It opposes the more revolutionary industrial unionism advocated by the WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION OF AUSTRALIA, although like that body it claims to be committed to the ONE BIG UNION principle. (See AUSTRALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Austrian Central Trade Union Commission. See GEWERKSCHAFTSKOMMISSION DEUTSCHÖSTERREICHS.

Austrian Social Democratic Labor Party. See GEWERKSCHAFTSKOMMISSION DEUTSCHÖSTERREICHS.

Austrian Works Councils. Under a law which came into force July 25, 1919, the election of WORKS COUNCILS in all Austrian factories and other establishments where at least twenty wage-earners are employed continuously is obligatory. These councils conclude, maintain, and interpret collective agreements, in cooperation with the trade unions; fix wages; supervise the enforcement of protective LABOR LEGISLATION and SOCIAL INSURANCE laws; cooperate in maintaining DISCIPLINE; participate in the management of WELFARE WORK; etc. In commercial establishments where at least thirty salaried employees and manual workers are employed, as well as in all factories and mines, the works council is entitled to demand that a balance sheet shall be submitted to it once a year, together with a profit and loss account and statistics of wages. In joint stock companies the council is entitled to elect two members of the board of directors.

Authoritarian Socialism. See STATE SOCIALISM.

Autonomy. In labor affairs, this term denotes the right of self-government and independent action on the part of a trade union, with respect to other unions or to federations of unions. "Local autonomy" refers to such right on the part of a local union in respect to a national union; while "national autonomy" refers to the same right on the part of a national union in respect to other national unions or to federations of national unions. "Trade autonomy" or "craft autonomy" is the right of independent action and control on the part of a trade union in respect to a particular trade or craft within an industry. (See SECTIONALISM; CENTRALIZATION.)

Award. In labor affairs, the decision of an ARBITRATION agency in settlement of an industrial dispute. If, under the terms of the arbitration agreement, the contending parties are free to accept or reject the award, as they choose, the result is called a voluntary award. If, on the other hand, it is stipulated in advance that the award shall be binding on the contending parties for a specified time, the result is a compulsory award.

B

B. L. P. See BRITISH LABOR PARTY.

Bad Spinning. This term is most commonly used in connection with a class of disputes, frequent in the British cotton industry, arising from workers' claims that the cotton supplied them was of such bad quality that they could not earn the standard rate at "list" prices. The BROOKLANDS AGREEMENT broke down over this point in 1912.

Bad Timekeeping. See CLOCKING.

Barred Zone Provision. See ASIATIC BARRED ZONE.

Base Rate. In connection with SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, this is the regular or ordinary day wage which is usually guaranteed to an individual worker regardless of whether he attains the standard TASK.

Base Time. In connection with SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, this is the usual or average amount of time required for turning out a given quantity of individual work. Unlike what is called the TASK TIME, it is determined mainly by estimates and averages drawn from past shop records, rather than by detailed TIME AND MOTION STUDY.

Basic Eight-Hour Day. See EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Bedroom Shop. See ONE-MAN SHOP.

Belgian General Federation of Christian and Free Trade Unions. See BELGIAN TRADE UNIONS.

Belgian Labor Party. See PARTI OUVRIER BELGE.

Belgian Trade Union Commission. See COMMISSION SYNDICALE BELGE.

Belgian Trade Unions. As in Germany, the trade unions of Belgium are chiefly of two kinds: (1) Socialist, or Social Democratic, organizations; and (2) Christian, or Catholic Democratic

organizations—also called "neutral" unions. The Christian trade unions, however, are relatively more numerous and powerful than in Germany, having perhaps 200,000 members as against 700,000 in the socialist unions. Both the socialist and the Christian unions are centralized, as in Germany, in a comparatively few strong national unions. There is much rivalry between the socialist and the Christian bodies. The former are federated in the national COMMISSION SYNDICALE BELGE, and are affiliated with the PARTI OUVRIER BELGE or Belgian Labor Party. The Christian unions are nationally federated in the *Confédération Générale des Syndicats Chrétiens et Libres de Belgique*. Before the war, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING with the labor unions prevailed in a few industries only. Collective agreements were confined to local arrangements in minor industries, such as the printing trades, quarries, glass, diamond-cutting, etc. They were unknown in the main industries: coal-mining, iron and steel, transportation, and (with some local exceptions) textiles. Now the conditions are reversed; collective bargaining with the unions is the rule everywhere, the autocratic or "paternal" employer is the exception. This change is due less to a modification of the individual attitude of employers than to the fact that post-war conditions have radically altered the balance of power between capitalists and workers. As industrial work was resumed after the armistice, the workers flocked into the unions by hundreds of thousands. In one year the unions increased their membership by about 400 per cent. In Belgium every employee of a cooperative society must be a trade unionist, and the premises of the cooperative societies are invariably the headquarters of the local or national trade union, as well as of the local or national committees of the Labor Party. In an industrial dispute, the cooperatives supply provisions for the strikers and their families; and in ordinary times they make considerable appropriations from their profits to trade union and socialist propaganda. (See INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL SYSTEM IN BELGIUM.)

Bell Horse. See SPEEDING UP.

Benefit Funds. See BENEFITS; ESTABLISHMENT FUND.

Benefit Societies. See FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

Benefits. Payments made by trade unions, by MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES, or by the State, in relief of members of the working class under any form of SOCIAL INSURANCE, are usually so called; although various other terms, such as "pay," "donations," "allowances,"

"relief," etc., are often employed in the same sense. A fairly complete list of such payments would include sickness, death, accident or other disability, superannuation (old age pensions or retirement allowances), maternity, legal aid, and funeral benefits, out-of-work and strike benefits, travelling benefits, compensation for loss of tools by fire or theft, and such less common forms as MARRIAGE BENEFITS and VICTIM PAY. Of these various forms, out-of-work and strike benefits, travelling allowances, compensation for tools, and "victim pay" are commonly classified as "trade benefits," being paid as a rule only by trade unions. The others are known as "friendly benefits," and are paid by both trade unions and mutual aid societies —in some cases by the State also. In addition to the cash payments, or "cash benefits," additional relief for sickness, accident, maternity, etc., is sometimes provided in the form of medical treatment and supplies, known as "medical benefits." Practically all the large national and international unions now maintain benefit funds in one or more forms, and strong benefit provisions have as a rule become essential to the making of strong trade unions. In the case of practically all American trade unions, the funds are raised as a part of the dues and assessments of members. In most cases a single sum is assessed as constituting the dues for the week or the month. Of this amount a designated portion goes to one fund; another portion to a second fund, and so on around. In such cases the funds for the several purposes are kept separate. In other instances there is but one fund into which all dues are paid and from which are taken the benefit payments provided for. The latter is coming to be the more usual method. These funds are usually in charge of the general officers, the president, the secretary-treasurer, or the executive board or council. Reports are submitted and audited at regular intervals. In some national unions, the benefits are paid wholly by the various local branches, in others wholly by the central organization, while in still others some forms are paid by the locals and other forms by the central organization. A few of the largest and strongest unions (notably the International Typographical Union and some of the RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS) maintain permanent homes for sick or aged members out of their benefit funds. (See DEATH BENEFITS; DISABILITY BENEFITS; OUT-OF-WORK BENEFITS; STRIKE PAY; TRAVELLING BENEFITS; LEGAL AID BENEFIT; SHIPWRECK BENEFIT; SOU DU SOLDAT; TRADE PRIVILEGE BENEFIT; ESTABLISHMENT FUND; SICKNESS INSURANCE; INVALIDITY INSURANCE; MATERNITY INSURANCE; MUTUAL INSURANCE; OLD AGE INSURANCE; TOOL INSURANCE; UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.)

Benevolent Feudalism. This term is sometimes used in derogatory designation of various paternalistic schemes, ranging all the way from industrial WELFARE WORK to STATE SOCIALISM, which are handed down to labor from above rather than gained by labor's own efforts; and which, while perhaps increasing the welfare of the individual worker, tend rather to augment than to diminish the power of the capitalistic class. (See PATERNALISM.)

Benevolent Fund. The fund from which trade union BENEFITS are paid is often so called. In some unions, however, this is a separate fund used for relief of members in special cases.

Benevolent Societies or **Benevolent Associations.** See MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES.

Berkshire System. A method of TEAM WORK once common in the iron-molding industry. Under this system, each expert molder employed a HELPER, known as a "Berkshire" or "buck," who after several years of employment might enter the trade as a molder. Owing to the improvement of foundry machinery, the "Berkshire system" (or "buck system," as it was frequently called) has very largely disappeared.

Berne Internationale. See INTERNATIONALE.

Berufsgenossenschaften. Under the German system of WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, these are mutual insurance associations of employers, formed according to law to provide collective responsibility in the payment of compensation claims. Each industry has its own association, and each association pays the claims of workingmen employed by its own members. "The members of each association are annually assessed, according to the size of their pay rolls and the hazards of their business, at a rate sufficient to pay the death claims, the benefits to temporarily disabled workmen, and the pensions to entirely incapacitated workmen and the families of employees killed by accident. The assessments must also cover the administrative expenses of the association, which include the salaries of a large number of engineering and mechanical experts employed by the associations to inspect the factories of members and see that the best appliances are bought and used for safeguarding dangerous machinery."

Betriebsobmann (Works Steward). See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW.

Betriebsrat or **Betriebsarbeiterrat** (Works Council). See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW.

Betriebsrätegesetz (Works Councils Law). See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW.

Betriebsversammlung (Works Assembly). See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW.

Bezirksarbeiterrat (District Workers' Council). See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW.

Bezirkswirtschaftsrat (District Economic Council). See REICHSWIRTSCHAFTSRAT.

Big Four. See RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS.

Big Six. A common nickname for "Typographical Union No. 6," the New York City branch of the International Typographical Union of North America. This is one of the oldest, largest, and most influential LOCALS in the country. Horace Greeley was its president in 1850.

Bill of Prices. See PRICE LIST.

Birds of Passage. This term is commonly applied to those immigrants from Europe, Canada, Mexico, etc., who come to the United States with no intention of permanently settling here, but merely to earn enough money to enable them to return to their native countries and live there in comparative comfort upon their savings. They constitute a considerable percentage of all immigrants, and create some of the most serious social and economic problems connected with IMMIGRATION. (See HARVESTERS.)

Birmingham Alliances. The name commonly given to certain compacts between employers and workers in six branches of the light metal trades of Birmingham, England. These alliances are based on EXCLUSIVE AGREEMENTS, and selling prices of the product are fixed by a joint "wages board" of employers' and workers' representatives in equal number.

Bisbee Deportations. During a strike in some of the Arizona copper mines, nearly 1,200 workmen of Bisbee were rounded up on July 12, 1917, by armed mine officials and other members of a so-called Loyalty League, packed into freight cars, and deported across the border into New Mexico, where they were left marooned on the desert. After thorough investigation by the Federal government,

a report was issued condemning the act as a flagrant violation of elementary Constitutional rights; and on the basis of this report criminal proceedings were instituted by the Federal and state authorities against the mine owners and others who were responsible for this act; but both prosecutions have so far failed. In his book on "War-Time Strikes," Alexander M. Bing (an American employer) characterizes the Bisbee deportations as "probably the most deplorable act of industrial violence which has occurred in the history of our country." (See VIOLENCE IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Black. In connection with European public affairs, the adjective "black" is sometimes applied to anarchist and sometimes to Catholic movements, organizations, etc.—in either case, of course, by their opponents. The members of such organizations are often referred to as "blacks." (See BLACK UNIONS.)

Black Money or Dirty Money. In certain British trades which involve special unpleasantness or injury to clothing, this is an extra payment, generally stipulated in the WORKING RULES, made because of the nature of the work. Thus, boilermakers and engineers working on oil-carrying vessels usually receive "black money."

Black Unions. The separate organizations of Roman Catholic workers found in several European countries—notably Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Italy—are sometimes so called. (See BLACK; ITALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Blackcoated Proletariat. See BLACKCOATS.

Blackcoats. As used in British labor circles this term denotes the middle-class salaried workers, such as clerks, shop assistants, government employees, teachers, technicians, life insurance agents, etc. The development of trade union organization among the "blackcoats" during the last decade has been one of the most remarkable facts in British labor history. Nearly 750,000 of such workers are now members of various unions, which for the most part are directly affiliated with the BRITISH LABOR PARTY and the TRADES UNION CONGRESS. Also called the "blackcoated proletariat." (See SALARIAT; WHITE COLLARS; MIDDLE CLASS UNIONS.)

Blackleg. In British labor parlance, the common equivalent for the American SCAB—ordinarily a worker who is hostile to trade unionism or who acts in opposition to trade union interests, especially in helping to defeat a strike. British workmen also use the word

"scab" in this sense, but the latter term is far more common among American trade unionists. As in the case of "scab," "blackleg" is also used as a verb and an adjective. "Blacklegging" or "to blackleg" refers to any action in opposition to trade union policies or methods—more specifically, to taking the places of union strikers or otherwise helping to break down a strike. "Blackleg goods" are those produced or handled by blacklegs; while a "blackleg organization" may be either an employers' association devoted largely to STRIKEBREAKING activities, or (as sometimes happens) a rival union which actively or passively helps to defeat a strike. An earlier term with the same connotations as "blackleg" is "knobstick," which is still occasionally used; and these two terms have evidently been combined to produce "blacknob," another not uncommon variant. Finally, it should be mentioned that blacklegs are often spoken of simply as "blacks." (See FREE LABORERS.)

Blacklist. In its simplest form, a list of names privately circulated among employers for the purpose of jointly refusing employment to union workmen in general or to individual workers who are held in disfavor. Most of the states of the American union have laws prohibiting blacklisting, but all such laws are practically dead letters. The open circulation of blacklists may be effectually restrained, yet numerous other methods of accomplishing the desired object have been devised and successfully used by employers. The blacklist has thus become a powerful weapon in combating organized labor. According to the Report of the FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, "witnesses representing labor without exception denounce the blacklist as unjust. They hold that, while it may be proper for employers to warn one another against conspicuously dishonest, unfaithful, or incompetent employees, it is in derogation of the rights of individual workingmen and of the working class, that men whose only offense is loyalty to a labor organization or participation in a strike, should have their names blacklisted by associated employers so as to render it practically impossible for them to secure work. The effect of the blacklist is ordinarily immensely more injurious to the men concerned than a BOYCOTT, which is the counter weapon to the blacklist, could be to an employer. At the most, only a fraction of the customers of a boycotted establishment will withdraw their patronage as the result of a boycott, while all the employers in a given industry in a particular section of the country have at times confederated to prevent blacklisted men from getting employment, so that they have been practically forced to leave the

trade altogether. . . . The circulation of lists of employees can not readily be ascertained, and the workingman who is refused a place can not know that a blacklist is the reason for such refusal. It is complained also that when workingmen are discharged they are sometimes given letters stating the fact of their employment, and possibly including a formal recommendation, but with secret marks or other indications to show that the men are to be considered objectionable. The principal complaint of such methods comes from railroad employees and from coal miners. It seems to be generally believed, however, that the more formal and direct methods of blacklisting have largely disappeared." (See CLEARANCE LETTER; LEAVING CERTIFICATE; WHITELIST; UNFAIR LIST; DISCHARGE BOOK SYSTEM; RUSTLING CARD; PERSONAL RECORD SYSTEM.)

Blacknob. See BLACKLEG.

Blacks. See BLACK; BLACKLEG.

Blank. See TRAVELLING CARD.

Blanket Injunction. This form of INJUNCTION, which is particularly criticized by organized labor, consists in a court writ directed not merely against specified persons, parties to a dispute, but against unnamed persons, and even against all persons in general. In the famous DEBS CASE, for example, the injunction issued was by its terms made binding upon "all other persons whatsoever who are not named herein from and after the time when they shall severally have knowledge of such order." It has been objected by labor leaders and others that all court traditions and rules have required that each person affected by an order of court shall be specifically named and shall have the order served personally upon him. The courts have usually treated this criticism lightly, declaring that it is as proper to issue an injunction against many persons as against one, and that there must be no inadequacy in equity remedies because of technical points. This was the position taken by the United States Supreme Court in the Debs case. The blanket injunction is occasionally referred to under the name of "omnibus injunction."

Blanket Stiff. A common nickname for a migratory worker or tramp in the Northwest, often a member of the I. W. W., who travels about with no other personal belongings than his clothes and a blanket. (See STIFF.)

Blind Alley Occupations. Those forms of employment which offer no possibility of promotion or advancement to the workers

—those which, like a "blind alley," lead nowhere. The French term "cul-de-sac" is also often used in this connection. Most of the industrial occupations of children, and many of those followed by women, are of the "blind alley" or "cul-de-sac" variety.

Block Representation. See EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION.

Block Vote. Refers to the method, commonly adopted in labor congresses, conventions, etc., by which the voting strength of each delegate is proportioned to the number of members which he represents. Thus, in the annual conventions of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, each delegate is ordinarily entitled to cast one vote on any important measure for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof whom he represents. Votes on less important measures are usually taken by a show of hands. (See VOTING BY CARD.)

Board of Business Agents. See BUILDING TRADES COUNCILS.

Boards of Reference. See COMMONWEALTH COURT OF ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION.

Bohunk. See HUNKY.

Bolshevik Internationale. See COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE.

Bolshevism. In its only accurate sense, this term denotes the political, social, and economic theories and practice of the Bolsheviki, or Russian Communist Party, comprising the revolutionary socialists of Russia who overthrew Kerensky's provisional government in November, 1917, established the present Soviet government, and have remained in power ever since. In rough translation, the name Bolsheviki means "adherents of the majority"; opposed to them are the Mensheviki, or "adherents of the minority." The two groups resulted from a split in the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1905. After 1917 the Bolsheviki officially changed the name of their organization to the Russian Communist Party. The fundamental distinction of the Bolsheviki from the opportunist socialists, or Mensheviki, is in their unwavering advocacy of the CLASS STRUGGLE, and in their consequent belief that during the transition period between a capitalistic and a socialistic regime the opposition between the classes makes it necessary that the power of the State should lie exclusively in the hands of the "producers"—by which term they designate not manual laborers only, but doctors, teachers, scientists, technical experts, soldiers, artists, and all others who make some

definite contribution to the necessary industrial and cultural activities of society and the maintenance of the State. Starting out as uncompromising disciples of Karl Marx, the Bolsheviki have been forced in practice to modify or discard some of the most important tenets of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. Although in full control of the government, they represent but a comparatively small minority of the Russian people. In view of the popular idea that Bolshevism is synonymous with ANARCHISM, it may be noted that next to the expropriated aristocracy the bitterest opponents of the Bolsheviki in Russia are members of the anarchist group. In the realm of propaganda rather than of fact, Bolshevism is a common epithet applied to any unorthodox social or economic views, the purpose being to discredit such views without going to the trouble of refuting them. (See SOVIET SYSTEM; PARLOR BOLSHEVISM.)

Bombacci Plan. A provisional scheme for the establishment of a SOVIET SYSTEM within the present industrial and political organization of Italy; drawn up by Signor N. Bombacci, political secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, and officially accepted at that Party's national Congress early in 1920. Following the broad outlines of the Russian system, it contemplates a national network of soviets —above and beyond the present factory councils—which shall prepare themselves to be the organs of revolutionary defense and administration in the new "proletarian State" when the social revolution comes. But its particular preoccupation is to preserve the authority of the Italian Socialist Party, as advance guard of the revolution, working within the soviet system.

Bonus System. While often used in designation of the PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM and other specialized forms of wage payment under SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, strictly speaking this is merely a simple variant or extension of either the TIME WORK or the PIECE WORK system. It consists, in essence, in the payment of the ordinary time or piece rate, and in addition thereto a certain specified sum when the worker reaches or exceeds a specified amount of output. Bonus systems may be either individual or collective: the individual worker may be paid a bonus on his or her individual ouput over a period of time or on a particular job, or a group of workers may be paid a collective bonus on their total output. According to G. D. H. Cole, "the commonest type of individual bonus system is one under which the bonus begins when a specified output has been reached. Under this system the worker is paid a time-rate, and to this time-rate there corresponds a certain nominal TASK, which,

however, is not enforced as a minimum. Until this task has been accomplished no bonus is paid; but on all output over and above the given task a certain bonus per piece is added to the worker's earnings. Or, in other cases, a lump sum is paid as a bonus to all workers who reach the standard output. This is an instance of an individual bonus system superimposed upon time-work conditions. Another system is one in which the bonus is superimposed upon piece-work. The worker is paid a piece-work price on his or her output, but again when the output reaches a certain level per hour or per week, a bonus is added either on the whole of the earnings, or on all additional production over and above the stipulated standard output." In either case, the point at which the bonus begins is generally determined by past working records, by a workshop average, or by the arbitrary judgment of employer or foreman, rather than by any "scientific" analysis on the basis of TIME AND MOTION STUDY. In addition to the above, bonuses may be granted for time-keeping, diligence, good conduct, etc., and also deductions may be made for spoilt work and for misdemeanors. (See COLLECTIVE BONUS SYSTEM; DIFFERENTIAL PIECE RATE SYSTEM; EFFICIENCY PAYMENTS; REWARD SYSTEMS.)

Boomers. See MIGRATORY LABOR.

Boring from Within. Denotes the effort to gain control of an organization by becoming a fully participating member and endeavoring to mould or revolutionize its policies from the inside. With particular reference to the REVOLUTIONARY LABOR MOVEMENT, it denotes the policy, on the part of individuals in that movement, of becoming members of the more conservative labor bodies and then agitating as members for the adoption of radical aims and principles. In the French syndicalist movement, where it has been generally adopted with much success, this policy is designated *la pénétration*. The opposite policy is that commonly known as DUAL UNIONISM—called by the French syndicalists *la pression extérieure*, and by the I. W. W. "hammering from without."

Boss. In a labor sense, one who employs or superintends workers; a head man, foreman, or manager. The word is derived from *baas*, used by the early Dutch settlers in New York to designate a foreman or master. The term "sub-boss" is sometimes used in differentiation of a foreman or superintendent from the actual employer. A BUSINESS AGENT or other union official who wields considerable power is often called a "labor boss." (See STRAW BOSS; GANG BOSS; PIT BOSS.)

Boss Miner. In coal mining, a working contractor who agrees with the OPERATOR to produce coal at a certain price per ton. The boss miner may in turn employ other miners and assistants to do the actual mining work under his supervision and instruction, or he may work with a partner. (See BUTTY OR CHARTER-MASTER SYSTEM.)

Boss Stevedore. See STEVEDORE SYSTEM.

Boston System. See FACTORY SYSTEM IN THE GARMENT TRADES.

Boston Trade Union College. Organized in March, 1919, by the Boston Central Labor Union, with the avowed purpose of making "accessible to working men and women the study of subjects which will further the progress of organized labor." The college was founded upon a democratic basis, the committee in charge consisting of eleven trade unionists and five instructors. The latter, declaring for the right of academic freedom, "assert that the function of the instruction in the college is educational and nothing beyond that." Each section of the joint committee is responsible to the body by which it was appointed and to the central labor union, before which, at open meetings, appeals may be made. Comfortable, well-equipped quarters were furnished by the Boston school board in one of the city high-school buildings. The classes meet once a week for two hours. A nominal fee is charged for each course. The membership is limited to men and women belonging to trade unions affiliated with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. English is the subject most frequently chosen by the students, with law, government, science, economics, and labor organization following, about in the order named. (See WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.)

Bouche Ouverte. See OPEN-MOUTH STRIKE.

Bourbon. See REACTIONARY.

Bourgeoisie. This French term originally denoted the free citizen class in the towns, as distinguished from the aristocracy, on the one hand, and the working class on the other. The French socialists, however, extended the meaning of the term to include all the more or less wealthy classes, as opposed to the PROLETARIAT or working class, and it is in this sense that the term is used in practically all socialist literature. In the Marxian formula, it is the bourgeoisie (including capitalists, manufacturers, money lenders, land owners, etc.) who are pitted against the proletariat in the CLASS STRUGGLE for possession of the means of production and

distribution. (See SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM; COMMUNIST MANIFESTO; DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT; CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL THEORY; MIDDLE CLASS; PROPERTARIAT.)

Bourses du Travail (Chambers of Labor). In France, local federations of working-class SYNDICATS or trade unions. The first *bourse du travail* was founded at Paris in 1887, and others soon followed. These first *bourses* were established by or with the help of the municipalities in which they were situated; they aimed at being for the laboring class what chambers of commerce are for the employer—general meeting-places and centres of organization for their respective localities. Municipal subsidies were secured, partly as election bribes but far more because the *bourses* were to serve as local LABOR EXCHANGES. In 1892 the Bourses held their first Congress, and in 1893 organized the *Fédération des Bourses du Travail*. In 1902 this federation united with the CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL, giving this latter body its first real impetus. When the C. G. T. began to develop its revolutionary character the municipal subsidies were in many cases withdrawn—a disaster from which recovery has been slow. But the *bourses* are still perhaps the most important centres of French trade union activities. They are largely used for propaganda work among unorganized workers, and serve as schools of "intercorporate solidarity." During strikes they are the rendezvous of the strikers, and in the case of a general local strike they direct the conflict. They carry on certain limited FRIENDLY SOCIETY activities. Each local *bourse* serves as a labor exchange, as a club-room, as a library, as a lecture-hall. Its affairs are directed by a committee, to which every local *syndicat* elects a member, and by a general secretary. Each *syndicat* contributes to the support of its local *bourse* in direct proportion to the number of members within the *syndicat*. (See MUTUALITÉ; MAISONS DES OUVRIERS; FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Boycott. Derived from the name of Captain Boycott, an Irish landlord whose tenants refused to deal with him in any way. No thoroughly satisfactory definition of the boycott, with specific reference to labor affairs, seems to have yet been formulated; it has been said that "scarcely any two courts treating of the subject formulate the same definition." In general, however, it may be described as an organized refusal on the part of wage-earners to purchase the products of, or otherwise deal with, an "offending" employer, the purpose being to compel compliance with some demand of the workers or to punish the employer for "unfair" acts or policies.

This is known as the "primary" or "simple" boycott, being aimed directly at the employer who has offended the workers. When such action on the workers' part extends to a refusal to patronize or deal with other employers not directly concerned in the original dispute, in an effort to induce such employers to suspend business relations with the original offender, it becomes what is called the "secondary" or "compound" boycott. As few employers of labor sell directly to consumers, nearly all present-day boycotts are of the "secondary" or "compound" variety. In either case, however, the workers directly concerned not only withhold their own patronage, but commonly endeavor either directly or indirectly to induce the buying public in general and all other wage-earners in particular to adopt a similar policy. The term "negative boycott" is sometimes applied to such trade union devices or methods as the UNION LABEL and FAIR LIST; while the boycott proper, as defined above, and the UNFAIR LIST or "we don't patronize" list, are classified as forms of "positive boycott." The collective refusal of unionists to work with a non-unionist or under an "unfair" foreman, or to handle material made by non-unionists, is often classed as a boycott; but in the great majority of cases the labor boycott corresponds to the main definition given above. Court decisions in the United States almost invariably put the ban of illegality upon labor boycotts. "In some cases boycotts have been held criminal offenses under the common law, or under statutes prohibiting interference with lawful business or employment, or prohibiting the use of INTIMIDATION. In a few states boycotts are in terms declared unlawful by statute. In other cases the courts have granted civil damages to employers injured by boycotts, while frequently INJUNCTIONS have been issued to restrain them. The element of combination in the boycott is especially emphasized by the courts. They usually hold also that, while a strike has evidently for its primary motive the improvement of the condition of the workingmen, the boycott on its face involves malice, the desire to injure another. Stress is also laid on the thought that, whatever the motive, the means—by deliberate attempt to destroy a man's business—are unlawful; that the right to conduct a lawful business is a fundamental right of liberty and property, and that a man may not properly be coerced to act contrary to his wishes in the management of his own business." On the other hand, however, the *trade boycott*—that is, the boycott of one dealer or manufacturer by the concerted action of other dealers or manufacturers—has been often upheld as a legitimate form of competition. The attitude of organized labor toward the boycott is thus summarized

in the report of the FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION: "There is probably no union man who doubts the legitimacy of the boycott as a weapon of labor, or the necessity of using it. The broadest-minded and most conservative of the union leaders defend the right to use it, without hesitation or qualification, and regard the tendency of the courts to condemn it as one of the marks of the injustice with which they believe the working people to be treated by our rulers. The right to deal, or to refrain from dealing, with whomsoever he pleases, and for any reason which may appeal to him, is, they say, one of the most elementary rights of a free citizen. But if one man may select the persons he will deal with, two or a million may do so. The boycott is simply a common refusal on the part of a number of people to deal with a person whose action is believed to be antagonistic to their interest." A novel and interesting use of the labor boycott on an international scale, for political purposes, was made during 1920 by the INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, in an effort to coerce the Hungarian government into discontinuance of its bloody persecution of communists and labor leaders. (See SYMPATHETIC BOYCOTT; RAILWAY BOYCOTT; DANBURY HATTERS CASE; BUCK STOVE AND RANGE CASE; DUPLEX PRINTING PRESS CASE; BLACKLIST.)

Branch. The smallest unit of a British national union, corresponding roughly to the American LOCAL. It maintains its own branch committee, branch officers, and in some cases its branch funds. The branch, in addition to its constitutional position inside the national union to which it belongs, is generally the body affiliated to local organizations of federal character, such as the local TRADES COUNCIL, or LOCAL LABOR PARTY, and (in some cases) the local federation of trade unions in a particular industry. In the larger trade unions which have a number of branches in the same town or district, such branches are also federated in a delegate body known as the DISTRICT COUNCIL or district committee, which usually has considerable power and authority. The branch is nearly always based on the place of habitation of its members rather than on their place of work, and in the larger towns there are usually several branches of the same national union. In the case of the miners, however, the branch centres around a national industrial unit—the coal-pit. (See LODGE; SINGLE-BRANCH UNION; MULTIPLE-BRANCH UNION; GOVERNING BRANCH; COMPOSITE BRANCHES.)

Brazilian Confederation of Labor. See CONFEDERAZIONE OBRERA BRASILEANO.

Bridgeport Plan. After the labor disturbances during the latter part of 1918 in the machinery trades of Bridgeport, Conn., employers and employees worked out a plan for JOINT COMMITTEES to deal with all matters of mutual concern and interest in the Bridgeport industries. This plan provides for the election of employees' department committees and employees' general committees, and prescribes by-laws governing the powers and functions and the methods of procedure of these committees, and also makes provision for a referendum and recall of duly elected committeemen, and for amendment of the by-laws.

British Cooperative Wholesale Society. See WHOLESALE COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

British Housing Acts. The acute shortage of houses for the working classes after the war led the British government to adopt a definite housing programme, under the general supervision of the Ministry of Health. The first step toward the working out of this programme was accomplished with the passage of the Housing and Town-Planning Act, July, 1919. This act made the local authorities responsible for providing the necessary housing accommodations, but the government, having to undertake responsibility for the financial results, was to have complete control and supervision of all undertakings. The community and the nation were each to provide a specified proportion of the cost of building. In December, 1919, a new act was passed, the Housing (Additional Powers) Act, giving the Minister of Health authority under specified conditions to make grants for houses, or, in other words, to invite private enterprise to cooperate and to offer it a subsidy for so doing. Under the new acts, the Ministry of Health is empowered to require the local authorities to prepare and carry out schemes for needed housing, and also, for a specified number of years, to pay to them out of State funds seventy-five per cent of any loss resulting from the difference between the economic rent on the increased cost of building and the reasonable rent which working-class tenants can bear. The country has been divided for housing purposes into eleven regions, each with a regional commissioner, armed with large delegated powers, who works in close cooperation with the local authorities. (See MANCHESTER BUILDING GUILD.)

British Industrial Court. See INDUSTRIAL COURTS ACT.

British Labor Party. In 1899, largely through the efforts of the INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, the formation of an independent

organization for promoting the election of labor members to Parliament was decided upon by the TRADES UNION CONGRESS. As a result of this decision a body known as the Labor Representation Committee was formed during the following year. This was a federal body representative not only of trade unions and TRADES COUNCILS, but also of socialist and cooperative societies. In 1906 this body was renamed the British Labor Party. Except for a section which included the Independent Labor Party, the organization supported the recent war and took part in the coalition government. Under a new constitution adopted in 1918, individuals not associated with other socialist or labor organizations are permitted to enter the Party through membership in the so-called LOCAL LABOR PARTIES, and to share in the election of five members to the national executive. Of the remaining seats on the national executive, four are reserved for women, and the others are allotted to the national societies—labor, socialist, and cooperative. The principal purposes of the Party, as set forth in its constitution, are (1) "to secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service"; and (2) "generally to promote the political, social, and economic emancipation of the people, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life." The Party is thus avowedly socialistic in its aims, representing the moderate or right-wing school of socialistic theory. It is affiliated with the second INTERNATIONALE. The membership of the Party exceeded three and one-half millions in 1919. Since 1918 it has been the leading opposition party in the Imperial Parliament. (See PARLIAMENTARY LABOR PARTY; LABOR AND THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER; COUNCIL OF ACTION; BLACKCOATS; WOMAN'S LABOR LEAGUE.)

British Ministry of Labor. The administrative department (organized December, 1916) of the British government that concerns itself with the welfare of the laboring classes, including the supervision of LABOR EXCHANGES, UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, TRADE BOARDS, and JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS; MEDIATION, CONCILIATION, and ARBITRATION in industrial disputes; the preparation of labor statistics; etc. At its head is the Minister of Labor, to whom are attached a "Parliamentary secretary," two "joint permanent secretaries," a "second secretary," a solicitor, an accountant-general,

and heads of the following departments: Establishment, Wages and Arbitration, Employment, Industries, Council Secretariat, Intelligence and Statistics, Training, Appointments, Civil Liabilities. The three last-named are temporary departments.

British National Industrial Conference. Early in 1919 Mr. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, summoned some five hundred representatives of employers' associations and trade unions, to discuss in conference some of the more pressing national problems in connection with industrial reconstruction and labor unrest. At a meeting held February 27, 1919, the Conference resolved to appoint a joint committee, composed of employers' and workers' representatives in equal number, with a chairman chosen by the government, "to consider and report to a further meeting of this conference on the causes of the present unrest and the steps necessary to safeguard and promote the best interests of employers, workpeople, and the State." This joint committee's report, unanimously adopted by the reassembled conference on April 4, recommended, among various other matters, the "universal" legal determination and enforcement of MINIMUM WAGE scales, a compulsory FORTY-EIGHT HOUR WEEK, obligatory RECOGNITION of trade unions, and the formation of a permanent national industrial council or industrial parliament to advise the government on all matters concerning industry. (See INDUSTRIAL UNREST.)

British Trade Union Organization. As a specimen of the elaborate administrative organization of some of the larger British national unions, that of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers is thus outlined in C. M. Lloyd's "Trade Unionism": "It has in daily attendance at its headquarters in London, a paid Executive Council of a Chairman and seven members, elected by ballot from the seven divisions into which Great Britain is divided. Side by side with this Council, and largely under its control, works the GENERAL SECRETARY with four assistants. For organising purposes there is a staff (under the direction of the Executive Council) of twelve Organising District Delegates, each elected for three years (and reeligible) from and by the district in which he has worked and resided for the twelve months immediately preceding his nomination. The duties of these Organizing District Delegates include the visiting and strengthening of branches, the attending of conferences, the interviewing of employers, and so on. There is also a network of District Committees, varying in size according to the number of branches in the district. The Committee-men, who must be working at their

trade, are elected half-yearly (the President and Secretary annually), and are empowered, subject to the approval of the Executive Council, to deal with questions of trade disputes, wages, hours and conditions of labor, and so on, in their respective areas. At the head of the whole organization are the Delegate Meeting and Final Appeal Court. The Delegate Meeting consists of one delegate for every 3000 members chosen from equal electoral areas. It is only summoned in emergencies or to deal with matters vitally affecting the Society. It has power to alter or rescind any rule (due notice having been given to the branches), but it must not abrogate any of the principles of the Society, 'unless thereafter forty per cent of the membership vote in favor of the change.' The Final Appeal Court, composed of one delegate for every 6000 members and meeting every two years, considers and decides all appeals against the rulings of the Executive Council." (For main references to general details of British trade union organization, see BRANCH; MULTIPLE-BRANCH UNION; SINGLE-BRANCH UNION; GOVERNING BRANCH; COMPOSITE BRANCHES; CENTRAL EXECUTIVE; REPRESENTATIVE MEETING; DISTRICT COUNCIL; ADVISORY COUNCILS; DISTRICT DELEGATES; GENERAL SECRETARY; SHOP STEWARD; STEWARD.)

Broken Time. See SHORT TIME; STRAIGHT TIME.

Brooklands Agreement. An important arrangement between operatives and employers which governed the English cotton-spinning trade from 1893 to 1905. It provided elaborate machinery for the adjustment of wages and trade disputes by mutual discussion, without cessation of work. (See BAD SPINNING.)

Brookwood College. At a meeting of trade union leaders held at New York in the spring of 1921, plans were made for the organization under this name of the first resident workers' college in the United States. According to a formal statement issued by the conference, "it was decided to unite with the American labor union movement a force of education that will serve American labor with trained, responsible, liberally educated men and women from the ranks of the workers. The new college is not intended to act as a propagandist institution. Thoroughly in sympathy with the aims and aspirations of labor as a whole, the college will closely cooperate with the national and international labor groups, also with the various local colleges and schools that send to it working men and women who show promise as to need further education in order best to serve the labor movement and through it society." The

college will be established at Katonah, N. Y., and will be guided by the principles of academic freedom, student self-government, and cooperative living. (See WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.)

Brotherhood. A title sometimes assumed by a trade union—notably the various national or international organizations of American railway workers, commonly known as RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS.

Brotherhood Cooperations. "For the purpose of maintaining the benefits of the rates, rules, and regulations now in effect, and for improving the same as conditions may warrant," the "big four" RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS have a special form of agreement by which so-called "cooperations" are formed in conjunction with other organizations of railway workers. These cooperations function through "cooperative boards," each of which consists of the "general committees" of the various organizations affiliated under this plan for a single railway system. Where a cooperation is formed, it takes the place of the existing SYSTEM FEDERATION, formed under the CEDAR RAPIDS PLAN, for the particular line of railway involved. The cooperative plan is carefully arranged to give the "big four" control of all cooperations.

Brown System. A plan of DISCIPLINE for railway employees devised by George R. Brown, an American railway superintendent. It consists, in essence, of keeping a record of each employee in the service, with a method of debit and credit marks for delinquencies or special efficiency. The employee is not suspended for minor offences, but is discharged or promoted on the basis of his record as a whole for a specific period. The Brown system is sometimes spoken of as "discipline by record" or "discipline without suspension."

Buck Stove and Range Case. An historic episode in American labor annals, of particular importance with reference to the use of the BOYCOTT and the INJUNCTION in labor disputes. In 1907 the Buck Stove and Range Company became involved in trouble with its molders. A strike and a boycott followed, the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR including the name of the company in its "We Don't Patronize" column, or UNFAIR LIST, of "The American Federationist." A sweeping injunction against this and other actions of the Federation was secured by the company, and later three high officials of the Federation were sentenced to prison terms for violation of this injunction. After legal proceedings lasting for more than

three years, the Supreme Court set aside the judgment of imprisonment.

Buck System. See BERKSHIRE SYSTEM.

Buffer Employment. Temporary work provided for persons thrown out of jobs in a SEASONAL OCCUPATION or in a period of industrial depression or readjustment. Buffer employment usually consists of work upon public improvements of various sorts.

Builders' Parliament. See BUILDING TRADES PARLIAMENT.

Building and Loan Associations. This form of cooperative credit association, found chiefly in the United States, is intended to aid wage earners and small salaried workers in acquiring homes of their own. Small sums of money are collected on the instalment plan from all members, and then loaned to individual members who wish to purchase or build homes. (See CREDIT COOPERATION.)

Building Trades Councils. Local, district, and state bodies, representative of such trade unions in the building industries as are affiliated with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and its BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT—by which latter organization the councils are chartered. In the case of local councils (the most numerous and important type) it is provided that "the jurisdiction of this council shall completely cover the building industry either in erection, repair or alteration, and this council is endowed with full autonomy over all matters affecting all workmen engaged in said industry, when in conformity with the laws and decisions of the Building Trades Department." The functions of such councils are to determine local JURISDICTION and to discipline local unions for violations; to act for the locals in making local agreements with employers; to act together in disciplining employers by strike or otherwise; and to assist employers in securing and maintaining monopoly of the field. Each council has its own officers and executive council, and as a rule one or more BUSINESS AGENTS who "have power to order all strikes when instructed to do so by the council or executive board." An effective part of the council's machinery is the "board of business agents," the members of which keep watch for each other of violations of union rules, formulate and present demands, and to a considerable degree control relations with employers. In addition to the local councils, district councils or conference boards may be formed "where two or more local unions of an affiliated international organization exist under the jurisdiction of this council." State

councils may be formed and chartered by the Building Trades Department "in any state or territory of the United States or province of Canada, provided that a majority of the chartered local councils shall have made application therefor, and they shall have power to make their own laws in conformity with the laws of this Department." (See TRADES COUNCIL—AMERICAN.)

Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Organized 1908, under a constitution of which the first two sections are as follows: "(1) This organization shall be . . . composed of national and international building trades organizations, recognized as such, duly and regularly chartered by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. Membership shall be confined to national and international building trades organizations that are affiliated with the Federation, and which are universally employed in the building industry, either in erection, repair, or alteration. (2) The object of this body shall be the encouragement and formation of local organizations of building tradesmen, and the conferring of such power and authority upon the several locals of this Department as may advance the interest and welfare of the building industry; to adjust trade disputes along practical lines as they arise from time to time and to create a more harmonious feeling between the employer and employee; to issue charters to national and international unions, state and local BUILDING TRADES COUNCILS for the purpose of attending to building trades matters." The delimiting of JURISDICTION in the building trades is one of the most important functions of this Department. Its constitution stipulates that "each affiliated organization shall be required to submit a written statement covering the extent and character of its trade jurisdiction, and when allowed by the Executive Council and approved by the general convention, no encroachment by other trades will be countenanced or tolerated." (See DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; NATIONAL BOARD FOR JURISDICTIONAL AWARDS.)

Building Trades Parliament. A recently organized INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL for the building industry of Great Britain. It differs from the WHITLEY PLAN in providing not merely for "a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen," but in its effort to build up "a new and better industrial order." It consists of 132 members, one half elected by the trade unions and half by the associations of building-trade employers. It makes decisions by a majority of the whole council, instead of following the Whitley council practice of requiring a majority on each side.

Bulgarian General Federation of Trade Unions. See ZENTRALVERBAND DER BULGARISCHEN GEWERKSCHAFTEN.

Bull System. It is not uncommon for American railroads and other quasi-public corporations to maintain a permanent private police force. This is known among workers as the "bull system" —"bull" being a common slang designation for a policeman. In differentiation from a city or state police officer, a private policeman is usually termed a "company bull," "railroad bull," etc. (See POLICING OF INDUSTRY.)

Bummery. After the split in the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD organization in 1908 the Detroit or POLITICAL ACTION wing applied this derisive nickname to the Chicago or DIRECT ACTION wing—the present I. W. W. The name originated in a popular I. W. W. song with a refrain beginning "Hallelujah, I'm a bum."

Bureau International du Travail. See INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. One of the five permanent bureaus of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. It was formally organized January 1, 1885, as the Bureau of Labor in the Department of the Interior, and was made an independent department in 1888 as a "Department of Labor," but without Cabinet representation. In 1903 it was renamed the "Bureau of Labor" and placed in the Department of Commerce and Labor. Upon the creation of the present Department of Labor in 1913, this bureau was transferred to it, and the title changed to "Bureau of Labor Statistics." The fact-gathering bureau of the Department, its function is to gather, collate, and report statistics of labor, and generally to disseminate labor information. Besides an important periodical, the "Monthly Labor Review," the Bureau publishes numerous bulletins, reports, monographs, etc., relating to all phases of the labor movement, both here and abroad. It aids in standardizing state labor legislation and administration, in establishing and reorganizing state statistical departments, in providing state labor bureaus, members of Congress, and other bodies and persons with needed labor facts, etc., etc. The principal officers of the Bureau are a Commissioner of Labor Statistics and a Chief Statistician.

Bureau voor de Roomsche Katholicke Vakorgenisatie (Bureau of the Roman Catholic Organizations). See DUTCH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Bureaus of Labor. Permanent government offices for the investigation of labor matters, in particular the collection of statistics regarding wages, hours, and conditions of labor. The first government bureau of labor was established by Massachusetts in 1869. Since then similar bureaus, under various names, have been established by the Federal government, by some forty state governments, and by nearly all prominent foreign governments.

Bureaucracy. Literally, government by bureaus; in ordinary usage a term of opprobrium for the excessive multiplication of, and concentration of power in, administrative bureaus of any sort. Bureaucracy implies a minute subdivision of functions; inflexible formality and pride of place on the part of administrators; and official interference in many of the properly private concerns of life. The evils of bureaucracy are commonly considered to be inherent in any scheme of STATE SOCIALISM. Some of its characteristics are occasionally found within the labor movement itself—generally in the case of old and conservative trade unions of the craft type, where control has become strongly centralized.

Bureaux Paritaires. Public LABOR EXCHANGES in France, organized by an agreement between employers and employees. Great care is taken to preserve their character of impartiality. The governing board is composed of an equal number of members elected by the respective interests, and the presiding officer belongs to neither interest. The exchanges are directed to receive demands for workers from employers' associations and to send employees directly to the office of the employer, not to the association making the requisition, in order to avoid any suspicion of recruiting labor through private exchanges.

Burial Money. See DEATH BENEFITS.

Business Agent. The paid representative of a local trade union or other labor body, whose function it is to look after all "outside" interests of the union, particularly the relations of union members with their employers. In some unions the business agent also performs certain duties ordinarily left to the SHOP STEWARD, such as collecting union dues, detecting and calling attention to violations of TRADE AGREEMENTS, and preventing the employment of non-union workers in union shops. In addition, he sometimes fulfills the functions of an employment agency. "Employers who need additional journeymen apply to him in the early morning hours before he starts on his round of visits from one establishment to another,

and he dispatches such men as are out of work to fill the vacant places. As an ORGANIZER he seeks to persuade workmen to join the union. Frequently he acts as financial secretary. Sometimes when the union pays sick benefits he visits sick members to determine their eligibility to receive such benefits." The office of business agent exists in only a minority of LOCALS. A local must have considerable strength before it can afford the expense, and in many trades the need is hardly felt. The office plays an especially large part in the building trades. "In his capacity of employment agent for the union the business agent is able, if not quite upright, to serve his special friends, and so to make it worth while for members who are or may be out of jobs to consult his desires. As the representative of the union in dealing with employers, he is able to bring the organization without the previous consent of the members, into positions from which it cannot easily retreat. In some unions he has power to order strikes. Even when this power is not formally granted, his advice to quit work will often produce the same effect. On the other hand, the business agent may sometimes take it upon himself to make agreements with employers on behalf of the union. The union is likely to repudiate such agreements if they do not meet its views; but the employers blame the union in such cases, and consider that it has violated its obligations. So long as he holds his place, therefore, the business agent has a large power for good or evil. The living of his fellow-members depends upon his wisdom and his honesty. But they realize it, and they watch him with the eyes of a jealous master. If they come to believe that he is either rash or foolish or dishonest his authority will be quickly ended." (See WALKING DELEGATE; TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—LOCAL; BUILDING TRADES COUNCILS; AGITATOR; DISTRICT UNION.)

Business Engineering. See SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

Business Unionism. The functional type of labor organization which, in Professor R. F. Hoxie's characterization, "is essentially trade-conscious, rather than class-conscious. That is to say, it expresses the viewpoint and interests of the workers in a craft or industry rather than those of the working class as a whole. It aims chiefly at more, here and now, for the organized workers of the craft or industry, in terms mainly of higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions, regardless for the most part of the welfare of the workers outside the particular organic group, and regardless in general of political and social considerations, except in so far as these bear directly upon its own economic ends." Business

unionism depends mainly upon COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, favors voluntary ARBITRATION and MUTUAL INSURANCE, and as a rule deprecates strikes and avoids POLITICAL ACTION. It tends to be conservative and exclusive, seeking merely to improve its own position within the existing economic system. The RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS are perhaps the best exemplars of business unionism in the United States, although the type is dominant in the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR as well. (See PURE AND SIMPLE UNIONISM; OLD UNIONISM; CORPORATISME.)

Button. See WORKING BUTTON.

Button Strike. Among American coal-miners, members of the union "in good standing" usually wear WORKING BUTTONS, issued by the union. In many cases these union members have refused to work with men not wearing buttons—thus precipitating what is called a "button strike." Such strikes were at one time of considerable frequency.

Butty or Charter-Master System. Under this form of the CONTRACT SYSTEM, once common and still occasionally found in certain sections of the British coal-mining industry, different parts of the mine are let out to working contractors, who hire the coal-hewers to work with and under them. The "butty-man" or "charter-master," as the working contractor was called, paid his gang a daily time wage, but was himself paid on the basis of output; hence he would naturally always have an interest in speeding-up the hewers, since the faster they worked the larger would be his profits. A modified form of this system is found, or was formerly found, in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. The "butty system" is sometimes known as the "butty-gang system." (See Boss MINER.)

Butty-Gang System. See BUTTY SYSTEM.

By-Laws. In some labor unions the WORKING RULES formulated by the national organization are supplemented by local or district "by-laws," which cover in more detailed form the various regulations in regard to terms and conditions of employment which must be observed by members of the union and by employers in the particular locality or district concerned.

Bye-Turnman. In the British iron industry (and perhaps in other trades as well) this is the common designation for an extra or relief worker who frequents a particular works and is given habitual although irregular employment whenever he is needed. (See ON-AND-OFF SYSTEM.)

C

C. G. L. See CONFEDERAZIONE GENERALE DEL LAVORO.

C. G. T. As most commonly used, these initials refer to the CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL, the leading labor body of France. In connection with Spanish labor affairs, they refer to the CONFEDERACION GENERAL DEL TRABAJO, the largest labor body in Spain.

C. I. L. See CONFEDERAZIONE ITALIANA DEI LAVORATORI.

C. S. B. See COMMISSION SYNDICALE BELGE.

Ca' Canny. This Scotch phrase, meaning to "go easy" or act cautiously, is applied in labor circles to the practice on a worker's part of intentionally slackening the speed of production by various methods not readily apparent to the foreman or employer. As generally practiced, ca' canny is one of the milder forms of SABOTAGE —a policy adopted to injure the employer and express dissatisfaction. This policy is indicated in the French motto, "a bad day's work for a bad day's pay." On the other hand, however, ca' canny may be merely a form of protection against SPEEDING UP, or a measure adopted in a period of slack work to prevent or lessen UNEMPLOYMENT. It may also be used for the purpose of keeping up PIECE WORK prices or BASE TIME allowances. As distinguished from STRIKING ON THE JOB, it usually denotes a fairly continuous policy, rather than a method of dealing with a particular situation at a particular time; although this distinction is not always maintained in current usage. Ca' canny has seldom, if ever, received the sanction of trade union leaders, and is generally denounced by them whenever practiced. "Go canny" is an alternate form of the phrase; while the term "go easy system" is often used in the same sense. (See CONSCIENTIOUS WITHDRAWAL OF EFFICIENCY; WORK-TO-RULE MOVEMENT; LIMITATION OF OUTPUT.)

Caisse de Chômage. See FONDS NATIONALE DE CAISSE.

Caisse de Secours-Mutuel. The fund of a French SYNDICAT, or local trade union, from which sick benefits are paid to union members, is so called. Only a small proportion of the *syndicats* maintain such funds.

Call Book. See HOUSE OF CALL SYSTEM.

Camera del Lavoro (Chamber of Labor). In Italy, an organization representative of the various labor bodies in a particular town or district, and corresponding in general to the French BOURSE DU TRAVAIL. Since 1891 the *camere del lavoro* have been the chief centres and sources of Italian working-class activity. They collect information about employment, promote new labor legislation and the enforcement of existing laws, and negotiate with employers, direct strikes, and perform various other functions. Until 1896 the municipalities contributed to their funds, but since that date such subsidies have been illegal. Not trade unions only, but cooperative societies, etc., are affiliated with the *camere del lavoro*. While at first non-political and inclusive in character, there has been a marked development of late among the *camere* to divide along the lines of the current political-social schisms, each faction establishing its own *camera* as a centre for political activities. Thus in Rome there are now four rival *camere del lavoro*, while many other of the larger towns have three. (See ITALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Camps. See LABOR CAMPS.

Canadian Department of Labor. One of the main executive departments of the Dominion government, presided over by a Minister of Labor, a Deputy Minister, and other officials. This department administers the labor laws of Canada, fixes FAIR WAGE schedules to be inserted in government contracts; collects and classifies statistical and other information relating to conditions of labor; and publishes monthly "The Labor Gazette" and periodically special bulletins on trade and labor conditions, prices, labor legislation, etc.

Canadian Federation of Labor. See CANADIAN LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. A measure (otherwise known as the Lemieux Act) adopted by the Dominion Parliament in 1907, which provides for the COMPULSORY INVESTIGATION of disputes in a certain class of industries "affected with a public interest" (coal-mining, public utilities, etc.). The Act makes it unlawful to change the terms of employment or to declare a strike

or lockout in such industries without thirty days' notice or (if appeal is taken to the Minister of Labor within that time) while an investigation is going on. Upon application, the Minister of Labor appoints a special board to investigate the dispute and if possible to effect CONCILIATION between the disputants. This board consists of three members—one nominated by the employer, one by the workers, and an IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN selected by these two or (in case of failure to agree) by the Minister of Labor. If the board fails to effect a settlement, it issues a report of its investigation and findings, relying upon the force of public opinion to bring the side at fault into acceptance of the "impartial" award. After such report is issued, the terms of employment may be changed, and a strike or lockout declared. This Act served as a model for the COLORADO INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION LAW and for similar legislation in other countries.

Canadian Labor Organizations. The majority of trade unionists in Canada are members of local branches of international unions whose headquarters are in the United States or (in two or three cases) England. In 1920 there were 99 international unions with Canadian branches, the latter's membership aggregating 260,000. A considerable proportion of such branches, with an aggregate membership in September, 1920, of 173,463, are federated in the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, the "official" national labor body of Canada. This organization is modelled to a considerable degree after the British TRADES UNION CONGRESS, being largely a medium for debate, with little if any control over industrial policy. It works in close cooperation with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR—to which it is in part subordinate. The principal labor bodies of Canada opposed to the international plan of organization are the National Catholic Union, confined to Roman Catholic workers residing chiefly in the province of Quebec and claiming 35,000 members; and the Canadian Federation of Labor, made up of some twenty unions in Quebec and Toronto, which has made no great headway as yet, having only about 5000 members in 1920. There are also other "independent" unions having none but local federations. Although the I. W. W. has always claimed a considerable Canadian membership, the radical labor movement is chiefly represented by the ONE BIG UNION, organized in 1919—originally as a secession movement from the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress. The One Big Union has made rapid headway, chiefly in the Western provinces, and in 1920 it claimed a member-

ship of 70,000. The conservative labor movement of Canada is represented on the political side in the various Independent Labor Parties which have been formed in every province except one. The radical elements are chiefly represented by the Socialist Party of Canada, a revolutionary socialist body whose main strength is in the West.

Can't Strike Law. See COLORADO INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION LAW.

Capital Sharing. A term sometimes applied to the plan of permitting the employees of an industrial enterprise to share in the ownership of the enterprise through the acquirement of shares of stock—either by means of purchase, often on easy terms or at a reduced rate, or in lieu of cash or deferred payments due the workers under some plan of PROFIT SHARING. When all the stock is owned by the workers, the term "capital sharing" is of course not applicable; the enterprise in that case becomes a cooperative one. (See LABOR COPARTNERSHIP; INDUSTRIAL PARTNERSHIP.)

Capitalism or Capitalistic System. A general designation for the latest stage in modern industrial development, consisting in essence of a system in which the comparatively few possessors of capital are the dominant economic power, owning and controlling the means of production; the mass of the people, although "free" laborers, being dependent wholly upon the wages allowed them for their work by the capitalist class. The effects of the capitalistic system upon labor are well summarized in Groat's "Organized Labor in America" as follows: "Production is indirect. Tools have yielded to machines. These in turn have grown more complex and interrelated until machinery has a meaning somewhat different from machine. Further, machinery has merged into plants. These vast complexes of capital goods dominate modern industry. In them is carried to a point hitherto undreamed of the DIVISION OF LABOR and subdivision of processes. There are many meanings to such a situation. One is that labor has been made more dependent upon conditions. Time was when labor was the shaping factor in industry and tools and implements were assistants. Now the relation is quite reversed. Capital dominates and labor assists. This new situation is important in at least three particulars. First: there is a separation of the workman from his tools. These tools are now parts of an industrial plant. Without them labor is ineffective. With them production is enormously stimulated. But empty-handed

labor is at a tremendous disadvantage. Second: men formerly produced for purposes of consumption. The relation was very direct. Now production is much more indirectly related to consumption. Formerly the laborer saw the result of his labor growing into a product the disposition of which, if not its consumption, would lie largely in his own hands. Labor now works for wages, scarcely knowing what it is producing. Its chief concern now is not the 'creation of utilities,' but rather it is getting and keeping a 'job.' Third: (and naturally following from these two) the workman is dependent upon others for the opportunity to work." No one who wishes to think straight on economic and industrial matters should confuse "capital" with "capitalism." The former is a permanent economic entity; the latter is an artificial and probably transient system resulting from the private ownership and control, to the present time, of that entity. It is capitalism, not capital, which SOCIALISM and the REVOLUTIONARY LABOR MOVEMENT seek to abolish. Socialism, in fact, would enormously extend and strengthen the legitimate functions of capital; and the popular conception of a fundamental antagonism between "labor" and "capital" is merely a widespread fiction, based on false definitions and careless thinking. (See ABSENTEE CAPITALISM; LABOR; SURPLUS VALUE THEORY; EXPLOITATION; PROFITS SYSTEM; WAGE SLAVERY.)

Captains of Industry. An expression often applied to employers of labor on a large scale. It implies the conception of "labor" as forming the rank and file of a huge industrial army, of which the employers of labor are the directing and responsible officers. (See ENTREPRENEUR; LABOR LIEUTENANTS.)

Card Inspector. See SHOP STEWARD.

Card Men. Those members of any labor organization who carry DUE CARDS, WORKING CARDS, or other proof of union membership "in good standing," are often so called.

Card System. Among American trade unionists, this term is commonly used with specific reference to the system of TRANSFER CARDS and TRAVELLING CARDS, by which MEMBERS IN GOOD STANDING of a national union may secure entrance into any LOCAL of such union without the usual formalities and expense. In his book on "Admission to American Trade Unions," F. E. Wolfe says: "Through the mechanism of the 'card system' a local union under the national pact was bound to admit worthy members and to exclude offending workmen of other unions. Each member in good standing by ob-

taining a 'card' thus secured a right to admission into any other local union. The advantage of excluding the expelled and anti-union workmen of one local union by others was also obtained through this national cooperation."

Card Vote. See VOTING BY CARD.

Casual Labor. Unskilled help, employed and discharged at frequent intervals, and dependent upon the varying demand of the LABOR MARKET from day to day, without any prospect of continuous employment. Such workers are commonly referred to as "casuals." According to Drage's "The Unemployed," casual labor "is found almost invariably to involve deterioration in both the physique and character of those engaged in it. Their physical strength is reduced by the alternation of longer or shorter periods of work with intervals of slackness and consequent privation. . . . The hopeless hand-to-mouth existence into which they thus tend to drift is of all things least conducive to thrift; self-reliance is weakened, and habits of idleness, unsteadiness and intemperance formed. . . . The effects of such casual work are even more marked in the next generation. Apart from inherited tendencies, the children of this class grow up without any training, technical or moral, such as would fit them to enter a trade, or if they entered it, to remain in it. They are forced to join the ranks of unskilled and casual labor, and thus, under the same influences which beset their parents, they not only become incapable of regular work, but cease to desire it, preferring to pick up a precarious living by means of odd jobs and charity." While all MIGRATORY LABOR is casual labor, the "casual" is by no means always a "migratory." (See DECASUALIZATION; SEASONAL OCCUPATIONS; RESERVE OF LABOR; PARASITIC INDUSTRIES; UNDER-EMPLOYMENT, PORT LABOR COMMITTEES; ROYALS; DOCK WOLLOPERS; SHENANGOES.)

Ce-Ge-Te-ist. An advocate of SYNDICALISM is often thus designated. The term is derived from the initials of the CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL, within which body the syndicalist philosophy largely developed.

Cedar Rapids Plan. In 1895, representatives of the four principal RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS adopted a joint agreement providing that the chairmen of the GRIEVANCE COMMITTEES of the several brotherhoods represented on any one railway system might constitute a general federated committee for that system, with certain powers of independent action in the settlement of grievances, calling of

strikes, etc. This scheme of SYSTEM FEDERATION is commonly known as the "Cedar Rapids plan." (See BROTHERHOOD COOPERATIONS.)

Central Body. As generally understood in the American labor movement, this term denotes a city federation of labor (more commonly known as a CITY CENTRAL), but it is also occasionally used in designation of a STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR as well. These two forms of federation are sometimes differentiated as "local central body" and "state central body"; but, as a rule, the term "central body" denotes a city federation.

Central Competitive Field. See INTERSTATE JOINT CONFERENCES IN THE COAL-MINING INDUSTRY.

Central Executive or National Executive. The governing council of a British national trade union is thus designated. As described by G. D. H. Cole, "National Executive Councils are mostly bodies which meet periodically at quarterly or even rarer intervals, and consist of members who are actually working at their trades. Such bodies naturally cannot superintend effectively the day-to-day work of their Societies, which falls more and more under the control of the Head Office officials. To the Executive, however, are referred matters of general importance, and especially all matters which cannot be dealt with in accordance with precedents already laid down. They are, in a sense, the supreme executive bodies of their Societies; but their supremacy may usually be seriously threatened by a strong-minded GENERAL SECRETARY. This is not the case where the Executive Council is a full-time body, sitting as a permanent Cabinet of officers; but there are only two Unions in which such Executives exist. In these cases the Executive tends rather to reduce the general secretary and the other officials to a secondary position, and to assume wide powers in the direction of the Union's policy." (See BRITISH TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION.)

Central Labor College. A British institution for WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION in the social sciences—economics, history, sociology, and philosophic logic. It was founded in 1909 (originally in Oxford, now in London), as a radical secession movement from RUSKIN COLLEGE. Since 1914 it has been controlled and largely financed by two prominent British trade unions—the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Rai waymen. In addition to its residential courses, the college also carries on a system of tutorial lecture classes in other centres and a correspondence department. The students in residence do part of the housework of the college,

which is governed by the most rigid discipline. Up to this time the Central Labor College has been conspicuously a Marxian socialist institution. (See PLEBS LEAGUE.)

Central Labor Union. See CITY CENTRAL.

Centrale d'Education Ouvrière (Belgian). See WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.

Centralization, Decentralization. In the labor movement, these terms commonly refer to the amount or degree of authority vested in the central organization of a national labor body, considered in relation to the authority vested in its local branches. If wholly or mainly vested in the former, the organization is said to be "centralized"; if in the latter, it is said to be "decentralized." (See AUTONOMY.)

Centralno Radnitchko Sindikalno Vetche (Central Trade Union Council). The governing body of the radical trade unions and workers of Jugo-Slavia, representing an affiliated membership of 250,000 in 1920. It works in close cooperation with the Communist Party. The Social Democratic workers of Jugo-Slavia are federated in a rival body called the General Workers' Federation, with about 10,000 members.

Centre. That group in any organized movement or body which represents liberal or compromise opinion and policies, occupying a middle position between the radical LEFT and the conservative RIGHT. Members of this group are usually called "centrists."

Centrists. See CENTRE.

Ceremonial in Trade Unionism. Many of the early labor organizations, both in England and the United States, were essentially secret societies, patterned in large part after the masonic and other fraternal orders of the time. The mystery which surrounds the masonic orders, the elaborate ceremonial, and the gorgeous regalia have proved attractive to many trade unionists, who still retain these features in their organizations. It is felt that rituals and ceremonies, particularly in connection with initiations, have a valuable effect in binding members more closely to the organization; while the system of "grips," "signs," and "passwords" helps greatly to exclude spies and other hostile elements from union meetings. The use of such terms as "lodge," "grand lodge," "grand master," "chaplain," "inner" and "outer" "guards" or "sentinels," "warden," "marshall," etc., is of course copied from the masonic orders.

Chambers of Labor. See BOURSES DU TRAVAIL; CAMERA DEL LAVORO; ARBEITERKAMMERN; KAMERS VAN ARBEID.

Chambre Consultative des Associations Ouvrières de Production. See ASSOCIATIONS OUVRIÈRES DE PRODUCTION.

Chapel. A form of organization of long standing in the printing trades; consisting of all the printers in a particular shop or establishment, who meet regularly to consider matters relating to wages, working conditions, etc. It is so called because of the fact that Caxton set up the first English printing press in a disused chapel of Westminister Abbey. The presiding workman is styled "father of the chapel." In the International Typographical Union, the chapel is in reality a SUB-LOCAL, or the smallest unit of organization. A chapel is formed in each separate shop employing three or more workers. The chapel elects a chairman and a secretary, and the chairman is the representative of the employees in that shop in all transactions with the employers. He is bound to see that union regulations are strictly complied with, and makes a monthly report to the local union as to such compliance and as to the conditions of the shop generally. The chapel makes recommendations to its local union as to the advisable course of action in disputes with employers. (See CLICKING SYSTEM.)

Character or Character Note. See LEAVING CERTIFICATE.

Charge-Hand. A petty foreman or GANG BOSS is often so called in England.

Charter Fee. One of the two main sources of revenue for a national trade union is the fee charged for issuing charters to local unions when the latter join the national organization. The charter is in effect a certificate of membership, and the sum charged is in effect an INITIATION FEE. The charter fee usually includes provision for a complete outfit of books and stationery, including a seal. In the case of federations of national unions, and similar federated bodies, the constituent units pay charter fees to the federal organization on practically the same basis.

Charter-Master System. See BUTTY SYSTEM.

Chartism. A radical political reform movement in England during the first half of the 19th century, so called from the document (the "People's Charter" or "National Charter") in which the scheme of reforms was embodied. The movement played an important part

in English working-class annals from 1837 to 1842. But while Chartism commanded the support of the vast majority of the manual-working wage-earners, outside the ranks of those who were deeply religious, it is doubtful if the trade unions at any time became part and parcel of the movement.

Chasse aux Renard (Hunting the Fox). In France, where PICKETING is illegal, various clandestine methods are followed by workmen on strike to prevent SCABS and BLACKLEGS from taking their places. These methods are collectively known in labor circles under the slang phrase, *chasse aux renard*, or (in English) "hunting the fox."

Check-Docking Boss. See DOCKAGE SYSTEM.

Check-Off System. A method, at one time common in the coal-mining industry, by which union dues, fines, assessments, etc., are deducted by the employer from the workers' wages on pay-day and turned over directly to the officers of the union. In addition, the amount due from each miner in remuneration of the CHECKWEIGHER and "check-docking boss" was often deducted in similar fashion. The term "check-off system" is also sometimes applied to the method of deducting from the worker's wages amounts due the employer for merchandise bought in a COMPANY STORE, rent for occupancy of a company house, fees for COMPANY DOCTORS, and similar charges.

Check Steward. See STEWARD.

Checkweigher or **Checkweighman.** In connection with the common practice of paying coal miners according to the weight of the coal they produce, it is customary for the workers of a mine to appoint a paid agent who checks the weighing of coal by the company, keeps a full and independent record of each man's work, and protects the miners' interests in all matters connected with the weighing process. The checkweigher system has played an important part in the history of miners' organizations. In England, after a bitter struggle lasting for several decades, the system was fully established by a Parliamentary act in 1887, confirmed in 1911. According to Webb's "History of Trade Unionism," "its recognition and promotion of collective action by the men has been a direct incitement to combination. The compulsory levy, upon the whole pit, of the cost of maintaining the agent whom a bare majority could decide to appoint has practically found, for each colliery, a

branch secretary free of expense to the Union. But the result upon the character of the officials has been even more important. The checkweigher has to be a man of character insensible to the bullying or blandishments of manager or employers. He must be of strictly regular habits, accurate and businesslike in mind, and quick at figures. The ranks of the checkweighers serve thus as an admirable recruiting ground from which a practically inexhaustible supply of efficient Trade Union secretaries or labor representatives can be drawn." In England, the checkweighman has also the legal right to act as an inspector of mines. The checkweigher system prevails in some other industries also, where the workers' wages depend upon the weight or quantity of output. (See TURN LIST.)

Chicago I. W. W. See INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Chief Deputy. See DEPUTIES.

Child Labor. This term usually refers to the employment of children under sixteen years of age in any form of industrial operations, where the primary motive is that of profit rather than of training. Even at the beginning of the 19th century, according to Francis A. Walker, children of five and even of three years of age were employed in English factories and brickyards. These conditions have gradually been improved, until at present the public conscience generally approves a minimum age-limit of fourteen years and the requirement of EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES until sixteen, with compulsory school attendance up to fourteen and from that age until sixteen if a child is not employed. In the United States child labor is employed most extensively in textile factories, particularly the southern cotton mills, and in agriculture. But considerable numbers of children are utilized in the manufacture of clothing, especially in SWEAT SHOPS, and also in glass factories, as well as in a variety of other employments, such as the making of artificial flowers, feathers, neckties, cigars, paper and wooden boxes, picture frames, furniture, boots and shoes. Probably the most serious and far-reaching effect of child labor is the prevention of normal development, physical and mental. Besides being deprived of the schooling they would otherwise get, children are injured by confinement and sometimes worn out by OVERWORK. In other cases the work is demoralizing because it does not call out the best faculties of the children, or leaves them idle part of the time. It has been found that children are much more liable to accidents in factories than are adults; also that overwork and strain of the muscular and nervous systems are much more serious in children than in adults, and that

children are more susceptible to the poisons and injurious dusts arising in certain processes than are grown persons. Besides the deplorable physical, mental, and moral effects of child labor upon the children, certain widespread economic effects of their employment must be considered. The most serious of these is the displacement of adults by children. Child labor must be counted as one of the important causes of UNEMPLOYMENT among adults. For some particular processes young persons are preferred to adults because of greater nimbleness or manual dexterity; but the principal cause which leads to their employment in place of grown persons is probably the lower wage at which they can be hired. The competition of children with adults in the labor market can hardly fail to have the effect of reducing the wages paid to the latter; and it has been found by actual investigations that, where child labor is most common, the contribution of the children is at least partly offset by a corresponding loss in the earnings of the adults. All states in this country now forbid the employment of children in one or more kinds of work until they have passed a minimum age limit—fourteen years for general factory work in all except five states. Some states set a limit of sixteen or eighteen years for certain DANGEROUS OCCUPATIONS. All the larger European countries have enacted similar legislation. One of the most important acts of the first GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, held at Washington in October, 1919, was the adoption of a draft convention prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years of age in industrial undertakings. (See CHILD WELFARE STANDARDS; HOME WORK; STREET TRADES; HALF-TIME SYSTEM; KEATING-OWEN BILL; CHILD LABOR TAX; CHILDREN'S BUREAU; HOUR LAWS; NIGHT WORK; PROHIBITED EMPLOYMENTS; FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS; FACTORY INSPECTION; FAMILY WAGE; MINIMUM WAGE LAWS; CONSUMERS' LEAGUES; BLIND ALLEY OCCUPATIONS.)

Child Labor Tax. The Federal Revenue Act of 1919 imposes a tax of ten per cent on the entire net profits of any mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment employing children under certain ages or outside of certain established hours of employment. The basis for the tax is employment in a mine or quarry of a child under sixteen years of age; or in a mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment of a child under fourteen years of age; or of a child between fourteen and sixteen for more than eight hours a day, or more than six days a week, or before six o'clock in the morning or after seven o'clock in the

evening. The law creates a Child Labor Tax Board, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the SECRETARY OF LABOR, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, for the purpose of formally determining some of the important questions pertaining to the enforcement of the law, which became effective April 25, 1919. The immediate purpose of this tax is to make the employment of children in American industry unprofitable. A previous Congressional measure directed against child labor, the KEATING-OWEN BILL, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1918; and it was therefore necessary for Congress to base its attack upon wholly different grounds, as provided in its power to levy taxes.

Child Labor Tax Board. See CHILD LABOR TAX.

Child Welfare Standards. In May, 1919, the Child Welfare Congress held under the auspices of the CHILDREN'S BUREAU of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR formulated the following minimum standards: (1) Age requirement of sixteen years before beginning work; (2) full time education between the ages of seven and sixteen, and part time up to age of eighteen; (3) certificate of physical fitness as a prerequisite to issuance of a working certificate.

Children's Bureau. Created by act of April 9, 1912, as a part of the Federal Department of Commerce and Labor, this Bureau was transferred to the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR when that Department was separately organized in March, 1913. The act creating the Bureau provides that it shall investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, DANGEROUS OCCUPATIONS, accidents, diseases of children, employment, and legislation affecting children in the several states and territories. Notwithstanding the miserly financial support accorded it by Congress, the Bureau has initiated and conducted a wide variety of activities, the importance of which could scarcely be over-estimated.

Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers. A permanent home for sick and needy members of the printing and allied crafts, maintained since 1892 at Colorado Springs by the International Typographical Union. A gift of $10,000 from George W. Childs and A. J. Drexel of Philadelphia was used as a basis for the home, but most of the preliminary cost was met by the union, which also bears the entire running expenses. The home is open to all union

printers who are recommended for its benefits by local unions and deemed eligible by the central board of trustees. No payment is made and no work is performed by the inmates.

Chinese Exclusion Laws. Beginning in 1882, Congress has passed several laws the purpose of which is to prevent the IMMIGRATION of Chinese laborers. Several classes of persons are specifically exempted from the provisions of the law. These are, (1) any Chinese laborer who is registered and who has "a lawful wife, child or parent in the United States, or property therein of the value of one thousand dollars, or debts of like amount due him and pending settlement," (2) "officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travellers for curiosity or pleasure," and (3) wives and minor children of members of the exempt classes. Chinese born in this country belong to the class of so-called "native sons" and are, of course, entitled to admission at any time. Chinese laborers must be registered, and must obtain before departure from this country certificates showing the right to return, which, however, are good for only one year. Members of the second exempt class, officials, teachers, students, merchants, and travellers, must have certificates from their own government viséd by a diplomatic or consular representative of the United States. All Chinese found unlawfully in this country are deported. According to the 1920 report of the IMMIGRATION BUREAU, "the Chinese exclusion law has been modified by court decisions to such an extent as in large measure to defeat its purpose of preventing Chinese from entering the labor market of this country." (See COOLIE LABOR; ASIATIC BARRED ZONE.)

Chinese Labor in the United States. See COOLIE LABOR.

Chinese Labor Organizations. Although labor in China can not be said to be organized in the sense that labor in Europe and America is organized, there have been in China from time immemorial guilds which have played an important part in the life of the people. These guilds are composed either of natives of the same province or town, or merchants or craftsmen in the same line of business. They have, speaking generally, not concerned themselves so much with rates of wages or labor conditions as with the protection of their members against official exactions and the rendering of assistance in money or kind in time of trouble. Of late years, and more especially since the war, these guilds have increased in number, and in a place like Shanghai they now embrace almost every form of labor, skilled and unskilled. Chinese trade unionism, in the Western sense of that term, began with the revolution in 1911,

and has made noticeable progress since 1919. The movement centres chiefly in Shanghai and the ports, but it is still of a very weak and sporadic character. A so-called "All-China Federation of Trade Unions" maintains headquarters in Shanghai, although no definite details as to its scope and structure are available.

Christelyk National Vakverbond (Christian National Federation). See DUTCH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Christian Socialism. A movement to apply Christian ethics to social reform, and to supplant industrial competition by co-operative effort and MUTUAL AID; originating in England about 1848–1852, and led by Frederick Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and others. It is distinguished from SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM in its aversion to the CLASS STRUGGLE, and from orthodox Christianity in its contempt for private property. The Christian socialists rendered important aid to the English trade union movement of their time. Various forms of social theory exist in several countries today under the name of Christian socialism, differing not only from the original movement but among themselves. However, it is the original English movement that is usually denoted by this term. (See SOCIALISM.)

Christian Unions. In most of the continental European countries, where the trade unions are predominantly socialistic in aims and policies, a more or less formidable labor element is organized in the so-called "Christian unions," which are fostered by the churches and are strongly anti-socialistic. Sometimes these unions consist wholly of Roman Catholic workers; but more often, perhaps, they are open to Protestants also. Occasionally, as in Holland, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant workers are separately organized. (See BLACK UNIONS; WHITE UNIONS; CHRISTLICHEN GEWERKSCHAFTEN.)

Christlichen Gewerkschaften (Christian Trade Unions). These German labor organizations were started in 1893, chiefly as a means of preventing the Roman Catholic workers from entering into the centralized unions (ZENTRALVERBÄNDE) and thus running the danger of being permeated with Social Democratic principles. The Christian trade unions are at one with the Hirsch-Duncker GEWERKVEREINE in declaring that there should be perfect harmony between employers and employed, and their leaders are the relentless opponents of Social Democratic ideas. Nevertheless, occasions have arisen when the members of the Christian trade unions have taken united action with those of the centralized unions in strikes and lockouts.

The Christian trade unions have made much more substantial progress than the Hirsch-Duncker *Gewerkverine*, though they are still insignificant in comparison with the huge *Zentralverbände*. The bulk of the members are miners, textile operatives, metal workers, building trades workers, and railway men. In 1919 the Christian unions formed an alliance with the Trade Union of Non-Manual Workers and the Union of German Officials, for the purpose of opposing class warfare and internationalism and promoting "national ideals." This alliance was reported to represent a combined membership of 1,700,000 at the end of 1919. The Christian unions alone had a membership in 1919 of one million.

Citizens' Alliances. In some of the larger American cities this title is sometimes assumed by local associations formed for the chief purpose of opposing organized labor. Such an association does not restrict membership to employers, but admits citizens in all walks of life. The only qualifications are that "the applicant be not a member of any labor organization which resorts to boycotting or any form of coercion or unlawful force," and that he be recommended by two members of the alliance. These organizations are frequently started by employers to secure cooperation of citizens generally, and are considered more effective than associations composed only of employers in combating trade unionism in particular localities. The membership is representative of all classes of citizens, and the executive committee is able to bring pressure to bear wherever it may be most needed. In some places there are two organizations, an employers' association and the citizens' alliance. Many employers are members of both, and they often get their trusted employees to join the alliance.

Citizenship Training Division. See NATURALIZATION BUREAU.

City Central. In the American labor movement, a delegate body representative of the various local unions in a single city and (usually) the outlying districts. "It embraces unrelated trades, and has no other bond of union than the general notion of the unity of the whole working class. Because of the lack of close relation between the employments of its members, a SYMPATHETIC STRIKE, if it should recommend one, would not be an efficient weapon. It does not as a rule directly raise funds for the support of the contests of its constituent unions. Its actual economic activity is almost limited to the BOYCOTT, and to pressure upon employers enforced

by fear of the boycott. It has, however, a second sphere of activity in POLITICAL ACTION. The conditions of labor in public employments offer a legitimate and important field for it, and there are many legal regulations which interest the working people as citizens, and upon which, perhaps, they can best exert an influence through some such organization." Delegates to the city central are usually elected on a proportional basis; there is commonly a permanent staff of administrative officers; and regular meetings are held weekly or less frequently. Most, but not all, city centrals are affiliated with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and are entitled to direct representation in the annual conventions of that body. As a general rule, city centrals have no autonomous power, but exist for mutual discusssion, education, and joint action in connection with local affairs involving or affecting labor interests. They are known in different cities under a great variety of names, of which "central labor union" and "city federation of labor" are perhaps the most common.

City Federation of Labor. See CITY CENTRAL.

Civic Federation. See NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

Clarté. A French word meaning "clearness," "light"; the name of an international association of INTELLECTUALS, who seek to form a world-wide federal cooperative commonwealth or "an Internationale of ideas working with and for the INTERNATIONALE of labor." The organization was started in France soon after the close of the recent war, and it now has sections or branches in several other countries.

Class Consciousness. According to the American socialist, Morris Hillquit, the inhabitants of every country "may always be divided into several groups of persons with reference to their source of income or mode of acquiring the material means of their existence. Within each group the single individuals may strive for the largest possible share of the common income; but as against all the other elements of society, each of such groups is interested in the maintenance and increase of its special revenue or material wealth. Each of such social groups constitutes a separate 'class' of society, and the characteristic features of every class are these: its individual members are united in their general economic interest with each other, and as a whole they are opposed to all other classes contending with them for their share of the national wealth." The existence of such classes thus creates the instincts commonly designated "class consciousness," "class solidarity," "class antagonism," etc., which play so

large a part in the social movements of the times. (See CLASS STRUGGLE; BOURGEOISE; PROLETARIAT; MIDDLE CLASS.)

Class Solidarity. See CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

Class Struggle or **Class War.** The Marxian theory that modern industrial society divides into two main classes—the workers who do not possess, and the possessors who do not work; that the interests of these two classes are inevitably opposed; and that a conflict is steadily being waged between the two for ultimate domination. While the theory of class antagonism was by no means original with the founders of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, Marx was the first to look upon the class struggle as "the driving force in social development," and to argue that socialism was the necessary outcome of the struggle between the two historically developed classes—the PROLETARIAT and the BOURGEOISIE. (See CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.)

Class Unionism. This term is commonly used in two distinct senses. For example, it is sometimes said that the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD are both representative of class unionism; the one because it is mainly composed of skilled craft workers, the other because it consists almost wholly of unskilled "casuals" and "migratories." Class unionism, in this sense, may be defined as the grouping of skilled workers and unskilled workers in separate and to some extent hostile labor organizations. In another sense, however, class unionism is sometimes defined as the policy of uniting in a single organization all the wage-earners of one or more countries, skilled and unskilled alike, regardless of craft, industrial, or indeed any other distinctions. The ONE BIG UNION ideal typifies this second form of class unionism. In explanation of the obvious contradiction between the two forms, it should be noted that the first definition of class unionism has reference to classes within the labor movement—*i. e.*, skilled workers *vs.* unskilled; whereas the second form has reference to classes within society as a whole—*i. e.*, wage-earners *vs.* non-wage-earners. (See INDUSTRIAL UNION.)

Classification. In a labor sense, the grouping of workers (in a single plant or a single industry) according to the various grades or kinds of work which they perform, as a basis for fixing wage scales. Classification may be determined by an employer or a trade union, acting independently, or by the two jointly, or by an arbitration board. It plays a particularly prominent part in the American

railway industry. (See WORKING RULES; NATIONAL AGREEMENTS IN THE RAILWAY INDUSTRY.)

Clayton Act. A Federal anti-trust law passed by Congress in October, 1914, containing certain sections relating to labor which supposedly removed some of the most serious restrictions upon the legal rights of trade unions. These sections first declare that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce, and that nothing in the Federal anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural, or horticultural organizations, or to restrain them from lawfully carrying out their objects, nor shall such organizations be construed to be illegal combinations under the anti-trust laws. The Act somewhat modifies the issuing and enforcing by the Federal courts of INJUNCTIONS in labor disputes, prohibiting their use unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property rights for which there is no adequate remedy at law. Also injunctions shall not be issued against striking and peaceful PICKETING, or boycotting by peaceful and lawful means, and such acts shall not be held to be a violation of any law of the United States. In cases of contempt of court arising under this Act the accused may demand a trial by jury, except in suits prosecuted by the United States or in cases of contempt in or near the presence of the court. Owing to these provisions, the Clayton Act was at first widely hailed by labor leaders as "the charter of American industrial liberty"; but in the light of practical experience, it is now regarded with considerably less enthusiasm. (See DUPLEX PRINTING PRESS CASE.)

Clean Eight-Hour Day. See EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Clear Card or Clearance Card. See TRANSFER CARD.

Clearance Letter. A written statement often given to an employee at the time of leaving a particular employer, usually setting forth the length of time he has been in the service, the kind of work he has done, and why he is leaving. In some cases it is impossible for a worker to secure employment in the same occupation or district without showing a "clean" clearance letter. Thus by openly refusing such a letter to a departing employee, or by using certain secret marks or forms of wording in letters that *are* given, it is alleged that employers are able to use the clearance letter system as a form of BLACKLIST, in the case of "undesirable" workers. The clearance letter is also variously known as a "clearance," "clearance

paper," "clearance line," and "service letter." (See LEAVING CERTIFICATE.)

Clicking System. This term is used in the British printing trade in designation of the method by which compositors on a PIECE WORK basis share in the distribution of what printers call "fat"—that is to say, profitable assignments of work. An official known as the "clicker," frequently appointed and paid by the CHAPEL, hands out the "copy" (manuscript) to the various compositors, and endeavors to see that all share fairly in the "fat." (See COMPANIONSHIP.)

Clocking. The common English equivalent for what is called "timekeeping" in the United States. To "clock on" is to register the time of beginning work; while to "clock off" is to register the time of quitting work. "Timekeeping" in the British sense refers more particularly to the matter of attendance at or absence from work; "bad timekeeping," for example, consists in being frequently absent, either for one day or for several days at a time. (See ABSENTEEISM; TIMEKEEPING COMMITTEE.)

Closed Camp. This name is commonly applied to a LABOR CAMP built upon land owned by the company that employs the workers who live in the camp. Because of this private ownership the company "not only exercises control over the local government, but dictates arbitrarily who shall be permitted to come into or pass through such communities."

Closed Non-Union Shop. See OPEN SHOP; AMERICAN PLAN.

Closed Shop. In the early days of trade unionism, a closed shop was one "closed" to union members by order of a trade union, on account of a strike or boycott or because of a lockout on the employer's part; by the workers' own decision it was "closed" to union workers. Gradually, however, this meaning has come to be entirely reversed. As generally understood among trade unionists today, the closed shop may be defined as "a shop in which only members of the union claiming jurisdiction are allowed to retain employment." In its simplest form, as enforced by an exclusive and selfish CRAFT UNION, this is the prototype of the autocratic employer's so-called "open shop"—the shop which is open only to non-unionists. But in actual practice, most closed shops are conducted under agreements that require the union to be kept freely open on fair and equal terms to all competent workers in the trade. Thus a distinction should

be made between the "closed shop with CLOSED UNION" (as represented, for example, in the New York building trades unions), and the "closed shop with OPEN UNION" (the prevailing type). Nearly all closed shop agreements carry a valuable consideration to the employer in that the national union involved undertakes responsibility for its local members, and in case of an unauthorized strike will supply the employer with other union men to take the strikers' places. But the closed shop is by no means as universal as the present outcry against it would indicate. In several of the largest and most strongly organized national industries it plays little if any part. However, in many industries, particularly where there is no employers' association or where the existing association cannot exercise strict control over all its members or the whole industry, the maintenance of union wages and conditions as well as the life of the union itself depend upon the maintenance of the closed shop. Some trade unionists use the term "union closed shop" in preference to "closed shop," it being contended that what many employers call the open shop is in reality a closed shop also—closed to unionists. This latter they designate "employers' closed shop." (See OPEN SHOP; AMERICAN PLAN; UNION SHOP; CONTRACT SHOP; PREFERENTIAL SHOP; IMMIGRATION.)

Closed Town. See COMPANY TOWN.

Closed Union. That form of craft organization which discourages applicants for membership by excessive INITIATION FEES and other devices—the purpose being to maintain a monopoly of the work, in the particular craft and locality concerned, for its existing membership. Along with this policy of excluding new members, it necessarily seeks to prevent the employment of non-union workers in the same craft and locality. This selfishly monopolistic type of trade union is most commonly found in the building trades, where it usually operates under EXCLUSIVE AGREEMENTS with the employing contractors. (See JOB MONOPOLY; OPEN UNION.)

Co-Employee's Fault. See EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY.

Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act. A British Parliamentary enactment, passed as a result of the miners' strike in 1912. It provided for the setting up in each mining area of a WAGES BOARD consisting of employers and workers, with a chairman appointed by the government. Each board was required to fix a MINIMUM WAGE for mine workers within the particular area involved. No penal

provisions were made for infringement of the established minimum, but such infringement could be made the basis for civil action.

Coal Screening Laws. See SCREENING SYSTEM.

Code du Travail et de la Prévoyance Travail. The national governmental labor code of France, regulating working hours and conditions, the TRUCK SYSTEM, dangerous trades, etc.

Coercion. See INTIMIDATION; PICKETING.

Coffin Society. In the radical labor movement this term is often applied to the conservative type of trade union, in derision of the latter's tendency to place special emphasis on sickness and funeral BENEFITS.

Collective Agreement. See TRADE AGREEMENT.

Collective Bargain. See TRADE AGREEMENT.

Collective Bargaining. The method or process of determining the specific conditions of the labor contract—particularly wages, hours, and working conditions—by direct negotiation between the representatives of one or more trade unions, on the one hand, and of an employer or association of employers on the other. In the simplest form of collective bargaining, the union selects its representatives according to its own rules, and these deal directly with the individual employer. If, however, organizations of employers stand over against organizations of employees, somewhat more systematic machinery becomes desirable and is usually developed. But in either case, each side sends its best men to represent it. The agreement is a bargain reached in the same way as any bargain between buyer and seller; the process is one of "higgling." The representatives of the two sides do not constitute one board, acting by a majority vote, but each side acts as a unit, and negotiations continue until all are prepared to accept the compromise which is reached. In the broadest sense, it may be said that the chief function of collective bargaining is to establish and maintain "the principle of uniformity in regard to all the conditions of work and pay where competition direct or indirect can take place between individual workers, and the principle of standardization, or restrictive regulation, by the group, of all changes in conditions of work and pay during the term of the wage contract." Properly conducted, with due regard for the rights and interests of each side, it constitutes an effort to substitute the democratic principle of negotiation and compromise for that of

individual autocratic control. "The chief advantage which comes from the practice of periodically determining the conditions of labor by collective bargaining directly between employers and employees is, that thereby each side obtains a better understanding of the actual state of the industry, of the conditions which confront the other side, and of the motives which influence it. Most strikes and lockouts would not occur if each party understood exactly the position of the other. Where representatives of employers and employees can meet personally together and discuss all the considerations on which the wage scale and the conditions of labor should be based, a satisfactory agreement can, in the great majority of instances, be reached. The system of collective bargaining is also highly advantageous in removing the occasions of minor misunderstandings and in facilitating the correction of them. A large proportion of labor disputes originate in very unimportant matters. In the absence of the machinery and the habitude of peaceful discussion, misunderstanding grows into bitterness, and too often a prolonged cessation of employment results. Where the general conditions of labor are carefully prescribed in written agreements as the result of collective bargaining, there is much less chance for differences of interpretation, for misunderstandings, and friction, while when differences do arise a spirit is likely to exist which makes amicable adjustment of them possible. Finally, it should be observed that the success of systems of collective bargaining is usually cumulative. The practice of meeting together in friendly conference develops into a habit. There is a constantly increasing mutual understanding and mutual respect between employers and employees." While collective bargaining in nearly all important national industries is now conducted between the representatives of trade unions and of employers' associations, it is a common complaint among employers that in cases where but a single establishment is involved the process is "collective" only on the side of the workers—the employer's side is that of a single individual. But in this connection economists have repeatedly pointed out that in actual effect the large employer is a combination in himself over against the combination of workers; and the fundamental purpose of collective bargaining, as of all other collective action on the part of labor, is simply to put the individual worker on something like the same plane of economic strength occupied by the employer, in settling the terms and conditions of labor. "Wherever the economic conditions of the parties concerned are unequal," according to Mr. and Mrs. Webb, "legal FREEDOM OF CONTRACT merely enables the superior in strategic strength to dictate the terms. Collective bar-

gaining does not get rid of this virtual compulsion: it merely shifts its incidence. Where there is no combination of any kind, the strategic weakness of the individual wage-earner, unable to put a reserve price on his labor, forces him to accept the lowest possible terms. When the workmen combine the balance is redressed, and may even incline, as against the isolated employer, in favor of the wage-earner. If the employers meet combination by combination, the compulsion exercised upon individual capitalists or individual wage-earners may become so irresistible as to cease to be noticed. In the most perfected form of Collective Bargaining, compulsory membership becomes as much a matter of course as compulsory citizenship." Although the method of collective bargaining is not practiced or even favored by considerable numbers of organized workers, it is regarded by the majority as the chief reason for being of trade unionism. It has evolved into an elaborate scheme of diplomacy which is designed not only to protect the worker's standard of life, but also to obviate as far as possible the resort to industrial war. But, like political diplomacy, it rests in the last analysis upon the coercive power of antagonistic classes organized for aggression and defence. "The bargaining power of either side is the power to use the strike against the lockout, the boycott against the blacklist, the picket against the strikebreaker, the closed union shop against the closed non-union shop, and so on. These are essential weapons, and no plausible verbiage or double meaning of words should blind us to the fact that these weapons are coercive, and are intended to be coercive, and, in the last analysis, will be used secretly or openly, as coercive, by either side." Collective bargaining in the trade union sense should be carefully differentiated from any plan of EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION or other method of negotiating with a COMPANY UNION or unorganized workers. (See REPRESENTATIVE BARGAINING; INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING; AGREEMENT SYSTEM; JOINT CONFERENCE SYSTEM; COMMON RULE; COMPULSORY TRADE UNIONISM.)

Collective Bonus System. The main types of individual bonus payment are described in the entry BONUS SYSTEM. Under the collective bonus plan, the bonus is paid on the total output of a shop or department—or even of the entire works. According to G. D. H. Cole, the usual method of establishing a collective bonus system is somewhat as follows: "First, an attempt is made to ascertain the normal output of the shop or works for a given period of time, say a week; this normal output is ascertained by taking the

figures for a certain period during which the shop has been engaged on the work in question, either under TIME-WORK or under PIECE-WORK conditions. The ascertained average, or some total based upon it, is then taken as the standard output for the works. The bonus may then be paid, either on all output in excess of the standard, or on all output in excess of a given percentage of the standard output, the addition being either on a flat rate for all such excess, or on a graduated scale rising as the total output increases. Such a collective bonus based on shop or works output is usually adopted in substitution for all other systems of PAYMENT BY RESULTS. This, however, is not necessarily or universally the case, since the bonus may be paid on top of other piece-work or bonus earnings calculated on an individual basis. Where, apart, from the collective bonus, the workers within the group are time-workers, the bonus is extended to certain classes of men who are not themselves directly producing the output on which the bonus is paid, *e.g.*, supervisors, inspectors, setters-up, maintenance men, etc., etc. Where some of the workers under the collective scheme are also individual piece or bonus workers, the collective scheme is often extended to cover not only these workers, but also the time-workers employed in the shop, the bonus being paid to all alike, usually in proportion to their time-rates."

Collective Contract. This name has been given to the method (as yet largely in a theoretical stage) by which the workers in a factory or an industry contract to sell their labor as a unit to the employer. The latter pays a single sum to the representative of the group, among which it is distributed according to some plan agreed upon by the members composing the group. The collective contract idea is one of the tenets of GUILD SOCIALISM.

Collective Piece Work. This term is commonly applied to any arrangement under which PIECE WORK wages are paid for the collective output of a group of workers, instead of for the output of a single worker. If the amount paid is divided equally among all the members of the group, the arrangement is more properly known as COOPERATIVE PIECE WORK. If the amount is paid to an intermediary who himself employs the individual workers and takes a profit on their work, the arrangement is a form of the CONTRACT SYSTEM. In the latter case, the intermediary (the contractor) may pay his workers time wages; but nevertheless, from the standpoint of the owner of the industry, the arrangement is one of collective piece work. According to G. D. H. Cole, a clear distinction must be made between the two forms of collective piece work known as

"job piece work" and "shop piece work." "In the former, the collective system is usually adopted because it is not possible to divide the product of a group of men employed on a single job—*i.e.*, the narrowest practicable basis for PAYMENT BY RESULTS is adopted. In the latter, the reason for a collective system usually lies not in the impossibility of individual payment by results, but in the desire to provide a collective stimulus to output for the whole shop, in preference to a series of distinct stimuli to individual workers in the shop." Collective piece work is sometimes called "group piece work" and "gang piece work."

Collectivism. In common usage, no very definite or specific meaning seems to attach to this term. Sometimes it is used to express the purely economic basis of SOCIALISM, sometimes in a sense synonymous with socialism as a whole. But in general it may be taken as denoting the opposite of INDIVIDUALISM—in other words, the theory or belief that the affairs of a community, particularly its industrial affairs, should be managed and controlled in a collective way, by the community as a whole, rather than by separate and competitive individual effort. In regard to capital, for example, it would transform all private competing capitals into a united collective capital, to be used for the profit of the entire community. The collectivist, whether in trade unionism or in politics, "insists on the need for a conscious and deliberate organization of society, based, not on vested interests or the chances of the fight, but on the scientifically ascertained needs of each section of citizens . . . such a conscious adjustment of the resources of the community to its needs as will result in its highest possible efficiency." (See SOCIALIZATION.)

Collectors. In certain British trades, as for example, cotton-weaving, these are officials employed by trade unions to go from house to house and collect the members' contributions or dues. They are remunerated by a percentage on their collections. Though not strictly salaried officials, they serve as trade union recruiting agents, as well as intermediaries between members and the central office, for complaints, appeals, and the circulation of information. (See SHOP STEWARD.)

Color Line in Trade Unionism. That a large percentage of the negro workers in American industry are still unorganized is due in part at least to the drawing of the "color line" by certain national or international unions. The most prominent example of such discrimination is found in the case of the great RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS,

which consistently exclude negro workers. The AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR formerly refused to charter any national union which excluded colored workers, but it has since been obliged to recede from this position—although never formally renouncing it. Several unions, in their constitutions, specially forbid any distinction of race. The Hotel Employees receive colored persons, but organize them in separate locals. The Tobacco Workers, although their membership is largely in the South, declare in their constitution that they "will draw no line of distinction between creed, color or nationality," but will "work hand in hand for the common good of all." The color question has, however, caused some friction in the labor organizations of the southern states. In the earlier days of the labor movement there, the democratic feeling among the few trade unionists was strong enough to bring whites and negroes even into the same local meeting rooms. It is strong enough still in some trades and in some places. As the unions have grown, however, separate LOCALS have been demanded. Finally, in some places the CITY CENTRAL bodies have rejected colored delegates. While there are still many places in the South where whites and negroes meet on an absolute equality in the labor organizations, there are others where not only separate local unions but separate city federations have become necessary. (See SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Colorado Industrial Commission Law. An act passed by the Colorado state legislature in 1915, and popularly known as the "can't strike law." It is modelled largely after the CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES INVESTIGATION ACT; but whereas this latter applies only to public utilities, the Colorado law applies to *all* industries within the state. It sets up a commission for the investigation of industrial disputes, and provides that "Employers and employees shall give at least thirty days' notice of intended change affecting conditions of employment with respect to wages or hours; and, in every case where a dispute has been made the subject of an investigation, hearing, or arbitration by the commission, or the board, until the dispute has been finally dealt with by such commission, or board, neither of the parties nor the employees affected shall alter the conditions of employment with respect to wages or hours, or on account of the dispute, do, or be concerned in doing, directly or indirectly, anything in the nature of a lockout or strike, or a suspension or dicontinuance of work or employment; but the relationship of employer and employee shall continue uninterrupted by the dispute, or anything arising out of the dispute." Punishment by fine

is provided for any direct infringement of the above stipulations; and punishment by fine or imprisonment or both is provided for any incitement, encouragement, or aid to infringement. The more drastic provisions of the act have so far been largely a dead letter, but all efforts of organized labor to have what are called the "involuntary servitude" sections repealed remain as yet unsuccessful.

Colorado Plan. See ROCKEFELLER PLAN.

Combination Acts. British Parliamentary measures of 1799 and 1800, which prohibited under heavy penalties all combinations of wage-earners. Before 1799 British legislative acts concerning industrial relations were (to quote Dr. Groat) "regarded as a part of the general policy of individual regulation applicable alike, in theory, to both employers and their journeymen. The several statutes dealt with particular groups of workmen wherever and whenever the occasion required. In the closing period of the century all these several acts were gathered into one general statute in which all combinations whatsoever were declared illegal. This law was reenacted in an amended form in the following year, and from 1800 for a quarter of a century it stood not simply as a codification of previous acts but as a radical departure from former lines of legislation." The Combination Acts were used as instruments for savage persecution of the English working class, and mark the lowest pitch of degradation to which that class ever fell. They were repealed in 1824, largely through the efforts of Francis Place and Joseph Hume —the former a master tailor and the latter a member of Parliament.

Combination Card. Instead of issuing separate DUE CARDS, TRANSFER CARDS, TRAVELLING CARDS, LOAN CARDS, etc., some American trade unions issue a single "combination card" which serves the purpose of two or more of the separate cards above mentioned.

Comisia Generala a Sindicatelur diu Rumania (General Trade Union Commission of Roumania). A central executive body which represents the Roumanian labor movement on the industrial side, as the Social Democratic Labor Party represents it on the political side. The two organizations work in close cooperation. The semi-feudal land system in Roumania, combined with reactionary governmental policies, has given the labor movement a decidedly revolutionary character. The socialist party "opposed Roumanian intervention in the war (successfully, till August, 1916), and took part in the ZIMMERWALD MOVEMENT. The war drove the organization underground through the combined repression of the German,

military authorities over three-quarters of the country and the Roumanian government in the remaining area.. In December, 1918, a general strike led to the wholesale arrest of the executive of the socialist party and the Trade Union Commission, and the government has since maintained its power by a reign of terror, which increased under the military regime of General Averescu."

Comité Confédérale (Confederal Committee). See CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL.

Commission Syndicale Belge (Belgian Trade Union Commission). The central national executive body of the Belgian socialist trade unions. It is actually a section of the PARTI OUVRIER BELGE or Belgian Labor Party, and includes among its members not only delegates of the affiliated trade unions but representatives of the political Labor Party and also of certain independent unions (*syndicats independants*); the full name of the organization being *Commission Syndicale du Parti Ouvrier et des Syndicats Independants*. The Commission holds an annual Congress for the consideration of important matters. Thirty-one national organizations, with a total combined membership of over 720,000, were represented at the nineteenth Congress, held October, 1920. (See BELGIAN TRADE UNIONS.)

Commission Syndicale de Luxemburg (Luxemburg Trade Union Commission). The central national executive board for the leading labor organizations of the grand duchy of Luxemburg, representing 27,000 members in 1920. Trade unionism in Luxemburg is of very recent growth, dating only from 1903. In September, 1920, according to the "Labor International Handbook," "a law was passed giving the workshop councils the right to participate in the management of industry. French and Belgian capital, which has a controlling voice in the industry of the country, demanded the abolition of the councils. In January, 1921, following on a lockout of several hundred foundry workers, the workers occupied the mines, workshops, and foundries. The French garrison, however, which had been retained in the country despite trade union protests, suppressed the Works Councils."

Commissioners of Conciliation. See CONCILIATION DIVISION.

Commodity Theory of Labor. It has long been a generalization among a large class of employers and economists that "labor" is a commodity, to be bought and sold according to the same principles that govern the exchange of other commodities. Organized

labor has always vigorously resisted this view, holding that "labor" cannot be separated from the body and spirit of the laborer, and that these factors must be considered and provided for in all industrial relations. "The cry for the abolition of the WAGE SYSTEM" now voiced by organized labor in every industrial country is, according to G. D. H. Cole, "a cry for the destruction of the whole idea that labor is a commodity, to be bought and sold like any other commodity, that labor has its market price, settled by SUPPLY AND DEMAND, by the higgling of the market, or what not, and not by any idea of human need or social justice, or even of service rendered. It is not denied that, nowadays, labor is treated as a commodity, and bought and sold with regard only to the advantage of the purchaser and the economic need of the seller; but it is maintained that this state of things is wasteful, degrading and preventable. CAPITALISM buys in the cheapest and sells in the dearest market; and it buys its labor on exactly the same terms as its non-human commodities. But essentially Labor differs in nature from commodities, not merely because, if it is not used, it is being wasted—that applies equally to a machine—not merely because it may be made more or less efficient as more or less is spent on it—that too would apply to a factory as a whole, and not merely to the labor in it—but because it is human, and the value of humanity is not a market value, though humanity may have, in a bad social system, a market price. The wage system must be abolished in the sense that it must be made impossible merely to buy labor as cheaply as possible, irrespective of its need or service; instead, Labor must share fairly in what the community produces, on a basis partly of need and partly of service, but never of market price." The deep-rooted conception of labor as a commodity or article of commerce, and of the laborer as a sort of automatic machine, is unconsciously revealed in the common designation of workers as "hands." (See CLAYTON ACT; LIMITATION OF OUTPUT; LABOR MARKET; STRIKE.)

Commodity Wages. See WAGES.

Common Employment Doctrine. The common-law principle more often known as the "fellow servant rule," in connection with EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY, is sometimes so called. By this legal refinement, which dates only from 1837, and which successive judicial decisions have engrafted upon the common law, a workman who suffered injury through the negligence of some other person in the same employment was precluded from recovering that compensation from the common employer which a stranger, to whom the same

accident had happened, could claim and enforce. (See FELLOW SERVANT LAWS.)

Common Labor. Unskilled workers employed for such rough manual labor as that largely required in railway construction, mining, irrigation work, ship loading, lumbering, the steel industry, farming, etc. (See MIGRATORY LABOR; CASUAL LABOR; UNSKILLED LABOR; DAY LABORER; SAND-HOG; MUCKER; HUNKY; WOP; NAVVY; STRAPPERS.)

Common Rule. Mr. and Mrs. Webb use this term in designation of one of the two main devices or expedients by which trade unionism aims to maintain and improve the conditions of employment. "The STANDARD RATE, the NORMAL DAY, and SANITATION AND SAFETY are but different forms of one principle—the settlement, whether by MUTUAL INSURANCE, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, or LEGAL ENACTMENT, of minimum conditions of employment by Common Rules applicable to whole bodies of workers. All these Regulations are based on the assumption that when, in the absence of any Common Rule, the conditions of employment are left to 'free competition,' this always means, in practice, that they are arrived at by INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING between contracting parties of very unequal economic strength. Such a settlement, it is asserted, invariably tends, for the mass of the workers, toward the worst possible conditions of labor—ultimately, indeed, to the barest subsistence level—whilst even the exceptional few do not permanently gain as much as they otherwise could. We find accordingly that the Device of the Common Rule is a universal feature of Trade Unionism, and that the assumption on which it is based is held from one end of the Trade Union world to the other." The device of the common rule by no means aims at establishing a general common standard for all industries. Thus (to quote from George O'Brien's "Labor Organization") "there is no attempt made to fix the same MINIMUM WAGE for all workmen, skilled or unskilled, in every industry in the country, nor is there any suggestion that workmen in all employments should work the same number of hours. Trade unionists themselves would be the first to resent the suggestion that highly skilled and efficient craftsmen should be placed on the same basis of employment with unskilled laborers. What the common rule seeks to attain is that within a particular craft or a particular industry common conditions of employment shall prevail. The basis upon which the common rule is established rests upon one of three fundamental principles: the principle that vested interests should be respected; the principle that

the supply of labor should be regulated to meet the demand; and the principle of a minimum wage." (See RESTRICTION OF NUMBERS; SUPPLY AND DEMAND, LAW OF.)

Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration. A tribunal, established in 1904, having jurisdiction and compulsory authority in any trade or industrial dispute that affects two or more states of the Australian commonwealth. It is presided over by a Justice of the High Court of Australia. It exercises extensive powers of punishment by fines and by "de-registration"—the process under which a trade union or employers' association is barred from the benefits of the court. According to Commons and Andrews, "the recent history of the Commonwealth Court of Arbitration has been marked by more explicit definition of its powers and the establishment of precedents. Two amendments to the Commonwealth act were made in 1915 and 1918. The earlier amendment enabled a justice of the high court to decide finally whether a dispute extended beyond the limits of any one state, which was the chief limitation of the powers of the court of arbitration. The court affirmed the right of free bargaining in the case of workers refusing to accept hire at the MINIMUM WAGE, when they believed their skill rated a higher wage. In the consideration of minimum wage principles during the war, the court continued its policy of basing the minimum on a STANDARD OF LIVING. The tendency, however, was to make the wages of the skilled and unskilled workers meet; the basic wage was increased, but the secondary wage was increased only by the pre-war margin between the two scales, not proportionally. One of the most fruitful features of the court's power is its right to appoint 'boards of reference,' by means of which the meeting of representatives of unions with employers is encouraged. Of late these 'boards of reference' have tended to develop along the lines of the Whitley suggestions in Great Britain."

Communism. The economic theory or doctrine that all property should be held in common, by the community as a whole, for the equal benefit of all; and that all socially necessary labor should be shared by all members of the community, according to individual abilities and capacity. When accomplished by voluntary cooperation, instead of through the instrumentality of the State or other coercive agency, this is generally known as "anarchist communism"—which is more essentially a form of ANARCHISM than of communism. When the State is the controlling factor, it is not altogether easy to distinguish communism from SOCIALISM. Indeed,

Karl Marx, the "father of scientific socialism," used the term "communism" in general designation of his theories; and the most uncompromising disciples of Marx today, the Russian Bolshevists, call themselves "communists"—using this term to distinguish themselves from the nationalist or parliamentarian "social democrats." In general it may be said that communism differs from socialism chiefly in that it contemplates public or collective ownership of *all* forms of property, except perhaps the merest personal effects; whereas under socialism only the instruments of production and exchange would be held in common, and a considerable measure of private ownership would still exist. Far from being a malignant doctrine, as many suppose, communism is in fact the most altruistic of all social theories. (See FOURIERISM; BOLSHEVISM; SPARTACANS; COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE.)

Communist Internationale. The third INTERNATIONALE, organized at Moscow in March, 1919, is so called. It was formed to "unite all revolutionary parties in the world PROLETARIAT," and to purge the international socialist movement of all "opportunistic, social-patriotic, and centrist elements." Thus it bitterly opposes and is opposed by the moderate second Internationale and by those members of the so-called CENTRE in the socialist movement who have abandoned the second Internationale but still withhold allegiance to the third. In the constitution adopted at its second (1920) Congress it is stated that this "new international association of workers is established for the purpose of organizing common action between the workers of various countries who are striving toward a single aim: the overthrow of CAPITALISM, the establishment of the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT and of the International Soviet Republic, the complete abolition of classes and the realization of SOCIALISM—as the first step to Communist society." A "world congress" meeting "not less frequently than once a year" is the supreme governing body of the Communist Internationale. This congress elects an executive committee, which serves as the principal authority between meetings of the congress. The Communist Internationale is also variously known as the "Moscow," "Red," and "Bolshevik" Internationale. (See ZIMMERWALD MOVEMENT; MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MANIFESTO; LENIN'S TWENTY-ONE CONDITIONS; INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS; YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE.)

Communist Labor Party of North America. See SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES; UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.

Communist Manifesto. This famous document, which has long formed the "bible" of the socialist working-class movement, was written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and published early in 1848. It is mainly an exposition and discussion of the two opposing classes in modern industrial society, the BOURGEOISIE and the PROLETARIAT, dealing with the historical conditions under which they have developed and forecasting their probable future evolution. (See SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.)

Communist Party of America. Organized at Chicago in 1919 by left-wing secessionists from the SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA —chiefly Slavic members of the socialist movement. These latter outnumber their English-speaking comrades, and dominate the Party's policies, which are revolutionary in character. In 1920 a section of this party seceded from the organization, and united with the Communist Labor Party of North America to form the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.

Communist Party of Great Britain. Formed in August, 1920, as a merger of various small revolutionary groups in the British socialist movement. It is affiliated with the third INTERNATIONALE.

Communist Saturdays. See SUBBOTNIK.

Companionship. In the English printing trade, a team of compositors who work together on a PIECE WORK basis. The "companionship" usually appoints its own "clicker." (See CLICKING SYSTEM.)

Company Bull. See BULL SYSTEM.

Company Council. Ordinarily a "joint" works committee —one that is representative of both the workers and the management of a single establishment. The terms "plant council," "joint plant council," "joint conference council," etc., are sometimes used in a similar, or practically similar, sense.

Company Doctor. It is not uncommon for large industrial concerns, particularly those operating in isolated communities, to employ a "company doctor" for the purpose of attending sick or injured employees, his fees being often deducted from the worker's wages. Some states have laws on this subject; in Tennessee, for example, employers are prohibited from dictating to or in any manner interfering with an employee or laborer in his right to select his own physician, or from retaining or withholding any portion of wages due for paying a company doctor.

Company Guards. See ARMED GUARDS.

Company Housing. It is a not uncommon practice on the part of large industrial concerns, particularly those operating in isolated or undeveloped regions, to provide houses for their employees. Sometimes the employees are required to occupy such houses, sometimes the matter is optional; but in any case the rent is usually deducted from wages. Frequently these houses are better than those which the workers would provide, and the rent is often lower than that ordinarily commanded by houses of similar quality; but these advantages are not seldom offset by contractual ties of dependence on the worker's part. Company housing is as old as the industrial history of the United States. When industry passed from the home to the factory, company housing became necessary, since the colonial manufacturer was a pioneer who opened up new sites for factories at those points generally where water power was available, and was compelled to provide housing accommodations for the labor which he brought with him. Company housing (also known as "employers' housing") has been brought under public regulation in some states. (See COMPANY TOWN; TRUCK SYSTEM; LABOR CAMP; STRIKEBREAKING.)

Company Man. (1) A common designation among laborers for a foreman, superintendent, or other employer's representative. (2) An offensive term sometimes applied to a worker who is obviously or seemingly more concerned for his employer's interests than for those of his fellow-workers—even to the extent of being an employer's spy. In England the term "master's man," or, in the vernacular form, "guv'nor's man," carries the same connotation.

Company Miners. In coal-mining these are employees who operate drilling and other mine machinery, remove obstructions, prospect for new "chambers," etc. They seldom "mine" any coal, and are paid a time rate which is a little less than that paid CONSIDERATION MINERS.

Company Store. In a COMPANY TOWN, or in such comparatively remote places as mining and lumber camps, it often happens that the only store in which workers may obtain food and other necessities is owned by the company or corporation employing the workers. "The existence of company stores is often an indication that the working people employed have made little progress from the condition of SERFDOM. They chiefly exist in sections where the laborers are ignorant and largely of foreign extraction, unacquainted

with American conditions and methods of labor organization. Plainly, if the employer runs his store to sell goods at cost plus the mere expense of handling, his store becomes a benefit to the employee; but this is seldom the case. The temptation is entirely too strong, especially in times of depression, to recoup losses in the productive branch of the business from profits on the goods sold or the tenements rented to employees. Company stores and tenements are objected to even where the prices are not excessive, on the ground that they limit the choice of the employee, and, more than anything else, that their existence contains the unwritten threat of discharge for the employee who fails to trade at the company store or occupy the company tenement. This implied threat is a powerful obstacle to the organization of labor and the inauguration of a strike." Several states have enacted laws directed against the company store. Where permitted at all, it is usually restrained from charging unreasonable prices, or charging higher prices to employees than to non-employees, or requiring employees to purchase their supplies from the company store. But for the reasons noted in the entry, TRUCK SYSTEM, the regulative laws at least have had comparatively small effect in remedying the evils against which they are directed. (See PLUCK ME STORES.)

Company Town. An industrial community in which an individual employer or employing corporation is the sole or main proprietor of land and improvements, including homes, stores, churches, public halls, etc. From a governmental point of view, company towns are "closed," being private property. Under the law of trespass the employer may eject anyone from the town, or refuse entry to anyone, without showing cause. Through his control of community streets, lights, public utilities, houses, recreation centres, and the industry which supports the economic life of the community, the employer is able to exercise absolute authority. The rules which he promulgates are readily enforceable, backed as they are by the power to discharge any offender from employment. Company towns (often called "one-man towns") are rarely found within the limits of self-governing communities; they are generally either industrial satellites of larger cities or isolated centres in thinly settled regions. The investigations and hearings on this subject of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS resulted in the following statement: "The conditions existing in typical industrial communities which are either wholly or in large part owned or controlled by a single corporation or individual employer,

present every aspect of a state of FEUDALISM except the recognition of specific duties on the part of the employer. The employees in such communities are dependent on a single corporation, or employer, for their livelihood. Furthermore, the employer in many cases controls the social and political life of such communities, either by the complete absorption of local political powers or by domination of the local authorities. The fundamental rights of citizens in such communities are, as a general rule, seriously abridged if not actually denied. Among the rights most seriously violated are the right of free speech and assemblage and the right of public highways." (See COMPANY HOUSING; COMPANY STORE; LABOR CAMPS; TRUCK SYSTEM.)

Company Union or Inside Union. An organization of workers within a particular shop or establishment, and having no connection or association with what employers call an "outside union" —that is to say, with any labor organization outside of the particular establishment concerned. Company unions are commonly initiated and fostered by employers, both for the sake of more harmonious relations in their dealings with the workers and for undermining the strength of those "outside" unions with which their workers would otherwise naturally affiliate. Thus the company union not only has no relation to the regular trade union movement, but is in direct opposition to it. Among trade unionists, any form of company union is commonly known as a "tame union," "household union," or "YELLOW UNION." Among employers, it is sometimes called a "peaceful union." (See DEPENDENT UNIONISM; SHOP UNION; AMERICAN PLAN; SHOP COMMITTEE; OPEN SHOP; NATIONALVERBAND DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTEN; YELLOW.)

Compensation Laws. See WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Compensatory Time. An allowance of time off during regular working hours, given to a worker as compensation or offset for time which he has worked on Sundays or holidays, or after regular working hours on other days.

Competitive Bargaining. See INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING.

Competitive System. The modern economic and industrial organization of society, resulting from and consisting in "the strife of the individual or of a group of individuals to gain the utmost possible profit, rent, or wages in free rivalry with other individuals or groups of individuals." Under this system prices and wages are supposedly automatically regulated by the competition between

sellers for customers, and between buyers for goods or services. According to the old theorists, it is the struggle for existence in commercial and industrial life which results in the SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST, to the ultimate advantage of society as a whole. (See PROFITS SYSTEM.)

Composite Branches. In the British building trades, these are local unions made up of workers in various trades, organized in localities where there are no branches of the separate national unions. Such "composite branches" are affiliated directly with the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives.

Compound Boycott. See BOYCOTT.

Compound Craft Union. This term is used by Professor Hoxie in designation of "a centralized, homogeneous organization of the workers in a number of related crafts." It does not include all the workers of a single industry, and it may include workers in several industries; therefore it is not an INDUSTRIAL UNION in the strict sense. In ordinary usage, however, such an organization is commonly classified as an industrial union. Nearly all "amalgamated" labor bodies are of this "compound craft union" type, which may well be considered a transition stage between the "pure" craft type and the industrial type of organization.

Compulsory Arbitration. In connection with labor affairs, the method of requiring by law that disputes between employer and employed, in the first or the last resort, be submitted to an "impartial" public tribunal provided for that purpose. Under nearly all systems of compulsory arbitration, strikes and lockouts are either specifically or in effect prohibited; the aim is to substitute a judicial process of settlement for a trial of strength between the contending parties. A compulsory arbitration law may apply to disputes arising within any industry, or may be limited to disputes in industries "affected with a public interest"—such as public utilities, coal-mining, etc. As commonly understood, compulsory arbitration implies coercive action in regard not only to submission of the dispute but to enforcement of the award or decision. If only the first step be coercive, leaving acceptance or non-acceptance of the award to voluntary action, the system is one of COMPULSORY INVESTIGATION merely. Up to the present time, compulsory arbitration has made the greatest progress in Australia, where it has been established mainly through the political pressure of organized labor—the majority party in Australian politics. In 1894 New Zealand passed a compulsory

arbitration act. The next state to adopt compulsory arbitration was New South Wales in 1901. It was followed by Western Australia in 1902, by the Commonwealth itself in 1904, and by South Australia and Queensland in 1912. Meanwhile Victoria and Tasmania had adopted compulsory WAGES BOARDS. In other countries compulsory arbitration has made comparatively slight headway. The CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES INVESTIGATION ACT, often cited as a compulsory arbitration measure, in reality only provides for coercive action in connection with the investigation of disputes in certain industries "affected with a public interest." The same is true of the COLORADO INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION LAW, although this act applies to all industries within the state. The KANSAS INDUSTRIAL COURT represents the only real experiment in compulsory arbitration yet attempted in the United States. Soviet Russia has at present a system which practically amounts to compulsory arbitration. While at first favored by organized labor, compulsory arbitration is now strongly opposed—in the United States at least—as nullifying the RIGHT TO STRIKE and creating "the possibility of a man being compelled to work for an employer or under conditions obnoxious to him, with the alternative of fine or imprisonment." Many employers oppose it also, as a public invasion upon what they consider private rights. (See COMMONWEALTH COURT OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION; NEW ZEALAND INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION ACT; INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION IN RUSSIA; VICTORIAN WAGES BOARD SYSTEM; AUSTRALIAN ARBITRATION COURTS.)

Compulsory Award. See AWARD.

Compulsory Compensation Acts. See WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Compulsory Conciliation. See COMPULSORY INVESTIGATION.

Compulsory Investigation or **Compulsory Conciliation.** A plan of dealing with industrial disputes, perhaps best exemplified in the CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES INVESTIGATION ACT. Under this plan, a governmental board or commission is set up, with powers to gather all relevant facts relating to specific disputes between employers and employees. No strike or lockout is permitted while such a dispute is under investigation; and witnesses may be summoned and compelled to testify under oath. When the investigation is completed, the board issues a public report of its findings; and

relies wholly upon the force of public opinion, thus enlightened, to determine a just settlement of the dispute. This plan should be carefully distinguished from any system of COMPULSORY ARBITRATION—such, for example, as that represented by the KANSAS INDUSTRIAL COURT. (See COLORADO INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION LAW.)

Compulsory Labor in Russia. Since the present Russian State-community guarantees the means of livelihood to all its members, every able-bodied person is required to contribute his or her share toward the work which is necessary to provide the community with the means for the support of its members. The obligation to work for the community begins at the age of eighteen and terminates at the age of fifty. Old persons are supported by the community; likewise all persons who are permanently or temporarily incapacitated for work. This includes women for a period of eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement. School children are required to take manual training at school. As far as practicable, every worker must be assigned to work at his trade or profession, if he has any, and at his usual place of residence. If there is no opening in a person's chosen field of work, he may be assigned to and must accept another class of work. If, however, the work is of a lower grade, the worker is nevertheless entitled to the regular compensation which he would receive if employed at his own trade or profession. If no employment can be found for a worker within the district where he resides, he may be assigned to work in another district. (See DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR IN RUSSIA; REVOLUTIONARY LABOR ARMIES.)

Compulsory Trade Unionism. This term arises out of the common trade union policy of seeking to bring all members of a particular trade or occupation into the union for that trade or occupation, with the correlated policy of seeking to prevent the employment of non-unionists by refusing to work with them. In this sense, practically all COLLECTIVE BARGAINING tends inevitably in the direction of compulsory trade unionism. Obviously, according to George O'Brien's "Labor Organization," "there is nothing to be gained by a section of the workmen in a particular trade making an advantageous bargain with their employers, if the latter are free to carry on their business by the aid of non-unionists who are not bound by the terms of the agreement. . . . There have been numerous disputes, often ending in prolonged and wasteful strikes, caused by the failure of employers to recognize the right of trade unionists to refuse to work with non-unionists, but at the present day the principle

of compulsory trade unionism has been generally recognized." (See EXCLUSION POLICY OF TRADE UNIONISM.)

Concentration of Capital Theory. As formulated by Karl Marx, this is the theory that with the development of CAPITALISM there must be an inevitable tendency toward the concentration of industrial control in fewer and fewer hands, so that the MIDDLE CLASS must gradually diminish and at last disappear; leaving a small but immensely powerful capitalist class, or BOURGEOISIE, against which the PROLETARIAT will finally be pitted in a bitter conflict for supremacy. (See SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.)

Conciliation. In an industrial sense, the settlement or attempt at settlement of an industrial dispute by mutual agreement between the two parties involved, without submitting the case to ARBITRATION. It may consist in direct negotiations between the two parties, without reference to any outside agency; or it may be the result of efforts on the part of an impartial intermediary, who acts as a go-between for the two disputants and endeavors to find some common ground upon which they may themselves reach an amicable settlement. If conciliation fails, arbitration is usually resorted to. The essential difference between these two processes may perhaps best be expressed by saying that in conciliation the disputants endeavor to convince each other, with or without the help of a mediating agency; in arbitration they endeavor to convince a third party. "If the word 'conciliation' is to be applied at all in regard to labor matters it would seem desirable to restrict it to the settlement of minor disputes as to the interpretation of the labor contract. Even here it may perhaps best be confined to those cases where the parties directly interested meet in a friendly manner to settle differences of this class. In Great Britain there are many trades in which organizations of employers and employees select joint committees to which any dispute of the members of the organization may be appealed. These committees are frequently called boards of conciliation. Of course in many and perhaps in most instances the action of these joint committees consists in influencing the parties to a dispute to come to an informal understanding, rather than in rendering authoritative decisions, and their action in this direction may be perhaps accurately described by the term 'conciliation.' State boards of arbitration use the word in a very similar sense. However, the common usage of employers and employees in this country gives to these joint trade boards the name of arbitration boards or arbitration committees. Doubtless 'MEDIATION' is a word

more distinctively applicable than 'conciliation' to the intervention of State boards or other outside parties." (See CONCILIATION DIVISION; UNITED STATES BOARD OF MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION; PRESIDENT'S MEDIATION COMMISSION; WAGE BOARDS; STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION; FRENCH CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION LAW; SWEDISH INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATORS; CONCILIATION ACT.)

Conciliation Act. A British Parliamentary enactment of 1896, since revised and enlarged, setting up government machinery for the investigation and settlement of industrial disputes. Under the Conciliation Act the usual form of arbitration tribunal was the "single arbitrator," an independent person appointed by the government and sitting as sole judge except in cases where the points in dispute necessitated the assistance of technical "assessors." Courts of arbitration (an employer's representative, a workmen's representative, and an IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN) were established in 1908, but comparatively few cases have been referred to this form of tribunal. The provisions of this Act are purely voluntary, and contain no element of compulsion.

Conciliation Division. In the organic act of March 4, 1913, creating the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, it is provided that "the SECRETARY OF LABOR shall have power to act as MEDIATOR and to appoint commissioners of CONCILIATION in labor disputes whenever, in his judgment, the interest of industrial peace may require it to be done." No other provision having been made by Congress for organizing a bureau or statutory division for the purpose of administering the power thus created, it has been administered from the beginning by the Secretary of Labor under his own immediate direction. At first, from total lack of appropriations for the purpose, the Secretary was obliged to draw such assistance as could be spared from bureaus organized for collateral purposes. Notwithstanding that handicap, however, and others of a kind that usually obstruct the development in practice of novel administrative functions, appreciable progress was made at once in conserving the interests of industrial peace. In the following years and supported by direct though altogether inadequate appropriations, the Division of Conciliation in the Office of the Secretary has been established. The Division is in charge of a Director of Conciliation, assisted by a corps of Commissioners of Conciliation. These latter act as industrial peacemakers, endeavoring to bring contending parties together and suggesting methods and alternatives for a peaceful solution of the particular matter in dispute. The Division has no power to

make decisions or awards in disputes submitted to it, its function being diplomatic rather than judicial.

Conciliator. See MEDIATOR.

Conditional Members. See MEMBERS AT LARGE.

Conditions of Employment. See WORKING CONDITIONS.

Confederacao Geral do Trabalho (General Confederation of Labor). The principal labor organization of Portugal. It was established in September, 1919, at a Congress representing 100,000 workers.

Confederación General del Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor). This, the most powerful labor body in Spain and the national organ of the revolutionary syndicalist movement in that country, was formed in 1900 as a loose federation of existing revolutionary labor organizations. It is devoted to the extreme CLASS STRUGGLE, with the GENERAL STRIKE as its favorite instrument. In order to create a more efficient fighting organization, it was decided at the Congress of 1919 to abolish the national trade union federations which until then had been the chief affiliated bodies of the Confederation, and to substitute in each industrial region a *Syndicato Unico* (a regional ONE BIG UNION) which would include all the trades of that region. At the same Congress it was decided to join the third INTERNATIONALE. The membership of the Confederation in 1920 was 800,000. Violent struggles with employers and the government alike, approximating to a condition of civil war, have marked the history of the Spanish "C. G. T." (See SPANISH LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (Mexican Regional Confederation of Labor). This, the leading national labor body of Mexico, is modelled after the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. It is composed of 217 workers' associations, mainly CRAFT UNIONS, including thirty-five unions of agricultural laborers. The present membership is estimated at 500,000. In opposition to the Confederation are a syndicalist and a communist organization, and a separate "Mexican Administration" of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. (See PARTIDO LABORISTA MEXICANO.)

Confédération Générale des Syndicats Chrétiens et Libres de Belgique (General Confederation of Christian and Free Trade Unions of Belgium). See BELGIAN TRADE UNIONS.

Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor). The chief national labor organization of France, formed in 1895 and now embracing nearly all the effective trade unionism of the country. For several years it was little more than a trade union congress with a standing committee; but its coalition with the *Fédération des Bourses du Travail* in 1902 gave it an impetus and power which have since steadily increased. In structural make-up, it has two distinct bases—the national *Fédérations d'Industrie* and *Syndicats Nationals* on the one side, and on the other a territorial grouping in the shape of UNIONS DÉPARTMENTALES. Each of these two sections forms an integral part of the *Confédération;* the two are of equal importance and authority. Each section keeps its separate existence and has its own central committee; at regular intervals these committees meet together as a *Comité Confédéral.* This confederal committee elects the general secretary, and is the supreme executive body of the C. G. T. Nevertheless, it has no mandatory powers over the constituent units of the C. G. T., all of which retain almost complete autonomy. Each of these units, however large or small, has one and only one representative on the *Comité Confédéral,* and but a single vote. Since 1906 only industrial labor organizations have been allowed to affiliate with the C. G. T., although the craft organizations which already belonged were permitted to remain. In the matter of theories and policies, the C. G. T. has long been split into two rival camps. The minority or REFORMIST faction aims only at the direct improvement of labor conditions, and not at any catastrophic overthrow of the whole capitalistic regime by direct syndical action. It opposes the GENERAL STRIKE and SABOTAGE, aims at making its own terms with the employers, and favors association with the socialists. The revolutionaries, on the other hand, who constitute by far the largest element within the organization, are against all compromise with either employers or socialists. They believe that the workers, organized in INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, are sufficient to win economic emancipation by their own unaided efforts. They are both anti-militaristic and anti-patriotic. Their methods are those of DIRECT ACTION, including the strike in all its forms, sabotage, and the BOYCOTT. Occasionally, however, the two factions find a satisfactory common ground, and each has served to tone down the more extreme position of the other. The C. G. T. makes no money contributions to strikes, and confines itself to advice and propagandist activities, leaving to the local and national units in each industry the determination of all movements. It is supported by per capita dues paid monthly or

annually by its constituent units. The membership of the C. G. T. was put at 1,500,000 in 1920, as against only about 500,000 in 1914. An annual labor Congress, at which each national and local unit, whatever its size, is represented by a single delegate possessing a single vote, is an important part of the C. G. T.'s activities. For its part in the revolutionary general strike of May, 1920, the French government instituted proceedings against the C. G. T., with the object of forcing a dissolution of the organization. A decree to this effect was finally issued in January, 1921, and an expert was named to dispose of the *Confédération's* property. An appeal against this decision was lodged by the officers of the organization. (See FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT; SYNDICALISM; CE-GE-TE-IST; CONSEIL ECONOMIQUE DU TRAVAIL.)

Confédération National du Travail (National Confederation of Labor). See FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT.

Confederazione Generale del Lavoro (General Confederation of Labor). The leading national labor organization of Italy, founded in 1906 and constituting the central coordinating agency of the national trade union federations (FEDERAZIONE DEI MESTIERE), the local chambers of labor (CAMERE DEL LAVORO), and a considerable number of individuals not belonging to any local union. With a membership of less than 250,000 in 1918, the Confederation today embraces some two million workers. There are three important gaps in this imposing organization. It lacks the powerful Seaman's Union; a large percentage of the railway workers, sixty per cent or more, who are generally syndicalist; and most of the government employees, especially in the more skilled branches. It is, however, making headway among the last two classes. The Confederation is closely affiliated with the Italian Socialist Party—being, indeed, the latter's creation. While revolutionary in its ultimate aims, it seeks the redress of current grievances and the attainment of immediate reforms through POLITICAL ACTION. The Confederation (popularly known as the "C. G. L.") is managed by an executive council of fifteen members elected by the national Congress, and a general council of delegates from the affiliated organizations. Since the war the C. G. L. has managed to secure the almost universal introduction of the EIGHT-HOUR DAY. The main struggle has been to keep pace with the mounting COST OF LIVING, but a new factor has been introduced in the spontaneous demand of the rank and file for control of industry, manifesting itself in the frequent seizures of factories, and the recent movement of the metal-workers which was accom-

panied by an epidemic of seizures and almost brought the country to the verge of revolution. (See ITALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Confederazione Italiana dei Lavoratori (Italian Confederation of Workers). A national federation of the Catholic unions (*unioni Cattoliche*) of Italy. Before the war the Catholic unions had a membership of only about 100,000. Their purpose is to defend the purely economic interests of their members, and they oppose and are opposed by the socialist and other revolutionary unions. At its Congress of November, 1920, the membership of the national organization was stated to be 1,182,491. The great majority of the members (about 950,000) are agricultural workers and *mezzadri* or share tenant farmers. (See ITALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Confederazione Obrera Brasileano (Brazi ian Confederation of Labor). The leading national labor body of Brazil. Until recently the labor movement in this country was confined almost entirely to German and Italian workers in the so-called "immigrant colonies." No details of the extent and organization of trade unionism in Brazil are readily available.

Conference Boards. In many TRADE AGREEMENTS between national unions and employers' associations, it is provided that in case of a trade dispute an attempt at adjustment shall be made by a "conference board" composed of an equal number of representatives from both sides. It is usually agreed that there shall be no cessation of work pending such attempt at settlement; but in case the conference board fails in its attempt, either side may generally take such action as it sees fit.

Conscientious Withdrawal of Efficiency. Some of the milder forms of SABOTAGE—such as CA' CANNY, STRIKING ON THE JOB, etc.—are now often collectively designated under this euphemism by members of the I. W. W. and other elements in the labor movement; the phrase being preferred on account of its implications of ethical motive and legal methods on the workers' part.

Conseil Economique du Travail (Economic Council of Labor). Because of the grave economic condition of France following the recent war, the CONFÉDÉRATION GENÉRALE DU TRAVAIL demanded that there be constituted a national economic council, representative of employers and workers, producers and consumers, for the purpose of formulating and putting into effect a general economic programme to meet the changed conditions. After much discussion, the gov-

ernment appointed a commission for this purpose; but as it proved unsatisfactory to the labor elements, the C. G. T. itself, in conjunction with the national federations of state employees, cooperatives, and technical workers, set up a *Conseil Economique du Travail* early in 1920. Its purpose is to investigate social and industrial conditions, study proposed remedies, and advocate specific reforms; or, in the words of its originators, it is intended as "an instrument for investigation into, and preparation for, the part to be played by the workers in the community." The members of the Council are divided into nine sections, each composed of at least three delegates from each of the constituent organizations. Each section is charged with investigating and reporting upon a single phase of national industry. At the head of the Council is a managing committee of twelve members—three each from the four constituent organizations. The general secretary of this committee is the general secretary of the C. G. T. The Council has worked out an elaborate programme for the return to the community of the great industries or services (in the first place the railways, the mines, power-stations, etc., in fact the main sources of energy and the main means of transport), and the independent working of these industries or services by bodies representing three parties in equal numbers —producers (manual and technical), consumers and users, and the community. In connection with this scheme, the Council has recommended the setting up of a great national regulative body, a general directorate or bureau of national economy. (See INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONALIZATION.)

Conseil Supérieur du Travail (Superior Council of Labor). A national industrial council recently established in France, the constitution and duties of which were defined in a government decree of January 31, 1921. The Council, which is composed of seventy-eight members and is presided over by the Minister of Labor, meets once a year for a period of fifteen days, although special meetings can be called by the Minister at any time. Thirty-two members are elected by employers in the principal industries, and thirty-two by members of employees' organizations in these same industries. In addition to the employer and labor members of the Council, three senators are elected by the Senate, five deputies by the Chamber of Deputies, and one member is appointed by the Paris Chamber of Commerce, two members by the Superior Council of Cooperation, and three members are chosen by the Minister of Labor from among the members of the Institute and the professors

of the law faculty of the University of Paris. The Council chooses two vice presidents from its members, and six secretaries are appointed from the Labor Department. The members from the Senate are elected following each senatorial election, the deputies hold office during the legislative session, and the other members for three years. A permanent commission, appointed from among the members, carries on studies in regard to general industrial conditions, the condition of the workers, and the relations between employers and employees. This commission presents its findings to the Council and advises as to needed reforms. Either a single report may be submitted or a majority and a minority report, and these reports form the subjects for the deliberations of the Council.

Conseils de Prud'hommes (Councils of Experts). French and Belgian industrial courts, the function of which is to settle cases of dispute between individual employers and individual employees, arising out of the existing labor contract. Their purpose is to avoid the expense, formality, and antagonism incident to the settlement in ordinary law courts of minor disputes between employers and working people. The Belgian *conseils de prud'hommes* have somewhat larger powers than those of France; but in neither country do their functions extend to the settlement of general labor disputes, strikes, or lockouts. The *conseils*, which date from 1806, are created for particular localities and for particular industries or groups of industries by governmental decree. They are composed of employers' and workmen's representatives in equal number. Their decision has the force of a court order in most cases. (See GEWERBEGERICHTEN; PROBI-VIRI.)

Conservative, Conservatism. From the Latin *conservare*—*con* meaning "together" and *servare* meaning "to keep"—"to keep together." A conservative is one averse by temperament and training to change, one who wishes to preserve the existing order from fundamental innovations. To quote from Webb's "Industrial Democracy": "The abiding faith in the sanctity of vested interests; the strong presumption in favor of the *status quo*; the distrust of innovation; the liking for distinct social classes, marked off from each other by corporate privileges and peculiar traditions; the disgust at the modern spirit of self-seeking assertiveness; and the deep-rooted conviction that the only stable organization of society is that based on each man being secured and contented in his inherited station of life—all these are characteristic of the genuine Conservative, whether in the Trade Union or the State." Conservatism is the

philosophy expressive of this attitude or belief. It represents the opposite extreme from the RADICAL position, with the LIBERAL occupying the ground between the two. (See REACTIONARY; RIGHT.)

Consideration Miners. In anthracite coal-mining these are regular contract miners who, in consequence of obstructions (such as stone, slate, dirt, etc.) in their working chambers or rooms, or of bad working conditions, are unable to earn on a PIECE WORK basis an amount equal to or in excess of a certain specified rate per day. They are paid the specified rate, which is a little more than that of COMPANY MINERS, until they are able to earn more on a piece work basis.

Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. A British Parliamentary enactment of 1875, which largely determines the position of British trade unions in relation to the criminal law. Its main provision is that "no combination to do any act in furtherance of a trade dispute shall be indictable as a conspiracy unless such act, if committed by one person, would be punishable as a crime." (See CONSPIRACY DOCTRINE.)

Conspiracy Doctrine. Since the beginnings of trade unionism, many of the legal attacks upon organized labor have been directly or indirectly based upon the common-law doctrine of conspiracy. This doctrine, according to Commons and Andrews, "makes illegal acts done collectively in pursuance of an agreement which are legal when done by one person. One manner of explaining this result is that when men combine their motives become of importance. Their combination is legal when their motive is primarily to benefit themselves, and illegal when they aim primarily at the injury of another. One person may sever all business relations with another, if not under contract to continue them, regardless of the motives which may lead him to take this step. But when workingmen combine to go on strike or to BOYCOTT an employer, the courts will inquire whether their primary motive is injury to the employer or benefit to themselves." This doctrine involves two important corollaries: (1) "Where the purpose of the combination is illegal every act done in pursuance thereof is rendered illegal, though the act may be innocent of itself"; and (2) "if an illegal plot has been formed, all of the conspirators are responsible for the acts of any of the conspirators done in pursuance of the common object." In connection with court interpretations of the conspiracy doctrine, "there are three theories which underlie most of the cases involving collective action

by labor. The most fundamental of these is the theory that when men combine the legality of their acts depends upon their motives. Another holds that intentional interference with the rights of others is wrongful, unless it results from the exercise of equal or superior rights. The third theory places emphasis upon the element of coercion and INTIMIDATION involved in the acts of combination. In their manner of statement these theories are wide apart; but their practical conclusions have been much the same. No matter which theory a court may entertain, there is great latitude in its application. Under each theory much depends upon whether the demands of the workingmen are justified or unjustified. Hence, the bias of the judge is likely to be determining." While the common-law doctrine of conspiracy "is very generally upheld and applied very broadly by the American courts, unless it has been modified by statute, there are some judges and legal writers who deny emphatically the justice of the principle that acts which, if done by an individual, would not be punishable become criminal when done by a combination, asserting that such a principle is contrary to the fundamental right of men to act in association, and of the inevitable trend of advancing civilization to render collective action more necessary. The highest English judicial authorities have in several cases declared that the intent of a combination to injure does not render civilly unlawful acts which would not be civilly unlawful if done by an individual; and there seems little doubt that the tendency in Great Britain is to consider the element of combination with unlawful intent less significant also as regards criminal law than was formerly the case. Court decisions do not always clearly point out the distinction between civil liability and criminal liability, or between the elements contributing to each. It is stated by some authorities that malicious intent is not properly to be taken into account in determining whether an act creates a cause of action for civil damages, though it may be properly considered in criminal law. This position, as just suggested, is now the ruling one in Great Britain. In the United States, on the other hand, the courts in many cases seem clearly to have held the opinion that the presence of malice makes an act civilly unlawful which would not otherwise be so. Some high American legal authorities, however, dissent directly from this position. A similar conflict of opinion exists as regards the effect of the presence of combination upon civil liability. Some authorities maintain that acts which would not give a cause of action if done by individuals give no cause of action if done by a combination, but the American courts in several important cases

have taken the opposite position." (See CONSPIRACY AND PROTECTION OF PROPERTY ACT.)

Construction Camp. See LABOR CAMPS.

Consumers' Cooperation. That form of COOPERATION which consists essentially in "a union of many consumers for the purpose of securing in the purchase of commodities advantages impossible to be obtained by one, through an equitable division of the profits derived from their purchase." There are various plans of consumers' cooperation, differing considerably in detail; but the principal method adopted in the great system of cooperative retail and wholesale stores in Great Britain, as well as that mainly followed in other countries, is the ROCHDALE PLAN. Consumers' cooperation is sometimes called "distributive cooperation"; and the associations are known as "distributive societies" or "store societies." (See WHOLESALE COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES; DISCOUNT SOCIETIES.)

Consumers' Leagues. Organizations whose main object is to secure adequate investigation of the conditions under which manufactured goods, particularly articles of wearing apparel, are made and sold; to educate the consuming public to a recognition of its economic and social responsibilities and power, and so direct its force to ameliorating the conditions of industrial workers, particularly women and children; and to promote new laws or enforce old ones, in the interests of the working classes. The National Consumers' League, organized about twenty-five years ago, has done effective work in combating the SWEATING SYSTEM by granting the use of its "Consumers' League Label" to manufacturers in certain fields who fulfill the League's requirements as to methods and conditions of employment, *i.e.*, obedience to the factory laws, all goods made upon the premises, no OVERTIME work, and no children under sixteen employed. It also successfully initiated a nation-wide movement for "early Christmas shopping" in the interests of retail clerks, and has been active in securing the Saturday half-holiday for salesgirls in New York and other large cities.

Continental Union. See NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL UNION; TRADE UNION.

Contingent Benefits. See STRIKE PAY.

Contingent Fund. See STRIKE FUND.

Continuation Schools. As commonly understood, these are special schools or classes in which children and other persons indus-

trially employed may carry on a "continuation" of such general education as they have had before entering industry. The instruction is thus mainly or wholly of a non-vocational character. As thus defined, it will be seen that the continuation school is one particular form of the PART-TIME SCHOOL. Some writers, however, make no distinction in their use of the two terms; while others maintain a distinction based on the difference between day-time and evening instruction. Still others define the continuation school as one which "continues" the purely *trade* instruction of a person industrially employed, thus making it synonymous with what is commonly known as a "trade extension school." While much confusion exists in the matter, the most generally accepted definition is that given at the beginning of this paragraph. (See FACTORY SCHOOLS; WORKS SCHOOLS.)

Continuity of Employment. This phrase is used by Mr. and Mrs. Webb in designation of one of the seven classes of regulations which trade unionism seeks to enforce. This class has to do in general with all trade union methods and proposals intended to do away with, or to materially lessen, UNEMPLOYMENT.

Continuous Arbitration. The system of IMPARTIAL MACHINERY for the ARBITRATION of minor disputes arising under written TRADE AGREEMENTS is of course more effective where the machinery is of permanent rather than temporary nature. It is therefore not uncommon, especially where the organizations of employers and employees are strong and where the AGREEMENT SYSTEM has been highly developed, to find joint committees, chosen by the organizations themselves in a more or less formal manner, which remain in office for the entire period of the agreement and have jurisdiction over all disputes. In some of these cases an IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN is selected in advance for the entire period, while in other cases a "single arbitrator" is chosen to act only in particular disputes where the representatives of the organizations themselves fail to agree. The advantage of a permanent joint committee consists not merely in the fact that its members become more experienced; but especially in the fact that, since the machinery is always ready to hand, there is likely to be a stronger disposition to make use of it than where the parties must first select ARBITRATORS to act regarding their particular dispute. This plan of permanent arbitration machinery is often known as "continuous arbitration." "It is a frequent provision of written agreements as to the conditions of labor that no specific clause of the agreement itself shall be subject to

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arbitration. In other words, the judicial act of interpreting the agreement shall not override the quasi-legislative act of establishing the conditions of labor by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. . . Agreements frequently declare that, pending the arbitration of disputed matters, there shall be no cessation of employment, and that the decisions of arbitrators shall be binding upon both parties. It is very rare, however, to find any definite method of enforcing the decision in case the parties to a dispute refuse to abide by it. The rejection of the decision of arbitrators is indeed by no means uncommon. It occurs, however, less frequently than is sometimes supposed. Where the system of collective bargaining and arbitration has become established for a considerable length of time, both parties recognize what a disadvantage to themselves and to the trade generally would result from a complete break-up of the system because of refusal to carry out agreements or the decisions of arbitrators. It is where the system of collective bargaining itself is but little developed and works more or less intermittently that the decisions of arbitrators are apt to be violated." (See HART, SCHAFFNER & MARX LABOR AGREEMENT; PROTOCOL.)

Continuous Industry. One in which work is carried on night and day practically without interruption—either throughout the year or for several weeks or months at a stretch. Such public services as railroads, telegraph and telephone companies, electric lighting plants, etc., must necessarily operate on a continuous basis. An example of another sort is the steel industry, where economical operation is secured by keeping up continuously in all departments the great heat required for working the metal. Any unnecessary cooling, such as would result from shutting down for a few hours, is a loss of time and money. Given continuous operation in any industry, men are needed twenty-four hours a day. Not the same men, of course—but always, day and night, a full crew must be on hand. When one crew leaves the plant, another must step into its place. This arrangement requires a division of the day into fairly equal parts. It may be separated into two parts, with two crews of men working twelve hours each; or there may be three crews, each with an eight-hour day. (See SHIFT SYSTEM; LONG TURN; ONE DAY'S REST IN SEVEN.)

Contract at Will. In the labor sense, an agreement between one or more employers and one or more workers which is subject to termination at any time by either party to the agreement. Also called "indeterminate contract." (See TRADE AGREEMENT.)

Contract, Freedom of. See FREEDOM OF CONTRACT.

Contract Labor. Generally speaking, any form of labor the performance of which can be enforced at law. It differs from SERVILE LABOR in that it is based upon a contract or agreement voluntarily entered into. In this sense, INDENTURED SERVICE is the earliest historical form of contract labor. As now used, the term generally has specific reference to the system under which laborers are imported from a foreign country, under agreement to work for a particular employer. Although apparently based on FREEDOM OF CONTRACT, this system has in fact often resulted in compulsory service and PEONAGE. The alien contract labor laws passed by Congress during the period 1885–1917 were directed against this and other forms of INDUCED IMMIGRATION; but they have had small effect in stopping the flow of unskilled laborers from abroad. Contract labor is also one of the principal forms of NATIVE LABOR in tropical or sub-tropical countries undergoing capitalist exploitation. (See PADRONE SYSTEM.)

Contract Mining. With particular reference to coal-mining, where this system largely prevails, "contract mining" is only another name for the PIECE WORK system of wage payment. In bituminous mines the worker is generally paid according to the weight of the coal which he cuts out—at so much per ton; while in the anthracite mines he is, as a rule, paid according to measurement—at so much a cubic yard or so much a mine car. (See CHECKWEIGHER; SCREENING SYSTEM; DOCKAGE SYSTEM; DEAD WORK; TONNAGE MEN; ABNORMAL PLACE; CONSIDERATION MINERS.)

Contract Scab. See UNION SCAB.

Contract Shop. As commonly used, this term denotes a shop or factory which accepts a clause in its TRADE AGREEMENT with one or more unions to the effect that none but union members in good standing shall be employed. (See CLOSED SHOP.)

Contract System. In connection with labor affairs, this term commonly denotes any arrangement by which industrial operations are carried on under the direction and control of an intermediary between the ENTREPRENEUR and the workers, such intermediary receiving for the output or result a definite sum agreed upon in advance. In the simplest form of the contract system, the intermediary (called the contractor) agrees to find the necessary labor for a specified job, engages and pays the individual workers, and receives a lump sum from the entrepreneur for the resultant

output. If materials are required, the entrepreneur supplies them. In other forms of the system, not only materials but working quarters and equipment are thus supplied, the work being carried on in the establishment of the entrepreneur. In such cases the laborers may be employed directly by the contractor, or they may be employed and paid by the owner of the industry, who charges their wages against the amount payable to the contractor. This latter plan takes away from the contractor the power to cut the workers' wages. The contractor in this case is simply a piece worker on a large scale, his profit from the contract depending wholly upon the speed at which he can induce those under him to turn out their work. In its most objectionable form, as found in the garment trades, the contract system is inevitably associated with the SWEATING SYSTEM. In nearly all its forms, it is actively opposed by organized labor. It is sometimes difficult in specific cases to distinguish the contract system from what is called SUB-CONTRACTING, and indeed some writers make practically no distinction between the two. (See NEW ENGLAND CONTRACT PLAN; CONTRACT SYSTEM IN THE GARMENT TRADES; BUTTY SYSTEM; STEVEDORE SYSTEM; PIECE MASTER OR JOBBER; COLLECTIVE PIECE WORK; JOB WORK.)

Contract System in the Garment Trades. In these trades it has long been customary to have the garments cut on the premises of the "manufacturer," but instead of being finished there they are farmed out to competing contractors, who either run small shops of their own or sub-contract the work out to persons who take it to their own homes. This system leads to various evils, of which SWEATING is the chief; but these evils have been at least mitigated by the increasing UNIONIZATION of garment workers in our largest cities. According to Professor Commons, "the unlimited hours of work, often seven days in the week, is a feature of the contracting system. The contractor himself works unlimited hours. His shop is open most of the time. He deals with people who have no knowledge of regular hours. He keeps them in the dark with regard to the prevailing number of hours that other people work. The contractor is an irresponsible go-between for the manufacturer, who is the original employer. He has no connection with the business interests of the manufacturer nor is his interest that of his help. His sphere is merely that of a middleman; he is practically useless in a large factory. He holds his own mainly because of his ability to get cheap labor, and is in reality merely the agent of the manufacturer for that purpose. In this he generally succeeds, because he

lives among the poorest class of people, knows them personally, and knowing their circumstances can drive the hardest kind of a bargain. A very large number of the people who work in the sewing trade for contractors usually hope to become contractors themselves. When they succeed in this they reduce the prices, since the contractor when he first takes out work takes it for less money than other contractors." (See INSIDE SHOP; TASK SYSTEM; HOME WORK; OUTWORK; SUB-CONTRACTING; SWEAT SHOP; SWEATER; PARASITIC INDUSTRIES.)

Contract System of Convict Labor. Under this system contracts are made with persons, firms, or corporations in accordance with which convicts are employed in industrial work at certain agreed prices for their labor for fixed periods of time, the prisoners working under the immediate direction of the contractor or his agents, but remaining under the general supervision and control of the prison authorities. The contractors are frequently furnished with the power and even the machinery necessary for carrying on the work by the institutions in which the convicts are imprisoned. (See CONVICT LABOR SYSTEMS; PRISON LABOR.)

Contracting Out. This term refers to the practice of seeking relief from WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION and other labor laws by requiring or persuading an employee to sign a contract releasing the employer from liability under such laws. In England contracts made by employees releasing their employer from liability arising under these statutes are perfectly valid and enforceable. An employee may therefore waive the benefit under these acts, and such waiver will be binding not only against himself but against his personal representatives as well. In the United States the courts are generally of a contrary opinion, and the rule of law that prevails here is that it is against public policy for an employee to contract in advance to release his employer from the liability created by these statutes. (See WAGE AGREEMENTS IN GERMANY; ELECTIVE COMPENSATION ACTS.)

Contributory Negligence. See EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY.

Control of Industry. See WORKERS' CONTROL.

Convener. In England, an official whose function it is to call together the SHOP STEWARDS' committee in a particular works. Usually, but not invariably, he also acts as chairman of the committee.

Convention. See NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Conventional Necessities. Those articles of food, dress, etc., or that style of living which, though non-essential to physical well-being, have become by custom "necessary" to persons in various walks or stations of life. (See STANDARD OF LIVING; FAMILY BUDGET.)

Conversion Training. That form of intensive industrial education which takes advantage of a worker's previously obtained skill in one trade or occupation and prepares him for an allied trade or occupation. Conversion training was practiced on a large scale during the recent war, particularly in the shipbuilding and munition industries.

Convict Labor Systems. The various systems authorized by statutes in force in the United States for the employment of convicts may be grouped under two generic classes, as follows: (1) Systems under which the product or profit of the convicts' labor is shared by the State with private individuals, firms, or corporations; (2) systems under which convicts are worked wholly for the benefit of the State, or its political subdivisions, or public institutions. Under the first class three distinct systems are authorized, known respectively as the CONTRACT SYSTEM, the PIECE PRICE SYSTEM, and the LEASE SYSTEM. Under the second class three systems also are authorized, commonly called the PUBLIC ACCOUNT SYSTEM, the STATE USE SYSTEM, and the PUBLIC WORKS AND WAYS SYSTEM. All but the two systems last named are vigorously opposed by organized labor, because of the demoralizing competition which they introduce with "free" workers. (See PRISON LABOR; REGIE; ACCORD SYSTEM.)

Coolie Labor. The word "coolie" is commonly used in designation of any native day-laborer in India, China, and the South Pacific Islands. In the United States "coolie labor" almost always denotes Chinese labor. Particularly in agriculture, but in various forms of manufacturing also, coolie labor is prevalent to a considerable degree on the Pacific Coast, where it is strongly opposed by white labor. The chief objection to the Chinese laborer is stated to be that he does not spend in this country what he earns, and therefore does not contribute a normal measure of prosperity to trade and industry as a consumer. Another alleged objection is that he renders a supply of white labor more or less impossible in the same locality or industry, and hence displaces a class of labor whose STANDARD OF LIVING is much higher than his own. Finally, he is said to shut out unskilled labor of all the white races from localities in which he constitutes the main element of supply. The various CHINESE

EXCLUSION LAWS enacted by Congress have mitigated but by no means eliminated the problem of coolie labor.

Cooperation. In a general sense, the theory that MUTUAL AID and not competition is the fundamental law of life, that the individual best serves his own interests by serving the interests of others, with "each for all and all for each" as the guiding maxim of society. In the more common and specific sense, cooperation is the combination of persons into associations or societies for economic advantage "whether in the purchase and distribution of commodities for consumption, or in the production of commodities, or in the borrowing and lending of capital among workmen." There are, then, three principal forms of cooperation: (1) That which is carried on by associations of persons who desire to benefit themselves as consumers by saving the merchant's profits, commonly called distributive or CONSUMERS' COOPERATION; (2) that which is carried on by associations of persons who desire to benefit themselves as producers by eliminating the employer's profits, commonly called productive or PRODUCERS' COOPERATION; and (3) that which is carried on by associations of persons who desire to benefit themselves by the use of their combined capital and their combined credit, commonly called CREDIT COOPERATION. Each form of cooperation presents separate features, advantages, and problems, but the essence of the plan in each form is the elimination of the middleman. The cooperative movement, however, considers not only the purity of the goods bought but the conditions under which they were produced, the wages paid workers in their production, and the hours worked; in short, it endeavors to raise the standards all along the line from production to consumption. The movement is of British origin, Robert Owen (1771–1858) being commonly regarded as its father. Its greatest original impetus, however, came with the establishment in 1844 of the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, composed of twenty-eight weavers of Rochdale, Lancashire, who sought to find relief from the poverty, unemployment, adulterated food, extortionate prices, and other evils from which they were suffering by getting together a little supply of joint capital and opening a small shop where provisions and other necessities were sold to their members. From this humble beginning has grown the great cooperative movement of today, which involves some fifty million persons throughout the world. According to Adams and Sumner, "cooperation differs from PROFIT SHARING primarily by reason of the fact that, in its industrial form, at least, its aim is to

modify radically, and finally to utterly abolish, the WAGE SYSTEM. Moreover, cooperation is essentially democratic, while profit sharing is essentially paternalistic. The latter is an effort on the part of the capitalist class to increase net profits by means of a bonus to labor more or less contingent upon increased industry and care, while the former is an effort on the part of the working class to abolish profits by distributing surplus funds among those whose labor or trade has created the surplus. Profit sharing aims to increase the total production of wealth, and cooperation aims to promote its more equitable distribution." While many cooperators are socialists, cooperation differs fundamentally from SOCIALISM in that it neither demands nor implies any radical transformation in the present political State. "It begins within the framework of present industrial society, but proposes to transform it gradually and peacefully, though completely, by abolishing a distinct capitalist class of employers, the leading class at present in that society, comprising those who are not inappropriately called CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY. Cooperation does not desire fundamental change of law, for it hopes by means of voluntary associations to unite labor and capital in the same hands—the hands of the actual workers. Repudiating State help, it proudly adopts as its device, 'self-help.'" Historically, cooperation has played an important part in many phases of the American labor movement, and of late trade unionism in this country has shown a decided tendency to experiment with cooperative enterprises, in both the consuming and the producing fields. (See CONSUMERS' COOPERATION; PRODUCERS' COOPERATION; ROCHDALE PLAN; WHOLESALE COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES; TRADE UNION COOPERATION; COOPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT; CREDIT COOPERATION; AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION; COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS; COPARTNERSHIP; INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE ALLIANCE; COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA; COOPERATIVE UNION; MAISONS DU PEUPLE; together with the various cross references under these headings.)

Cooperative Associations or **Cooperative Societies.** Unions of consumers or producers, organized under any plan or method of COOPERATION, are so called. Such associations, as well as their individual members, are often known as "cooperatives"—or, in shortened form, "coops."

Cooperative Commonwealth. The ideal of a State organized as a fraternal brotherhood, in which industry will be conducted through the cooperative efforts of all members of the State-com-

munity, is often thus designated. (See MUTUALISM; SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH.)

Cooperative Companionships. See ASSOCIATIONS OUVRIÈRES DE PRODUCTION; COOPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.

Cooperative Crews. See COOPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.

Cooperative Day-Labor System. See COOPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.

Cooperative Employment. There are two principal forms of the plan generally known by this name, according to Commons and Andrews's "Principles of Labor Legislation." One of these forms is the cooperative day-labor system, as applied in New Zealand and New South Wales. "This is a time or piece work system under which men out of employment arrange themselves in small groups, averaging about fourteen (the groups were at first, and occasionally still are, larger), select one or two 'headmen,' and enter into contracts with the government for sections of public work at 'schedule rates' based on the estimates of the government engineers in charge of the work." Under this plan the government actually directs the work. The second form is found principally in France and Italy, where workmen organize their own groups and, as such, contract for government work. The government officials are not in charge of the work, but turn it over to the groups of workmen, the plan being a modification of the competitive contract system rather than a form of direct employment. Cooperative employment is sometimes called "direct labor." The groups of workmen under such a plan are often known as "cooperative crews," or in France as "cooperative companionships." (See ASSOCIATIONS OUVRIÈRES DE PRODUCTION; SOCIETÀ DI LAVORO; ARTEL.)

Cooperative League of America. Although previously existent as a federation of the principal cooperative societies of the United States, this organization was reconstituted as a permanent national body at the second National Cooperative Convention held in November, 1920. The objects of the League are "to promote the cause of COOPERATION; to develop mutual aid in place of antagonism; to favor the spread of knowledge of cooperative methods; to unite all consumers of the United States for the above purposes and for the purpose of international federation; and to encourage the acquirement of the agencies of production." The plan as adopted provides for state leagues with local autonomy, and for district

federations within the state. The national organization of which the state leagues will be members will have no control over them except that the constituent societies must be acceptable to it.

Cooperative Piece Work. The arrangement under which PIECE WORK wages are paid for the collective output of a group of workers, the amount paid being divided equally among all the members of the group. This is often called COLLECTIVE PIECE WORK; but strictly speaking it is merely *one form* of collective piece work. (See FELLOWSHIP PIECE WORK; COOPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT; STATION SYSTEM.)

Cooperative Railway Agreements. See BROTHERHOOD COOPERATIONS.

Cooperative Union. A propagandist federation, organized in 1869, of all the chief cooperative societies in Great Britain, and some in Ireland. It looks after their legal and political interests, carries on educational work, organizes local conferences and exhibitions, and manages the great national Cooperative Congress held once a year. More than 1300 societies were affiliated with the Union in 1919. In nearly every European country the cooperative societies are similarly federated.

Cooperatives. See COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

Coops. See COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

Copartnership. See LABOR COPARTNERSHIP.

Copartnership Societies. See PRODUCERS' COOPERATION.

Copartnership Tenancy Societies. See TENANTS' COPARTNERSHIP SOCIETIES.

Corn Production Act. A British Parliamentary enactment of 1917 which was intended, during the critical war period of food shortage, to encourage agricultural production. It established a system of joint boards in every county of the United Kingdom, empowered to fix a legal MINIMUM WAGE, for a prescribed normal working day, for all agricultural laborers.

Corporation. As the typical form of industrial organization in the United States, the corporation bears an important relation to the general LABOR PROBLEM. According to the staff report of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, "in transporta-

tion approximately 100 per cent of the wage earners are employed by corporations; in mining 90 per cent; and in manufacturing 75 per cent." The main outlines of corporate organization are thus stated: "The actual ownership of a corporation is vested in the stockholders and bondholders, whose only interest in the industry is represented by certificates upon the basis of which they expect the payment of interest or dividends at stated intervals. The control of the property, as far as operation is concerned, rests finally with the stockholders, or with some particular class of stockholders whose shares entitle them to vote. The stockholders, however, act through the Board of Directors, who are usually elected in such a way that they represent only the dominant interest. As far as the organization of the corporation is concerned, the principal function of the Board of Directors is to select the executive officials. These executive officials, either directly or indirectly, select the numerous superintendents, foremen and petty bosses by whom the direct operation of the enterprise is managed and through whom all the workers are hired, discharged and disciplined. . . . Here, then, is the field of industrial relations: Masses of workers on the one side dealing in some manner with foremen and superintendents on the other, behind whom is an organization of executive officials, representing in turn the Board of Directors, who are the chosen representatives of the stockholders. The crux of the whole question of industrial relations is: Shall the workers for the protection of their interests be organized and represented collectively by their chosen delegates, even as the stockholders are represented by their Directors and by the various grades of executive officials and bosses?" (See TRUST; ABSENTEE CAPITALISM; INTER-CHURCH STEEL REPORT.)

Corporation Schools. Those FACTORY SCHOOLS conducted by large industrial corporations in the United States, particularly the schools which aim at developing specialized leaders—superintendents, engineers, etc.—rather than the industrial rank and file, are commonly so called. Some writers use the term "corporation school" as an inclusive designation for all educational activities maintained by employers, whether in the nature of specific job instruction, training for trade mastery and craftsmanship, or general education which supplies the background missed because of inefficient or insufficient schooling.

Corporatisme. CRAFT UNIONISM, particularly that of the "business" type, is so called in France, where it is opposed by the

majority of trade unionists as making for "craft selfishness" and the creation of "a working-class aristocracy."

Cost Budget. See FAMILY BUDGET.

Cost of Living. As commonly understood, the pecuniary cost of the commodities and services actually received by the mass of the people. In modern industrial society, the "cost of living" is intimately related to the whole subject of WAGES. If *nominal* wages are to be translated into *real* wages, it is necessary to know, not only the pecuniary amount of the earnings, but also the quantity and quality of the commodities for which they can be exchanged. "In the usual sense of the term, 'cost of living' does not mean the cost of bare subsistence, whether of the commodities actually purchased by persons on the verge of starvation, or of the commodities which would just suffice to sustain life if purchasers were guided by dietetic considerations. It means the actual expenditure of each of the several grades of which the body of a nation is composed. Primarily, of course, it is 'the working classes' that have to be considered. . . . The first object of an inquiry into the cost of living is the ascertainment of the facts with regard to the expenditure of a particular individual or family, or of a typical individual or family of a particular grade or class, during the period (week, month, or year) chosen for the investigation. The figures, when obtained, afford valuable information. They indicate, for instance, how the expenditure is distributed over the various kinds of wants —food, housing, fuel, etc.—and how much remains over for other purposes when necessary wants have been supplied. But having ascertained, in this way, some particular cost of living, we cannot but go on to compare it with other costs of living. We naturally desire to compare the total cost, or the manner in which it is divided, in the case of a particular class, with that of the same class at a different time in the same country, or at the same time in a different country or in a different district, or of a different class in the same country. The subject, therefore, roughly divides itself into the primary investigation and the subsequent comparison." The primary investigation consists in the collection and analysis of statistical material in the form of FAMILY BUDGETS, scales of retail prices, etc. The subsequent comparison is intended to show the distribution of expenditure in the several "classes" of society, the cost of living in different countries or in different parts of the same country at the same time, the cost of living in the same country at different times,

etc. (See IRON LAW OF WAGES; LIVING WAGE; INDEX NUMBERS; STANDARD OF LIVING.)

Cottage Industry. A term formerly in common use to denote such industries or occupations as were carried on in the home, often by the womenfolk of men who tilled the fields or worked in shops. Cottage industry still plays a very important part in the life of Russia, many of the articles used by the peasants being made in this way. In 1915 there were 15,000,000 peasants engaged in cottage industries, mostly farmers filling in their winter time. Many of them are associated with the Russian cooperative movement. (See KUSTARS.)

Cotton Men. Members of the various unions of English cotton spinners, weavers, and cardroom operatives are so called. These unions, which are among the largest and wealthiest in England, are ultimately federated in the United Textile Factory Workers' Association, which focuses the opinion of all the British cotton operatives on fundamental issues of common concern and interest.

Cotton Spinners' Parliament. A name given to the supreme governing body of the Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners, an important British national union. It consists of representatives (not merely delegates), elected annually from the various provinces and districts included in the Association, and meeting quarterly with sovereign powers. It appoints its own Executive Council and officers, including the GENERAL SECRETARY himself, who are directly and continuously responsible to it instead of, as ordinarily in the trade union world, to the whole body of members of the society. Other large British textile unions are governed on much the same plan, though there are variations in detail.

Council of Action. At a meeting of representatives of British labor early in August, 1920, when resumption of the war against Russia seemed imminent, the meeting warned the government that the whole industrial power of the organized workers would be used to stop war, and appointed a "Council of Action" consisting of fifteen representative labor leaders with power to take all steps necessary to this end. At a later meeting the Council of Action was unanimously endorsed by the BRITISH LABOR PARTY, which recommended the levy of a halfpenny upon every member of the Party to raise a fund for the requirements of the Council.

Councils of Experts. See CONSEILS DE PRUD'HOMMES.

Councils of Exploitation. The factory councils or WORKS COUNCILS of northern Italy are so called. Under this plan, the workers of each department of a factory or industry elect a representative. The departments of the administrative and the technical personnel also separately elect their representatives. The representatives of these three groups elect an executive committee for the factory, and this committee is then charged with the duty of receiving the complaints, requests, and suggestions of the departmental representatives, and of discussing them with the management.

Councils of Labor and Industry. As found in some European countries—*e.g.*, France, Belgium, and Austria—these are bodies composed partly of representatives chosen in equal numbers on the nomination of labor organizations and of associations of capitalists and manufacturers, and partly of experts appointed by the government. One of their principal functions is to aid the national legislature in framing and enacting labor laws, but they exercise a considerable measure of control over general industrial arrangements and relations as well. (See BELGIAN INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS.)

Country Money. An allowance in addition to wages made to English workers in the building trades who are assigned to a job in the country. The payment of such an allowance is often stipulated in the WORKING RULES or BY-LAWS of British trade unions.

Country without Strikes. See NEW ZEALAND LABOR MOVEMENT.

County Average System. As practiced in certain English coal-mining districts, this is the method whereby a standard list of average PIECE WORK earnings for each class of mine workers is fixed by negotiation for the whole county, and the prices to be paid in particular mines or in particular seams are fixed by local negotiation through a joint committee on the basis of the county average rate.

Court of Industrial Relations. See KANSAS INDUSTRIAL COURT.

Cover-Up Men. See UNDER-COVER MEN.

Craft. As generally used in the labor movement, this term denotes a particular trade or specialized occupation of any sort; as distinguished from an industry, which may include several or many different trades or occupations. (See CRAFT UNION.)

Craft Autonomy. See AUTONOMY.

Craft Committee. In some industrial establishments a SHOP COMMITTEE representative of all the workers engaged at a particular craft or occupation is so called.

Craft Jurisdiction. See JURISDICTION.

Craft Union. One of the two main structural types of trade union—the other being the INDUSTRIAL UNION. In its simplest and commonest form, the craft union is made up of workers engaged on a single industrial process, or on several processes so nearly akin that any worker can do any other's work. Such, for example, is a union of bricklayers, of blacksmiths, of plumbers, etc. A second form of craft union is that composed of workers engaged upon a larger group of kindred processes, still following the lines of the type of work done. Thus, all engineers might be organized in one union, all wood-workers in another, all leather-workers in another, and so forth. This form, variously known as "occupational union" and "kindred craft union," is often classified as a form of industrial unionism. It is, however, strictly craft unionism, because it follows the lines of common crafts or occupations rather than those of the actual structure of industry. As a rule, craft unions exist wholly or mainly in the case of occupations which do or did formerly demand a comparatively high degree of skill, rather than in those which require only unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Since the craft union often extends over a number of different industries, and includes only one class of workers in each, it acts as an obstacle to the formation of industrial unions. For the same reason, it is not as amenable as an industrial union to ideas involving WORKERS' CONTROL of industry; and is, in general, a much less effective fighting body than the industrial union. "The separateness of crafts is being broken down by the improvement of machinery, and it is becoming more possible for the work of the skilled to be done by the semi-skilled. A strike of a single craft thus becomes less and less likely to succeed. The skilled are forced to stand together, and to make common cause with the unskilled. Craft unionism is out of date because the isolation of the craft is itself becoming a thing of the past. The small unions have to act together, and in order to do this at all, they must at least federate." The argument for craft organization, on the other hand, is based partly on the common interest of the workers at a given occupation. "A cooper is a cooper, whether the chief business of his employer is the making of beer or the production of barrels for sale. Whatever the nature of the establishment he may chance to work in, he should, it is said, be governed

by the same trade rules, and should stand with his fellow-craftsmen in maintaining common rates of wages and conditions of labor. To undertake to unite in a single organization workmen of various degrees of skill, various rates of customary wages, and various degrees of economic power against their employers, must result, it is asserted, in divided councils and conflicting interests within the organization, and in consequent weakness." According to Mr. and Mrs. Webb: "The whole history of trade unionism confirms the inference that a trade union, formed as it is for the distinct purpose of obtaining concrete and definite material improvements in the conditions of its members' employment, can not, in its simplest form, safely extend beyond the area within which those identical improvements are shared by all its members—can not spread, that is to say, beyond the boundaries of a single occupation." Craft unionism tends, as a rule, toward conservatism and BUSINESS UNIONISM, and does not lend itself to the development of radical theories within the trade union movement. (See COMPOUND CRAFT UNION; MATERIAL TRADE UNION; CLOSED UNION; AMALGAMATION; OLD UNIONISM; PURE AND SIMPLE UNIONISM; CLASS UNIONISM; UNION SCAB.)

Craft Unionism. The theory and practice of trade union organization on the basis of craft or occupational distinctions, rather than along the lines of the actual structure of industry. (See CRAFT UNION; BUSINESS UNIONISM; PURE AND SIMPLE UNIONISM; OLD UNIONISM; CORPORATISME.)

Credit Cooperation. That form of COOPERATION which is carried on by associations of persons who wish to benefit themselves by the use of their combined capital and their combined credit. The purpose is generally to supply loans for productive purposes to agricultural workers, town craftsmen, small traders, home seekers, etc. Credit cooperation has flourished chiefly in Germany and elsewhere on the continent, in the form of CREDIT UNIONS. In the United States, the BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS constitute the main type of cooperative credit.

Credit Unions. Local cooperative banking associations, formed to borrow money on the collective credit and responsibility of a group (*e.g.*, a trade union, the employees of a single establishment, etc.), where individual credit would not be sufficient. The money thus borrowed is in turn loaned out to members of the association for various productive purposes. The two main types of credit unions in Europe, where this form of CREDIT COOPERATION chiefly

flourishes, are the RAIFFEISEN BANKS and the SCHULZE-DELITZSCH BANKS.

Criminal Conspiracy. See CONSPIRACY DOCTRINE.

Criminal Syndicalism Laws. During the period 1917–1920, statutes defining and punishing "criminal SYNDICALISM" and SABOTAGE were enacted by the Federal government and nearly one-half of the state governments in the United States, as well as by Alaska and Hawaii. There is a quite general similarity in the acts, syndicalism being defined as a doctrine advocating the commission of acts of violence, terrorism, and crime to effect political and industrial changes; and sabotage as the doing of physical damage or injury to physical property for like purposes. Not only is assemblage for the teaching of the doctrine penalized, but the opening of halls and the permitting of assemb ages are likewise punishable in many of the laws. In New Mexico, employers hiring "anarchists" are guilty of a misdemeanor. Washington not only punishes sabotage, but also makes it a felony to interfere with or supplant the owner's management of his industry or to threaten such interference. (See SABOTAGE LAW.)

Crimping System. In present-day use, this term refers to a common method of recruiting seamen. For many years sailors have been, and still are, largely at the mercy of a professional "crimp" or "crimper" when seeking a berth on a ship. The "crimp" or "crimper" usually runs a sailors rooming and boarding house, and undertakes to furnish shipmasters with crews. The crimping system is responsible for terrible abuses and inhuman practices in securing crews. One of the draft conventions adopted at the second GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS will, when converted into law, make the business of the "crimp" illegal, and will require each country to organize and maintain a system of public employment offices for seamen.

Cropper or Share Cropper. An agricultural laborer who is paid not in money but in a share of the crop which he helps to produce. The term is sometimes applied to a tenant farmer who pays the rent of his farm with a share of the crop produced, but the latter is more properly known as a "share tenant." (See MÉTAYAGE.)

Crumb Boss. See FLUNKEY.

Cul-de-sac Occupations. See BLIND ALLEY OCCUPATIONS.

Cyclical Fluctuations. The fairly regular alternations between periods of industrial prosperity and depression in the economic life of a country, or in specific trades and industries, over a considerable period of time. These cyclical fluctuations have an important bearing upon trade unionism. Whether considered in relation to national conditions as a whole or to conditions in a particular industry, the relative strength of trade unionism is generally highest during a period of industrial prosperity and lowest during a period of depression. The reasons for this are thus summarized by Dr. Weyforth: "In the first place, during a period of depression when there is much UNEMPLOYMENT, it becomes difficult or impossible for many members to keep up their dues. Many lapses occur for this reason. Secondly, not only is it harder to hold old members, but it is more difficult to obtain new ones. When many people out of employment are waiting to take the workman's place, he is less inclined to run the risk of losing his job by antagonizing his employer through trade-union activities than at times when jobs are plentiful. Finally, the union occupies a weaker strategical position in times of depression than in times of prosperity. When business is active, employers are, generally speaking, reaping their harvest. Hence an interruption to their business is extremely undesirable, and often they may prefer to yield to the demands of their workmen rather than undergo the losses incident to a shut-down. Moreover, even in case the employer is inclined to fight, he will find it more difficult to recruit his force with competent non-union workmen because there is a smaller labor supply of the unemployed available than in times of depression. But in times of depression not only is the employer, because of the large supply of unemployed workmen, better able to make a fight against the union, but he is also less disinclined to do so, since with business running low, a strike of his men may provide a convenient excuse for shutting down his plant." (See INDUSTRIAL CYCLE; SEASONAL FLUCTUATIONS; LABOR SURPLUS.)

Czecho-Slovak Labor Organizations. See ODBOROVE SDRUZENI CESKOSLOVENSKE; DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND IN DER TSCHECHOSLOWAKISCHEN REPUBLIK.

D

Dago. A common American nickname for Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese—especially of the common laboring class. The word is said to be an English and American sailors' corruption of "Diego"—the Spanish equivalent for "James." (See GINNY; WOP.)

Danbury Hatters Case. As the result of a BOYCOTT by the American Hatters' Union against a hat manufacturer of Danbury, Conn., in 1902, legal action was brought by the manufacturer against the members of the union. In 1908 the United States Supreme Court declared the boycott illegal, and authorized suit for damages under the Federal anti-trust laws. Judgment for $230,000 was obtained in 1909 against the individual members of the union; and six years later this judgment, with additional penalties and interest to date, was confirmed by the Supreme Court. A general assessment was levied on organized workers throughout the country to relieve the individuals affected by the decision. This case is one of the most famous in American labor history.

Danish General Federation of Trade Unions. See DE SAMVIRKENDE FAGFORBUND I DANMARK.

Darg. A Scottish term, meaning a day's work or a definite TASK. In some British coal-mining districts the "darg" is the amount of daily maximum output for an individual hewer—a limit which he is supposed not to exceed. Such LIMITATION OF OUTPUT is, however, not countenanced by the leading miners' unions.

Darwinian Theory. See SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

Day Laborer. One who is engaged to work from day to day without any time contract of employment, express or implied, and who is subject to discharge without notice. Day labor, in this sense, is nearly always synonymous with COMMON LABOR.

Day Rooms. See EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.

Day Work. (1) Labor performed during the normal daylight period, as distinguished from NIGHT WORK. (2) That system of wage payment under which the worker receives a specified sum for a working day consisting of a specified number of hours. The term "day work" is often used as a general synonym for TIME WORK. (See DAY LABORER; EIGHT-HOUR DAY; SIX-HOUR DAY; NORMAL DAY; SIXTEEN-HOUR LAW; THREE EIGHTS; OVERTIME.)

De Leonites. See WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION.

De-registration. See COMMONWEALTH COURT OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark. The general federation of Danish trade unions—the leading national labor organization of Denmark. At the close of 1919 fifty-seven trade unions were affiliated with this central body, representing a constituent membership of about 278,000. The organization works in close cooperation with the *Socialdemokratiske Forbund* (Social Democratic Federation), which represents the political side of the moderate socialist-labor movement of Denmark. The more radical elements among the Danish workers are represented on the industrial side by the Association of Free Trade Unions, consisting of unions (mainly syndicalist in character) which have seceded from the conservative Federation. In addition to these two organizations, there are a few CHRISTIAN UNIONS and YELLOW UNIONS in Denmark, but these are of minor importance.

Dead Line. See TASK SYSTEM.

Dead Work. In coal-mining, the underground worker is frequently required to set up timbers, remove falls, and handle impurities in the vein where he is working. The question of whether this "dead work," as it is called, should be paid for is a common source of contention in CONTRACT MINING.

Death Benefits. Payments made by trade unions, MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES, etc., to the widows or other dependents of deceased members, at the time of the latter's death. This is the commonest form of BENEFIT in American trade unions. Except in the case of those unions which, like the leading RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS, conduct a regular insurance business, the death benefit seldom exceeds an amount sufficient to provide for the extraordinary expenses involved in the death and burial of a member. Some gradation, accord-

ing to the length of membership in good standing, is often found. In addition to the ordinary form of death benefit, as described above, some trade unions pay a benefit upon the death of a member's wife, or (more rarely) upon the death of a dependent widowed mother of an unmarried member. Death benefits are sometimes called "funeral benefits," "mortuary benefits," or (in England) "burial money." (See INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE.)

Debs Case. In 1894, in connection with a railway strike originating in the Pullman Car Company works and thence spreading to nearly all the railway lines radiating from Chicago, a BLANKET INJUNCTION was issued by a Federal court enjoining the officers of the American Railway Union and "all other persons" from interfering with the transportation of the mails and with the flow of interstate commerce. For violation of this injunction, Eugene V. Debs, then president of the American Railway Union, was imprisoned for six months on a charge of contempt of court. The case is of considerable historical importance in American labor annals, as involving the first important use of the injunction as an anti-labor weapon.

Decasualization. The organized effort, largely by means of national LABOR EXCHANGES, to do away with the evils of CASUAL LABOR by increasing the opportunities for steady and permanent employment. W. H. Beveridge, the standard authority on unemployment problems, reached the conclusion that "the only way to prevent the creation of casuals is to eliminate the casual job, and the only way to eliminate the casual job is to unify four or five demands for casuals to work a day into a solid week's work for one man." He therefore proposed "that all the irregular men for each group or similar employers should be taken on from a common centre or exchange, and that this exchange should so far as possible concentrate employment upon the smallest number that will suffice for the work of the group as a whole." (See LIVERPOOL DOCK SCHEME; LONDON DOCK SCHEME.)

Decentralization (Trade Union). See CENTRALIZATION.

Decentralization of Industry. The congestion of industrial enterprises in large cities, resulting from the tendency toward LOCALIZATION OF INDUSTRY, has given rise to a counter-movement often known as decentralization of industry. This latter is the movement away from city centres out into the suburbs or outside of the established city limits and into new towns or smaller cities immediately adjoining the larger centre. This is a conscious movement directed

by advantages foreseen and calculated. As a result of it, towns and communities have been built up as single units or developments within a short space of time. The reasons for this movement of industry away from the city are a desire for more land as well as for cheap land, lower taxes, lower rentals, and avoidance of congestion; the desire to get more light and air and quieter surroundings, and to avoid the contagion of strikes due to workers living together under conditions of city life. Transportation is an element in the movement, and has greatly facilitated it.

Defense Fund. See STRIKE FUND.

Defense Strike. See LOCKOUT.

Deferred Participation. As a method or form of PROFIT SHARING, this may be described as the plan under which the individual worker's share in the profits of a concern is either deposited in an ESTABLISHMENT FUND for the general benefit of the whole body of employees, or credited directly to the individual participant but paid to him only when he has attained a specified age, has worked in the establishment for a certain number of years, or for some reason is in serious need of money. Provision is usually made for the payment of sums due employees to their heirs. In some cases of deferred participation the worker forfeits his right to payment if he leaves the employ of the concern, though in many instances special provision is made for him to receive all sums due upon giving reasonable notice of withdrawal.

Delegate Meeting. See BRITISH TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION; REPRESENTATIVE MEETING.

Délégué de l'Atelier. See SHOP STEWARD.

Demarcation. In the British labor movement this term is generally synonymous with the American term JURISDICTION as applied to the conflicting claims of two or more trade unions to the exclusive handling of certain kinds of work, materials, tools, machines, etc. The disputes arising in connection with such claims are called "demarcation disputes." (See OVERLAP; APPORTIONMENT LISTS.)

Demarcation Disputes. See JURISDICTION; DEMARCATION; OVERLAP.

Democratic Control. See INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

Democratic Labor Union of the Philippines. See PHILIPPINES, LABOR ORGANIZATION IN THE.

Demonstration Strike. One instituted for the purpose of manifesting the strength and solidarity of the workers, and of thus impressing or intimidating employers or public authorities.

Department Councils. A general name for the subordinate delegate bodies representative of trade unions affiliated with each of the five DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. Such councils are usually organized on a territorial basis—local, district, and state; but in the case of the RAILROAD EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT the basis of organization is a single railroad system. Trade unions affiliated with a local department council are also required, as a rule, to affiliate with the regular CITY CENTRALS in their respective localities. (See BUILDING TRADES COUNCILS; METAL TRADES COUNCILS; UNION LABEL LEAGUES; SYSTEM FEDERATIONS.)

Department of Education of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. A scheme of WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION adopted in 1920 by the State Federation of Labor of Pennsylvania. By means of "trade union colleges" in Philadelphia and Pittsburg, labor classes in half a dozen other cities, and circuit lecture courses in the remaining districts, trade unionists throughout the state are given the advantage of instruction in general cultural and economic subjects. The work is financed mainly by the local unions and CITY CENTRALS.

Department of Labor. See UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Departments of the American Federation of Labor. The revised rules of the A. F. of L. relating to so-called "Departments," as adopted in 1914, contain the following sections: "(1) For the greater development of the labor movement, Departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the Federation, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each Department is to manage and finance its own affairs. (2) To be entitled to representation in any Department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the Federation. (3) To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway SYSTEM FEDERATIONS of Departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated national or international unions affiliated to Departments or directly affiliated to the Federation. Said local unions shall first be and remain in

affiliation to central labor unions chartered by the Federation. (4) The fundamental laws and procedure of each Department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as, the laws and procedure governing the Federation. (5) Each Department to be considered the official method of the Federation for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective Departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the Federation." The Departments so far organized are five in number—the BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT, METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT, RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT, MINING DEPARTMENT, and UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT. Each Department has its own officers and executive council, maintains its own national headquarters, and holds an annual or biennial convention. The officers submit quarterly reports to the Federation, and participate in regular meetings of the latter's Executive Council. (See DEPARTMENT COUNCILS.)

Dependent Unionism. A term sometimes used in designation of a functional type of labor organization whose existence depends wholly or in large part on some force outside the particular organization. Certain LABEL UNIONS and practically all COMPANY UNIONS are of this type.

Deputies. In the American labor movement (1) national trade union officials whose duties are described in the entry, DEPUTY SYSTEM. Also (2) under certain TRADE AGREEMENTS, particularly those in the garment industries, local trade union and employers' officials who have direct charge of the execution of the provisions of the agreement in the interest of their respective principals. The deputies of each side in a particular factory are usually subject to the authority of an officer known as the chief deputy. (3) In the British coal-mining industry, company officials who occupy a position generally corresponding to that of a foreman in a factory.

Deputy Clerks. See PROTOCOL.

Deputy System. Many of the larger American national or international unions maintain permanently, or employ from time to time as they are needed, special deputies who carry on the field work of the national organization, visiting the local branches from time to time and performing various specialized duties which would otherwise fall to the lot of the president and vice-presidents of the central

office. This is commonly known as the "deputy system." (See ORGANIZER; STRIKE DEPUTY; SPECIAL DEFENSE ORGANIZERS; FINANCIER; LABEL AGITATOR.)

Despatching. See ROUTING.

Detective Agencies. See LABOR DETECTIVE AGENCIES.

Detroit I. W. W. See INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD; WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION.

Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund in der Tschechoslowakischen Republik (Federation of German Trade Unions in Czecho-Slovakia). Organized in May, 1919, on an industrial basis. In the following March twenty-three unions, with a constituent membership of 352,000, were affiliated in the organization. At the first Congress, held at Teplitz in July, 1920, a membership of 360,000 was reported. Sixty per cent of the members are affiliated with the German Social Democratic Party of Czecho-Slovakia.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In the Marxian sense, the temporary taking over of power by the PROLETARIAT majority after the fall of CAPITALISM, and the conduct of governmental affairs by and in the interests of the working class. As a prominent tenet in the creed of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, it means that during the transition period following their seizure of political and industrial power, the workers will exclude from any share in the government all non-producers, giving the vote only to those who perform useful social work. The right of free speech, assembly, and press of the BOURGEOISIE must also be suppressed, according to this doctrine, on the ground that otherwise they might promote counter-revolutionary movements. When the task of socializing industry is completed, it is argued, all able-bodied persons will be producers; thus there will be no further need of the dictatorship, and the government will be conducted by the whole people. (See BOLSHEVISM.)

Differential Piece Rate System. A method of PIECE WORK wage payment devised by F. W. Taylor, the "father" of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT. Under this system, the worker "is paid a low rate per piece for ordinary production and a considerably higher rate for production according to a standard, determined by careful TIME STUDY, and made possible of attainment by systematic training of the workman and by such management of the plant as facilitates to the utmost the operations performed by the laborer." As a concrete example, let us say that the standard TASK in the case of a

certain kind of work has been fixed at ten pieces per day. If the worker's output reaches or exceeds ten pieces he is paid at the rate, say, of fifty cents per piece, whereas if he turns out less than ten pieces he receives only thirty-five cents per piece. In either case the piece rate is definitely fixed—one rate for the standard task, another rate for anything less than the standard task. This plan is, in effect, a "scientific" extension of the BONUS SYSTEM. (See TASK AND BONUS SYSTEM.)

Dilutes, Dilutees. Unskilled or semi-skilled workers introduced among skilled workers, under the plan known as DILUTION OF LABOR, are sometimes called "dilutes," the skilled workers being known as "dilutees."

Dilution of Labor. In an industrial sense, the introduction of less-skilled labor on work hitherto done by labor of a higher class. Such dilution usually takes the form, not so much of the direct substitution of one worker for another on an identical operation, as of the introduction of simpler or more specialized machinery operated by a less-skilled type of workers. Or the process hitherto performed by one skilled worker may be split into a number of easy operations capable of being performed by several unskilled workers. The entrance of hundreds of thousands of women and GREEN HANDS into industry during the recent war involved "dilution" on a vast scale, and made necessary the suspension or abrogation of all trade union customs and restrictions in this matter. (See INDUSTRIAL TRUCE; DILUTES; VESTIBULE SCHOOLS; SUBSTITUTION.)

Dinner Money. In the WORKING RULES or BY-LAWS of some British trade unions it is stipulated that the worker assigned to a distant job shall receive an extra allowance for his dinner in case he has received no notice of the assignment on the previous day.

Direct Action. Among trade unionists, this term has long been synonymous with what is commonly known as INDUSTRIAL ACTION—that is to say, any aggressive mass effort on the part of organized labor directed toward a purely economic end; as for example, a strike or boycott. In this sense, it has always denoted the opposite of POLITICAL ACTION or, as it is often called, INDIRECT ACTION. While the favorite weapon of radical labor bodies everywhere, its application differs widely in different countries. With the French syndicalists, direct action is "at once a great educative influence and the actual method of capitalist expropriation. It has therefore taken on an almost religious aspect, and has felt the need

of providing itself with a theology. The dogma of the GENERAL STRIKE is the formulation of the philosophy of direct action in a popular and compelling manner." During the past few years the term "direct action" has been more frequently applied to the attempt to secure, by organized labor action, political or other results outside the ordinary aims of trade unionism; such as the refusal of British seamen in 1917–18 to carry labor delegates to the international Stockholm conference of socialists, or the strike proposed by the British TRADES UNION CONGRESS in July, 1919, to force a discontinuance of armed intervention in Russia. Still another use of the term is with reference to such a step on the part of a local trade union as the calling of an INDEPENDENT STRIKE.

Direct Labor. See COOPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.

Dirty Mining. See DOCKAGE SYSTEM.

Dirty Money. See BLACK MONEY.

Disability Insurance. See SICKNESS INSURANCE.

Disability or Disablement Benefits. Payments made by a trade union, MUTUAL AID SOCIETY, etc., or the State, to a member incapacitated for work by any bodily or mental disability. Such benefits commonly consist of weekly payments for a specified period. They include both sickness and accident benefits; but owing to the existence of WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION laws in nearly all large countries, accident benefits are now of comparatively small importance. A considerable number of trade unions pay a lump sum, equal to or larger than the DEATH BENEFIT, in the event of total and permanent disability. Under the British NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT, disablement benefits are paid to insured persons who are rendered incapable of work and have exhausted their twenty-six weeks' sickness benefits. (See MALINGERING.)

Discharge Book System. As utilized by the Lake Carriers' Association, an organization of employing vessel-owners on the Great Lakes, this is a method of registration for employment purposes. Each sailor or seaman is given a "discharge book," in which are noted the vessels on which he has served, the capacity or rating in which he served, the dates of his employment and discharge, and a notation as to the character of his service made by the officer under whom he served. In seeking a new position the holder must show this book; and if he is taken on, the book is held as long as he retains his position. It is a common complaint of the men that the "dis-

charge book system" is often used to BLACKLIST union sailors and others considered "undesirable" by the vessel-owners.

Discharge of Wage Earners in Russia. Under the Soviet labor code, after a person has been appointed to a permanent position he may be discharged for unfitness only with the consent of his trade union. Both the employer and the employee may appeal the matter to the local and the district office of the PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF LABOR, respectively. The decision of the district office is final. In every case the worker is entitled to two weeks' notice of the proposed discharge. On the other hand, the worker is not at liberty to quit his job at pleasure. He must tender his resignation, which must be passed upon by the WORKS COMMITTEE of his factory. If the works committee, after a hearing, declines to accept the resignation, the wage earner must remain at work, but he may appeal to his trade union, whose decision is final. A wage earner who disobeys these rules is barred from other employment for one week and forfeits his unemployment benefit for that period. These rules do not apply, however, to personal service and to temporary employment, where the worker is at liberty to quit at pleasure. (See PROBATION SYSTEM IN RUSSIAN INDUSTRY.)

Discipline. In the labor movement, this term refers to the maintenance of order and the observance of rules and regulations, as well as to the judging of offenses and the infliction of punishment —either on the part of an employer in relation to his employees, or on the part of a trade union in relation to its individual members or its subordinate units. Disciplinary action directed by a national union against a subordinate union usually takes the form of a fine, suspension, or expulsion. In relation to individual unionists, such action is nearly always a prerogative of the local unions. In many of the national organizations, however, criminal codes have grown up, and in some of them the number of offenses specified is large. No offense appears oftener in these national codes than UNDERMINING brother members in prices or wages or conditions of work. Several unions forbid taking a job or offering to take it for less than it has paid before. Going to work where a strike is on is mentioned rather less often; possibly because it is so obvious and grievous an offense that specific mention seems even less necessary. Revealing the business or transactions of the union to outsiders, and especially to employers, is often referred to. A few unions lay special penalties on revealing the name of a member who has opposed the admission of a candidate. Disturbing the meetings of the union by swearing,

by abusive language, by refusing to obey the president, or by appearing in a state of intoxication, is mentioned in perhaps a dozen codes. Neglect of duty by an officer or a member of a committee is often punishable by a fine, and in the case of an officer by forfeiture of his position. Absence of an officer from meetings and failure to have at a meeting books which are in his charge are often specially provided for. Misapplication of funds of the union, or any sort of fraud against the union or its members, is often mentioned. Penalties are often provided for advocating dissolution of a local union, or division of its funds, or separation of it from the national union. Slandering of members, creating dissension in the union, and working against its interest and harmony are other specifications. Unions which have labels sometimes mention the illegal supplying of them. Several unions provide certain penalties, often expulsion, for one who becomes an habitual drunkard. Finally, one finds such general phrases as "the commission of any act which tends to bring the union into discredit." Many national organizations have elaborate rules for the bringing of charges and the conduct of trials. It is usually required, when definite rules are formulated, that charges be brought in writing, and that if the local union thinks them worthy of attention a copy of them be served upon the accused, or he be given due notice of them, together with a notice of the time and place of trial. The trial is in some unions before the local executive board, but usually before a special committee. The committee is selected in most cases directly by vote of the local. In practically all organizations the trial board or committee submits its findings to the local, with an abstract of the evidence; and guilt or innocence, as well as the penalty to be inflicted, are determined by vote of the local. Sometimes a two-thirds vote is necessary for the infliction of a penalty. The penalties customarily inflicted by labor organizations are reprimand, fine, suspension, and expulsion. Sometimes a distinction is drawn between private reprimand and public reprimand, and between indefinite suspension and suspension for a definite period. Far the commonest penalty is a fine; this has the obvious advantage of replenishing the funds of the union at the same time that it punishes the delinquent. In all national organizations an appeal lies from any penal judgment of a local to some higher authority representing the national union. This authority is, in general, either the president or the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD. Many organizations make special provision for charges against national officers. Sometimes such charges can be brought only by vote of a local union. The truth of them must in many organizations be sustained by affidavit. They

are usually tried before the general executive board, but sometimes before a special committee. (See FINANCES OF TRADE UNIONS; BROWN SYSTEM; SPONTANEOUS STRIKE; INDEPENDENT STRIKE.)

Discipline by Record. See BROWN SYSTEM.

Discipline Strike. See SPONTANEOUS STRIKE.

Discipline without Suspension. See BROWN SYSTEM.

Discount Societies. As representative of a limited form of CONSUMERS' COOPERATION, these are associations of consumers which do not sell on their own account but obtain reductions in price from wholesalers and others in consideration of the joint and regular patronage of their members. This plan is often adopted by MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES and farmers' organizations in this country and abroad.

Discrimination. In connection with the labor movement, this term is most commonly used in designation of the bias or unfavorable distinction, on the part of an employer or organized group of employers, against a worker or an organized group of workers. According to the staff report of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, the most important device used by "hostile" EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS, in resisting union attempts to replace INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, is discrimination against members of the union. "Many of the associations have in their 'declarations of principles' the statement that no discrimination will be made against any man because of his membership in any organization, but this rule is not enforced. Ordinarily members of the union are not discriminated against, but if the number of unionists increases in any shop until it becomes large, the employer is advised or decides on his own volition to hire no more members of the union. Moreover, any workman who is prominent in urging the others to form a union is likely to be dismissed. The aim of the association is to prevent in ordinary times such an increase in the number of unionists as will lead to a collective demand. The proposition is effective against collective action, as membership of an individual workman in a union constitutes no menace to the employer's power to control his business unless the individual can persuade others to act with him."

Dismissal Wage. In view of the economic distress often caused to the workman and his family when he is suddenly thrown out of a job, it has been proposed that the employer should be required to continue the payment of wages for a certain period (usually

two weeks) after an employee is discharged, such payment being known as a "dismissal wage." This plan would give the worker his customary earnings while he was seeking a new job, and would reduce the temptation on the employer's part to discharge workers for trivial or unsound reasons.

Dispute. See STRIKE.

Dispute Benefits. See STRIKE PAY.

Dispute Pay. See STRIKE PAY.

Distribution of Labor in Russia. Under the Soviet labor code, the enforcement of the RIGHT TO WORK, on the one hand, and the compulsory assignment of wage-earners to work, on the other, are secured through the Labor Distribution Department of the PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF LABOR. Through its local and district sections the Department keeps a register of all unemployed workers, and these latter are assigned according to the needs of particular establishments and individuals. An unemployed worker has no right to refuse an offer to work at his vocation, provided the working conditions conform with the standards fixed by the government and the trade unions.

Distributive Cooperation. See CONSUMERS' COOPERATION.

Distributive Societies. See CONSUMERS' COOPERATION.

District By-Laws. See BY-LAWS.

District Committee. See DISTRICT COUNCIL.

District Council. (1) In the United States, when several LOCALS belonging to the same national union exist in a place, they are often united in a district council. The Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Painters require a district council to be established wherever there are two local unions. The powers of the district councils vary greatly in the different organizations. In the Brotherhood of Carpenters their powers are considerable; they not only frame and enforce WORKING RULES for their districts, but they adopt BY-LAWS and rules covering STRIKE PAY and other BENEFITS to be paid by the locals under their jurisdiction. District councils are always composed of delegates from local unions. In some organizations their more important decisions are submitted to the locals for confirmation. (2) In certain British national unions, particularly the large federated or amalgamated organizations, the district council (or, as

it is called in some unions, the district committee) is a delegate body representative of all the BRANCHES of the national society in a single large industrial centre or locality. As in the case of their American counterparts, the powers of the British district councils vary greatly in different unions. In the Amalgamated Society of Engineers the district committee enjoys almost complete autonomy in the formation of local industrial policy, subject to two conditions: (1) That any action which involves expenditure from the central fund must receive the sanction of the CENTRAL EXECUTIVE, and (2) that the organization of friendly benefits is a matter entrusted exclusively to the individual branches. In the National Union of Railwaymen, on the other hand, the district councils have no executive powers, and exist merely for propagandist and consultative purposes. (See DISTRICT UNION; JOINT COUNCIL; BRITISH TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION; MULTIPLE-BRANCH UNION.)

District Delegates. In the British trade union movement, these are agents of the national unions, elected for every important district, who devote themselves to organizing work, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, etc. In some of the larger unions, the district delegates form a virtual cabinet to the GENERAL SECRETARY, "alternately serving as councillors on high issues of policy and as ministers carrying out in their own spheres that which they have in council decided." (See BRITISH TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION.)

District Industrial Councils. As formulated in the WHITLEY PLAN, a district industrial council is a voluntary body representative of trade unions and employers' associations in a particular industry for a particular district or area. It is closely correlated with the various WORKS COMMITTEES in the same industry and area, on the one hand, and with the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL for the same industry, on the other. Where a national council for an industry has not been formed, the district councils perform the functions of the national council. They deal with matters of general significance to the industry and district, particularly rates of wages and hours of work.

District Union. In some American national or international unions, this is a form of organization which usually occupies an intermediate position between the LOCAL and the central national body. The district covered is often an area within which productive or competitive conditions are essentially similar. Often it is roughly coterminous with the boundaries of a state. In a number of unions

the New England states constitute a single district. The International Seamen's Union follows the coast lines and inland waters in marking off its districts. The district unions of coal miners embrace all miners in the same coal field or in a group of coal fields having common shipping points. Sometimes they are further subdivided into districts which embrace the miners working in one section of a large coal field or in a group of mines under the same management. Among railway workers the district union (or DIVISION, as it is called) is generally coterminous with a single railway system. In most unions the primary purpose of the district organization is to render conditions of employment uniform throughout the area over which the district union has jurisdiction. Another purpose is to unite all those local unions of a single craft or industry which will be affected by a strike occurring in any part of the district. In some cases the district union negotiates a uniform wage scale for the district as a whole, carries on COLLECTIVE BARGAINING in regard to hours and working conditions, and exercises all control of strikes within the district. Most district unions are governed by a delegate body known as the DISTRICT COUNCIL, made up of representatives from the various locals within the district, and by permanent officers chosen by that body —including sometimes a BUSINESS AGENT. Frequently, also, there is an executive board, which transacts emergency business between the meetings of the district council. The relative power and authority of the district union vary widely in different national organizations. Sometimes it is the most important unit of the entire organization —as with the coal miners, whose district unions preceded the national union; or with the machine textile workers, who have no locals; or with the seamen, whose locals are little more than convenient "ports of call" for visiting members. Sometimes it is merely a useful agent for the transaction of routine administrative duties. (See JOINT COUNCIL.)

Divided Foremanship. See FUNCTIONAL FOREMANSHIP.

Division. (1) In some of the American RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS, the central national body is called the "grand division" or "grand international division," while the minor bodies or units are known as "divisions," "sub-divisions," or "subordinate divisions." These latter commonly differ from the LOCALS in other national unions in that they are organized not on the basis of locality but according to units of individual railway systems. (2) The five jurisdictional units of the RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT of the

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR are called "divisions." (See DISTRICT UNION.)

Division of Labor. This term is commonly used in two different senses, as follows: (1) With reference to industry as a whole, it denotes the separation of occupations, each worker specializing in a particular trade or craft instead of following several in combination. Division of labor in this sense was the main characteristic of the HANDICRAFT SYSTEM, as distinguished from the HOUSEHOLD SYSTEM, in INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION. (2) With reference to a single craft or industrial process, it denotes the separation of such craft or process into a number of component operations, each worker being confined wholly or mainly to a single operation. The division of labor, in either of the above senses, is often referred to as "subdivision of labor." (See SPECIALIZATION; TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF LABOR.)

Dock Wollopers. Casual workers among the LONGSHOREMEN are thus nicknamed.

Dockage or Docking System. In connection with CONTRACT MINING, particularly in the anthracite region, it is customary for a company official known as a "docking boss" to inspect the cars of coal brought out of the mines and make deductions from the miner's pay for slate and other impurities found in the coal or for cars not fully loaded. These deductions or "docks" are partly in the nature of fines, intended to discourage what is called "dirty mining" and the underloading of mine cars. Owing to the alleged abuses suffered by the miners under this system, there is now in most anthracite collieries a miners' representative, called the "check-docking boss," whose function it is to see that the miners are not unjustly docked.

Dockers. Unskilled workers employed in the loading and unloading of vessels are usually so called in England. (See LIVERPOOL DOCK SCHEME; LONDON DOCK SCHEME; STRAPPERS; DOCKERS' TANNER.)

Dockers' Tanner. A phrase that came into popular use during the great London dock strike of 1889, when ten thousand casual dock laborers struck for wages of sixpence (commonly nicknamed a "tanner" in England) an hour, held up the Port of London for ten weeks, and finally won their claim.

Docking. The practice of making deductions from a worker's pay, because of faulty output or for various other reasons. The

word derives from the old English *docken* or *dokken*, meaning to curtail or cut short. (See DOCKAGE SYSTEM; WAGE DEDUCTIONS.)

Docking Boss. See DOCKAGE SYSTEM.

Doctrinaire. One who holds an abstract theory or belief, and insists on its applicability under all conditions, without regard to facts or circumstances. The term is often applied, in a loose way, to socialists and others who hold views that are still for the most part untested by practice.

Document. During a widespread British labor dispute in 1833, the employers of Liverpool and Manchester publicly announced that henceforth no man need apply for work unless he was prepared to sign a formal renunciation of trade union allegiance. This was known as "the presentation of the document," or more briefly "the document," and it became a favorite weapon of employers in fighting the unions. It was revived in 1913 in the Irish transport industry, and a few months thereafter in the British building trades. (See IRONCLAD AGREEMENT.)

Domestic Service. A general designation for those forms of labor that are performed by paid employees (usually women) in the home. Originally domestic service was synonymous with so-called "menial labor"—the word "menial" being derived from an old root signifying "household" or "pertaining to a household"; but in common usage today "menial" carries a suggestion of extreme social inferiority which does not necessarily attach to "domestic service." The organization of domestic servants in trade unions has as yet made only very slight progress in any country. In at least one country (Germany) they have until lately been legally prevented from organizing. Various efforts have, however, been made to raise the status and conditions of domestic service to something like the average level in other forms of industry; and in England particularly these efforts have of late been not wholly unsuccessful. The staff report of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS contains the following statement on this general subject: "We find that practically nothing has been done toward the very necessary development of organizations of women engaged in domestic service, and that no standards governing the toil of the thousands thus engaged have been established. As a necessary step in this direction, we recommend that the hours of such workers should be limited to eight per day; and that no such persons be permitted to work over six days in each week; that a MINIMUM WAGE be fixed

for this class of employees which will insure them a comfortable life without being required to live in the homes of persons employing them, where they may be subjected to objectionable or uncomfortable living conditions. That all of the improvements and safeguards recommended for adoption in this report, as applying to women in other lines of industry, shall apply with equal force and effect to women engaged in domestic service." (See HOUSEHOLD ASSISTANT SYSTEM; LIVING-IN SYSTEM.)

Domestic System. The third stage in modern INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION, following the HANDICRAFT SYSTEM and preceding the FACTORY SYSTEM, is commonly so called. This stage, according to W. J. Ashley, "is marked by the advent of various kinds of commercial middlemen, who act as intermediaries between the actual makers in their small domestic workshops and the final purchasers, the widening of the market being both the cause and the result of their appearance." The present-day counterpart of the domestic system is to be found in certain forms of the SWEATING SYSTEM. (See TOWN ECONOMY.)

Dominican Federation of Labor. The leading labor organization of Santo Domingo. It was formed in 1915, and consists of directly affiliated local CRAFT UNIONS and CENTRAL BODIES, with a constituent membership early in 1920 of about 2700 workers.

Dominion Trades and Labor Congress. See CANADIAN LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Donation. See BENEFITS; OUT-OF-WORK BENEFITS.

Double Rate. See TIME AND A HALF.

Double-Standard Basis. See SCREENING SYSTEM.

Double Time. See TIME AND A HALF.

Double Turn. See SHIFT SYSTEM.

Dovetailing of Seasonal Trades. As a remedy for UNEMPLOYMENT, this is the method of so regulating conditions in SEASONAL OCCUPATIONS that workers may pass from one to another of such occupations without any intervening period of idleness. (See LABOR OUTINGS.)

Down-and-Outs. See UNEMPLOYABLES.

Down Tools. In the British labor world, to "down tools" is to institute a strike. (See TURNOUT.)

Driving. See SPEEDING UP.

Dual State. The form of governmental organization proposed by advocates of GUILD SOCIALISM is often so called. According to their theory, as stated by Bertrand Russell, "there should be two co-equal instruments of government in a community, the one geographical, representing the consumers, and essentially the continuation of the democratic State; the other representing the producers, organized, not geographically, but in guilds, after the manner of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. These two authorities will deal with different classes of questions. Guild socialists do not regard the industrial authority as forming part of the State, for they contend that it is the essence of the State to be geographical; but the industrial authority will resemble the present State in the fact that it will have coercive powers, and that its decrees will be enforced, when necessary." This plan of two co-equal centres of authority, one representative of geographical and the other of industrial interests, results in what is called the "dual State."

Dual Union. A labor organization which openly and actively competes with another for jurisdiction over the workers of a particular craft, trade, or industry—local, district, or national. Usually the term is applied only to a union formed as the result of a SECESSION movement from an older organization—generally on the workers' own initiative, but sometimes by the inspiration and encouragement of employers; the "dual union" being considered an unauthorized rival to the "regular" union in the same field.

Dual Unionism or Dual Organization. As most commonly used, these terms refer to the method or tactics of furthering revolutionary working-class aims by separately organizing the more radical workers, in direct competition with the conservative trade unions, and endeavoring to influence the policy of the latter from the outside, by force of organized rivalry. This method is known in France as *la pression extérieure*, and in the I. W. W. as "hammering from without." The opposite method or policy is known in France as *la pénétration*, and in this country as BORING FROM WITHIN.

Due Card or Due Book. In most trade unions each member is provided with a card or book containing written entry or stamps in record of all dues and assessments paid by the member to his local union. This card or book is his evidence of union membership "in good standing." In some unions the due card or due book serves as a WORKING CARD; other unions issue separate due cards and working cards. (See COMBINATION CARD.)

Duplex Printing Press Case. Because of its failure to recognize the union and to observe union conditions, a strike was declared against the Duplex Printing Press Company of Battle Creek, Mich., by the International Association of Machinists. In aid of that strike the Association instructed its members not to work on the installation of presses which the Duplex Company had delivered to printing concerns in New York City. This was termed by the Association a SYMPATHETIC STRIKE; but it was construed by the courts as a secondary BOYCOTT, being directed against the purchasers of the presses rather than the manufacturers, and an INJUNCTION was granted restraining the officials of the machinists' union in New York from inducing their members not to work for the company or for its customers in connection with the installation of its presses. The case was carried to the United States Supreme Court, which handed down a decision early in January, 1921, upholding the injunction and declaring the "secondary boycott" illegal. In practical effect, this decision largely nullifies what was considered by organized labor as one of the main effects and purposes of the labor clauses of the CLAYTON ACT.

Dutch Labor Organizations. The wage-earners of Holland are at present organized in five national federations, as follows: (1) The *Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakvereenigingen* (Dutch Federation of Trade Unions), representing the conservative (Social Democratic) elements, with a membership of 247,870 in January, 1920; (2) the *Christelyk National Vakverbond* (Christian National Federation), organized under the guidance of the Protestant Churches, with 70,000 members; (3) the *Bureau voor de Roomsche Katholicke Vakorgenisatie* (Bureau of the Roman Catholic Organizations), founded under the auspices of the Catholic Church to combat socialist doctrines, with 150,000 members; (4) the *Nederlandsch Verbond voor Neutrale Vakvereenigingen* (Dutch Federation of Neutral Trade Unions), founded in 1919 as a non-political means of harmonizing industrial relations, with 50,000 members; and (5) the *Nederlandsch Arbeids Secretariat* (Dutch Labor Secretariat), representing the syndicalist elements, with 45,000 members in 1919. Probably in no other country is the labor movement so weakened by political and religious differences. (See KAMERS VAN ARBEID.)

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Écoles Nationales Professionales. French national vocational schools, conducted under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The purposes of these institutions, of which four now exist, are: (1) To furnish the industries, particularly the mechanical industries, with persons trained in trade practice and capable of becoming foremen, heads of workshops, and possibly factory superintendents; and (2) to prepare students for higher technical schools.

Economic Action. In general this term is applied to action of any sort by organized labor in the economic field, as opposed to POLITICAL ACTION. The term is of a little broader significance than INDUSTRIAL ACTION in that it may include such measures as TRADE UNION COOPERATION.

Economic Cycle. See INDUSTRIAL CYCLE.

Economic Determinism or Materialistic Conception of History. A philosophy of history as well as an economic theory, first enunciated by Karl Marx (1818–1883) and still adhered to by the orthodox exponents of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. It asserts that the economic factor is the determining element in social evolution—that the economic structure of society, *i. e.*, its methods of bread-and-butter-getting, supplies the basis upon which is erected its legal, political, and social super-structure. It does not contend "that all history can be explained in economic terms alone, but that the chief considerations in human progress are the social considerations, and that the important factor in social change is the economic factor."

Economic Socialism. See SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

Economic Strike. In general, one that has to do solely with the relations between employers and employees, in regard to terms and conditions of employment; as distinguished from a POLITICAL

STRIKE, or one instituted for non-economic ends. The commonest causes of economic strikes may be classified as follows: (1) For increase of wages; (2) against reduction of wages; (3) for reduction of hours; (4) against increase of hours; (5) concerning RECOGNITION of union and union rules; (6) concerning employment of certain persons; (7) concerning employees working out of regular occupation; (8) concerning OVERTIME work and pay; (9) concerning method and time of payment; (10) concerning Saturday part holiday; (11) concerning DOCKING, fines, and charges; (12) concerning WORKING CONDITIONS and rules. (See SYMPATHETIC STRIKE.)

Economic Worth. See PRODUCTIVITY THEORY OF WAGES.

Education. See WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION; INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION; VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.

Efficiency Engineer. See PRODUCTION MANAGER.

Efficiency Engineering. See SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

Efficiency Men. See UNDER-COVER MEN.

Efficiency Payments. Bonuses and premiums paid to workers who achieve or exceed a specified standard rate of production are often so called. Efficiency payments are a basic part of any scheme of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT. (See BONUS SYSTEM; PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM; TASK WORK; REWARD SYSTEMS.)

Efficiency Systems. See SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

Eight-Hour Commission. See ADAMSON LAW.

Eight-Hour Day. This term may denote any one of three wholly different things, as follows: (1) A working day actually limited to eight hours, known as the "straight" or "clean" eight-hour day; (2) an eight-hour shift, with three work periods daily, limited to eight hours each, for as many different sets of workers; or (3) the "basic" eight-hour day, which does not limit the hours of labor but merely gives the worker the same pay for eight hours that he previously received for nine or ten, with OVERTIME pay for the time worked beyond eight hours. There can be no intelligent discussion of the eight-hour day without a clear understanding and a distinct differentiation of these three forms. In general, what is known as the "eight-hour movement" has reference to a working day actually limited to eight hours. Those who support this movement are merely endeavoring to restore a condition that existed in

the 15th and 16th centuries—as Thorold Rogers and other labor historians have clearly shown. In the 17th century working hours began to lengthen, until a working day of fifteen hours, even for children, became by no means uncommon. The gradual amelioration of such inhuman conditions is due almost wholly to working-class organization. By the middle of the last century the eight-hour day had become a practically universal ideal of organized labor. In America, particularly, it was long the central point in the entire labor programme and philosophy. Now it is largely a commonplace of industrial reform, and is generally regarded as no less desirable and beneficial to the employer than to the worker. The principle of the eight-hour day and the FORTY-EIGHT HOUR WEEK had been officially sanctioned by twenty-one countries before the first GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS included the principle in its draft conventions. In the United States, the Federal government and more than half of the state governments have adopted eight-hour laws for employees engaged, either directly or by contract, on public works. In addition, a large number of cities have similar provisions in regard to municipal work. The ADAMSON LAW of 1916 established the basic eight-hour day for all railway employees engaged in interstate commerce. (See STEWARD'S THEORY OF WAGES; SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT; HOUR LAWS; THREE EIGHTS; SIX-HOUR DAY; FORTY-HOUR WEEK; FORTY-FOUR HOUR WEEK; WORKING HOURS IN RUSSIA; EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN FRANCE; WORKING HOURS IN GERMANY.)

Eight-Hour Day in France. A national eight-hour law was passed by the French government on April 23, 1919. This is a general law designed to be put into effect by each industry through executive order. The distribution of hours within the week or period, temporary and permanent exceptions, and REST PERIODS are determined by the executive order for each trade or locality. Consultation with employers and workers is required in advance of promulgation of orders and decrees.

Eight-Hour Movement. See EIGHT-HOUR DAY; SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT.

Elective Compensation Acts. See WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Emergency Fund. See STRIKE FUND.

Emergency Powers Act. A British Parliamentary enactment of October, 1920, which provides that exceptional measures shall

be taken to protect the public in case any action is taken or threatened by any person or body of persons to deprive the community of the essentials of life; interference with the supply and distribution of food, water, fuel, or light, or with the means of locomotion, to be considered such an emergency. The Act was put into effect for the first time immediately upon declaration of the coal-miners' strike in April, 1921.

Emerson System. A modification of the TAYLOR SYSTEM of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, devised by Harrington Emerson. Theoretically, Emerson's idea differs from Taylor's "mainly in the separation of what he calls the 'staff' from the 'line.' . . . He organizes the experts in a staff of advisers whose duty it is to transmit their knowledge to the line officers, by whom it is passed to the operators and put into effect. In other words, this staff has no executive authority, while in the Taylor system the executives are themselves the experts. Practically, the Emerson methods differ much more widely than this from those of the Taylor group in that it is Emerson's policy to establish standards of performance and a bonus for their attainment as early as possible and by methods which are comparatively rough." The TIME AND MOTION STUDY of the complete operation "goes down only to large groups of elementary motions, on which an OVER-ALL TIME similar to that which has been determined for years in all kinds of plants is ascertained. Emerson's times are expressed in minutes, whereas Taylor times are in hundredths of a minute." The method of wage payment which is an essential feature of the Emerson system resembles that of the HALSEY PLAN and the GANTT SYSTEM in that it sets a standard TASK and guarantees a time rate irrespective of output. Its distinctive character lies in the detailed graduation of the efficiency bonus by which it rewards greater output. The standard task is considered one hundred per cent efficiency, and each lesser amount of output is graded at a lower percentage of efficiency. In relation to this standard, "the worker who attains sixty-seven per cent or less gets his guaranteed day wages, and is paid a bonus on a sliding scale for every increase in the percentage of efficiency; at one hundred per cent the bonus amounts to twenty per cent of his wages and one per cent is added for each additional one per cent of efficiency." The Emerson plan is sometimes designated the "individual effort system."

Emigration Allowances. See TRAVELLING BENEFITS.

Employee Representation. A general designation for various plans under which elected representatives of the employees of an

industrial plant meet with the management in collective discussion of working conditions, grievances, etc. In some cases the method of "block representation" is followed—that is to say, the plant is arbitrarily divided into "blocks" or divisions of from fifty to two hundred employees each, irrespective of crafts, and each "block" or division elects one or more representatives. In other cases, the various craft or occupational groups elect representatives on a proportional basis. A method that has proved effective in some large establishments is that known as the "Federal plan," which involves a "cabinet" consisting of management officials, an "upper house" of foremen and other supervisory officials, and a "lower house" representative of the rank and file employees. Employee representation should never be confused with COLLECTIVE BARGAINING in the trade union sense. It is a method of *collective discussion* merely —a method often productive of excellent results in the adjustment of minor differences and misunderstandings and the attainment of increased plant efficiency. But it leaves untouched the fundamental economic inequality between employer and employed. After discussion is ended, the ultimate decision on any disputed point almost invariably rests with the employer. On this account, also, the term "management sharing," often applied to schemes of employee representation, is a misnomer—except in a limited and relative sense. Employee representation is most commonly found in establishments which oppose trade unionism. (See SHOP COMMITTEE SYSTEM; LEITCH PLAN; ROCKEFELLER PLAN; ARSENAL PLAN; SELF-GOVERNING WORKSHOP; WORKERS' CONTROL.)

Employees' Compensation. See WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Employees' Compensation Commission. See UNITED STATES EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION ACT.

Employer's Liability. This term refers to the common-law doctrine, with such statutory modifications as may exist in any particular country or state, concerning the responsibility of an employer for financial indemnification of an employee injured while in the employer's service. Under the basic common law, an employee injured in the performance of his duties may prosecute in court, in a manner similar to all civil law-suits, a claim for damages against his employer; but to be successful he must establish that the accident causing his injury was due to some fault of either commission or omission on the employer's part. But under the influence of certain early decisions by British judges, the common law has gradu-

ally put further limitations upon the rights of an employee as compared with the rights of an outsider, in civil actions for damages, by creating special "defenses," or special conditions under which an employer can evade his responsibility to the employee, which would not be applicable in case of injury to an outsider. The basic common law of employer's liability, together with the various special "defenses" that have gradually been engrafted upon it, are thus summarized by Professor E. Freund: "The employer is liable to an employee for full damages for any personal injury proximately due to the employer's negligence or wrongful act. It is the employer's duty to exercise ordinary care in his operations, in his relations with his employees, and in the selection of co-employees and to provide ordinarily safe working places and conditions and ordinarily safe tools, machinery, etc., allowing, however, for the nature of the employment. The risks of employment, unavoidable by such means, the employee is deemed to have assumed and for injuries resulting therefrom there is no liability (rule of assumption of ordinary risks). But even if the employer fails in his duty, yet if the employee with knowledge of such faults nevertheless continues in the employment, he is deemed to have assumed the risks therefrom, and if injured thereby, the employer is relieved from liability (defense of assumption of risks). If an injury results from the wrong or fault of a co-employee, unless the employer has failed to exercise due care in his selection, or such co-employee is in fact the employer's *alter ego* and charged with his duties as such, the employer, being without fault, is not liable (fellow-servant rule, generally called the defense of fellow-servants or co-employee's fault). If the injury results in part from the employer's fault, but the injured employee's fault contributes thereto so that the injury would not have occurred without it, the employer is relieved from all liability (defense of contributory negligence). If the injury is fatal the employer escapes liability, because although he has done a wrong, it is deemed personal to the injured employee, so that no cause of action therefore survives his death. (This rule, however, has been so long and generally changed by statute, that it is now the common rule that the cause of action survives in favor of next of kin, etc.) Finally the burden of proof as to all points is upon the injured party, and in some states he has the additional burden of proving absence of contributory negligence." As a result of all this, it became possible for a worker to secure damages for an injury only under the most exceptional conditions. After long agitation in the attempt to remedy this injustice, laws have been passed in nearly all important foreign countries, and in nearly all

states of the American union, abolishing one or more of the special "defenses," or limiting their applicability to certain special conditions or circumstances. These statutes are commonly known as "employer's liability laws." It should be carefully noted that employer's liability is a matter entirely separate and distinct from WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION. The former refers only to liability under the common law, and such statutory modifications of the common law as exist in any particular country or state. Workmen's compensation, on the other hand, makes the employer automatically liable for injuries to his employees, without requiring the latter to go through the process of civil suit. It is rapidly superseding the common-law doctrine of employer's liability altogether in every civilized country. (See TRADE RISK PRINCIPLE; COMMON EMPLOYMENT DOCTRINE; SUPERIOR SERVANT DOCTRINE; FELLOW SERVANT LAWS.)

Employers and Workmen Act. A British Parliamentary enactment of 1875, replacing the MASTER AND SERVANT ACT of 1867, —a change of nomenclature which expressed a fundamental revolution in the British law. "Henceforth master and servant became, as employer and employee, two equal parties to a civil contract. Imprisonment for breach of engagement was abolished. The legalization of trade unions was completed by the legal recognition of their methods. Peaceful PICKETING was expressly permitted. The old words 'coerce' and 'molest', which had, in the hands of prejudiced magistrates, proved such instruments of oppression, were omitted from the new law, and violence and INTIMIDATION were dealt with as part of the general criminal code. No act committed by a group of workmen was henceforth punishable unless the same act by an individual was itself a criminal offence. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, in short, with all its necessary accompaniments, was, after fifty years of legislative struggle, finally recognized by the law of the land."

Employers' Associations. Organizations of employers for mutual benefit and united action—principally for dealing with or combating organized labor. Such associations "may be divided into two general classes,—those organized along trade lines and those disregarding trade lines. The first class of associations contain only employers of a particular trade or of closely related trades; their organization is local, district, or national, in accordance with the structure of the opposing trade union. Parallel organizations of employers and employees—a necessary condition for COLLECTIVE BARGAINING—are here present. and such employers'

associations, whether conciliatory or militant in spirit, tend sooner or later to form agreements with the corresponding unions. The second class of associations, on the contrary, admit to membership employers in various trades, and in some cases non-union employees. They are not designed for collective bargaining, but for a reactionary destruction of the unions, and a return to the old system of individualism." Structurally and functionally, many large employers' associations of the trade type follow closely the lines of trade union organization. Each form of combination—the employers' and the workers'—is organized by trades, in local, district and national bodies. Each has its city, state, and national forms of federation. Each involves the same restraint upon FREEDOM OF CONTRACT. Each has its defense fund for the relief of members involved in strike or lockout. Each employs BUSINESS AGENTS, ORGANIZERS, STRIKE DEPUTIES, however the specific titles of these officials may vary. Each endeavors by propaganda, LABOR LOBBIES, and political activities to influence public opinion and legislation in its favor. Each employs persuasive or coercive methods as specific conditions make advisable. Finally, mention should be made of the tendency of the less scrupulous types of organization on both sides to form illicit combinations of a joint character, in disregard of "public" rights and interests—as evidenced, in the particular case of the New York building trades, by the recent disclosures before the LOCKWOOD COMMITTEE. But in the end, as impartial authorities point out, "probably the whole movement of organization among employers will be found to have hastened the era of peace by checking the extortionate demands of the more radical unions and by providing that degree of organization among employers which is required for the most effective kind of collective bargaining." According to Professor Commons, "employers' associations are just as necessary to restrain labor unions, and labor unions to restrain employers' associations, as two houses of Congress, a Supreme Court, a president and political parties, to restrain social classes. Progress does not come when one association destroys the other, but when one association destroys the excesses of the other." Most employers' associations are supported by initiation and annual dues, often supplemented by monthly assessments proportioned according to the number of workers employed by an individual member. (See STRIKE INSURANCE; EXCLUSIVE AGREEMENT; CITIZENS' ALLIANCES; DISCRIMINATION; EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS; BERUFSGENOSSENSCHAFTEN; BLACKLIST.)

Employers' Closed Shop. See CLOSED SHOP; OPEN SHOP.

Employers' Housing. See COMPANY HOUSING.

Employment at Will. (1) Employment under arrangements that permit of its termination at any time when either employer or worker so desires. (2) The status of a trade union member who, because of old age or other disability, is exempt from the customary WORKING RULES of the union. (See CONTRACT AT WILL; EXEMPT CARDS.)

Employment Bureaus or Employment Agencies. Public or private offices whose function it is to find jobs for workers and workers for jobs. They are of six general types, according as they are maintained (1) by private commercial interests, (2) by trade unions, (3) by workmen irrespective of particular trades, (4) by EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS, (5) by philanthropic organizations, and (6) by municipality, state, or nation. Those of the first-named type, commonly called "pay agencies" because of the fact that their revenues are derived from fees paid by the workers, are much the most numerous. Although a considerable number of these private agencies are of thoroughly reputable character, there is also a large class which merely preys on the unemployed and takes advantage of their need. On this account the pay agencies in this and some other countries are largely subject to restrictive legislation designed to prevent fraud and extortion and to insure moral surroundings. The second, third, fourth, and fifth types above mentioned belong to the class of "private" agencies which as a rule charge no fees. A notable example of the second type is to be found in the "day rooms" maintained by the various printers' unions; and of the fourth type, in the chain of bureaus conducted by the National Metal Trades Association in fourteen large cities of the United States. But agencies of both these types are limited in usefulness by their partisan character, which tends to make of them potential or actual weapons in labor warfare. Organizations of the fifth-named type are usually restricted in their activities to finding casual employment for only the most destitute cases that come under their notice. The sixth type, comprising all "public" employment agencies, is the one which is most in accord with the social trend of the times, and which it is hoped will ultimately supersede the various other types altogether. (See LABOR EXCHANGES; INTELLIGENCE OFFICES; HOUSE OF CALL SYSTEM; UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE; SPLIT-FEE SYSTEM; EMPLOYMENT OFFICES COORDINATION BILL; STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.)

Employment Certificates. In the United States the employment of children below a certain age (fourteen years in all but five states) is forbidden. In most states documentary proof, supplied by parents or school authorities, of the child's age is demanded in the form of an employment certificate or working permit, which must be placed on file in an establishment before the child can be employed therein. Such certificates are sometimes called "working papers." (See CHILD LABOR.)

Employment Department. See INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT.

Employment Management. That department or section of PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION in a large industrial plant which has to do with the hiring, discharge, promotion, efficiency, etc., of employees, and with the maintenance of amicable relations between management and workers. The scope of employment management varies considerably in different establishments, and sometimes the whole field of personnel administration is included under this term. (See EMPLOYMENT MANAGER; JOB ANALYSIS; RATING SCALE; TRADE TESTS; THREE-POSITION PLAN; WELFARE WORK.)

Employment Manager. In many large industrial plants, an official who is responsible for the selection, training, education, promotion, transfer, and discharge of all employees. In some establishments the administration of WELFARE WORK is also the province of the employment manager, although it is more commonly assigned to a separate official. The terms "employment manager" and "labor manager" are usually synonymous. (See EMPLOYMENT MANAGEMENT.)

Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act, 1920. See TWO DAY-SHIFT SYSTEM.

Employment Offices Coordination Bill. A Canadian measure, passed by the Dominion Parliament in 1918, the purposes of which are stated as follows: (1) To aid and encourage the organization and coordination of employment offices and to promote uniformity of methods among them; (2) to establish one or more clearing houses for the interchange of information between employment offices concerning the transfer of labor and other matters; (3) to compile and distribute information received from employment offices and from other sources regarding prevailing conditions of employment.

Employment Service Council. A Canadian governmental body which acts in an advisory capacity to the Minister of Labor. It includes a representative of each provincial government, besides workers', employees', soldiers', and central governmental representatives.

Employment Service, United States. See UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

Employmental Unionism. The structural type of trade union organization which aims at following the lines of the employers' organization is sometimes so called. Employmental unionism is perhaps best exemplified in the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain. The declared object of this body is "to secure the complete organization of all workers employed on or in connection with any railway in the United Kingdom." Thus it seeks to enroll in one union, not merely all sections of railway workers, but actually all who are employed by any railway undertaking—thus including not only the engineering and wood-working mechanics in the railway engineering workshops, but also the cooks, waiters, and housemaids in railway hotels, the sailors and firemen on the railway companies' steamers, and the compositors, lithographers, and bookbinders in railway printing works—"even the men whom one, at least, of the largest companies keeps in constant employment at the manufacture of crutches and wooden legs for the disabled members of its staff." (See NEW MODEL OF TRADE UNIONISM.)

Encroaching Control. This term is used in England to express the relative or progressive idea of WORKERS' CONTROL—"the policy of transferring from the employer or his representatives to the organized workers through their trade unions and workshop organizations as many as possible of the functions at present controlled by CAPITALISM in the sphere of production."

Encroachment. See OVERLAP; UNDERMINING.

Engel's Law of Family Expenditure. As a result of detailed study of FAMILY BUDGETS in Saxony, Dr. Ernst Engel, an eminent German statistician, laid down the following general law of family expenditure, or domestic consumption: As the income of a family increases, (1) the percentage of expenditure for food decreases; (2) the percentage of expenditure for clothing remains approximately the same; (3) the percentage of expenditure for rent, fuel, and light is invariable; (4) the percentage of expenditure for education,

health, recreation, etc., increases. This "law" has been confirmed by many investigations. However, when the price-increases of the various groups of items vary widely, as was the case during the recent war, "Engel's law" does not hold true.

Engineered Strike. See SPONTANEOUS STRIKE.

Engineering Revision. Sometimes used as a generic term to cover all applications of engineering skill which bear upon INDUSTRIAL SAFETY. It includes arrangement of buildings, the proper layout of the transportation system, the design of all machines with reference to safe operation, the provision of proper lighting—in fact, the almost endless changes and modifications which have taken place or ought to take place for safety reasons in the structure and arrangement of industrial plants.

English Week. A working week of five and one-half days—so called because the English laws generally prescribe a half-holiday and a Sunday of rest for workers in industrial and commercial establishments.

Enlightened Self-Interest. See LAISSEZ FAIRE.

Enterpriser. See ENTREPRENEUR.

Enticement of Employees. By the old English common law it was illegal to entice an employee away from his employer, on the ground of the alleged damage to the employer. This doctrine was long since abandoned in Great Britain, and has seldom been applied by the authoritative courts in the United States. A different problem arises where INTIMIDATION is involved or where persuasion or coercion is directed toward those not already in employment. Another special exception may be noted in the case of workers employed by interstate carriers—as illustrated in the DEBS CASE, when the injunction issued prohibited among other things the persuasion of those in employment to quit or to refuse to perform their duties. In several of the Southern states statutes have been enacted which prohibit enticing away persons who are under contract of employment, and which also prohibit laborers themselves from breaking such contracts. These statutes were apparently specifically designed to prevent negro farm laborers from breaking their contracts to "make a crop" by work throughout the season.

Entrance into a Trade. Under this phrase Mr. and Mrs. Webb designate that class of trade union regulations described in the entry, RESTRICTION OF NUMBERS, in the present volume.

Entrepreneur. An owner of wealth who assumes the responsibility of production—one who organizes and manages an industrial or commercial enterprise, and supplies at least some part of the capital required. He is the modern employer of labor, the CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY. Such English terms as "undertaker," "assumer," "adventurer," and "enterpriser" were formerly used in designation of such a person; and the German term *unternehmer* is still occasionally used. But the French word *entrepreneur* is now given preference by most authorities. The entrepreneur is in one sense merely a capitalist, but he is the capitalist who takes all the risk of the undertaking and under our present system is entitled to the "profits," whereas the ordinary capitalist lends his money on reasonable security and obtains his share of the proceeds in "interest." The entrepreneur must not be confused with the manager or managing director, who is really a laborer working with his brain, though it often happens that in private businesses entrepreneur and manager are one and the same person. (See WAGES OF MANAGEMENT.)

Equal Pay for Equal Work. Denotes the principle that women in industry should receive the same remuneration as that given to men, when engaged in the same occupation and upon the same kind of work. This principle received official recognition in the LABOR PLATFORM OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. More often than not, however, the work is not actually equal, since the sexes tend to be employed at separate occupations or perform different processes. Then, also, no two workers turn out exactly the same amount of work in the same time; neither is the work of exactly the same quality. "Equal pay for equal effort" or "Equal pay for similar duties" would be more accurately expressive of the principle involved.

Equitable Pioneers. See ROCHDALE PLAN.

Erdman Act. A Congressional enactment of 1898, establishing machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes between the management and employees of railroads engaged in interstate commerce. It was superseded by the NEWLANDS ACT in 1913.

Espionage in Industry. After an exhaustive investigation of this subject made by Sidney Howard for the Cabot Fund for Industrial Research, the investigator states: "The employer's practice of setting spies to observe and inform on workers in factory and union has now every appearance of firm establishment. It has been developing inconspicuously these many years. Only an occa-

sional indiscretion in this place or in that has ever brought it any measure of public attention. Its doings are still far from a state of ideal publicity, but recent labor disputes have so frequently encountered it, have dealt with it over so wide an area, that it can no longer be considered in terms of locality, of individual industries, or even of particular crises. It seems to have become something of a factor in American industry as a whole." It operates through the secret service of great corporations and powerful EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS, and provides the sole source of revenue for hundreds of prosperous LABOR DETECTIVE AGENCIES, large and small. It is a method which trade unions utilize as well as employers, though on a much smaller scale; one detective bureau in New York advertises espionage service to labor organizations only. When the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS examined the workers and employers of American industry, it found scarcely one who had not an admission to make or a story to tell of the workings of the industrial spy system. "Industrial spying," says the editor of "The New Republic," "is a large industry, drawing its profits out of the perpetuation of suspicion between employer and employee. Remove suspicion, establish industrial relations on the basis of frank conference, as has been done in many industries, and the industrial spy loses his job. But where no conference exists, where employer and employee have no regular method of consultation, the spy appears as the real intermediary between capital and labor. Industrial espionage is a substitute for democratic industrial relations, a sneaking, underhanded, poisonous, trouble-making, trouble-perpetuating substitute. It is to the hygiene of industry what drug addiction is to the hygiene of the individual, a temporary and illusive relief that produces more trouble than ever it can cure." (See UNDER-COVER MEN; AGENT PROVOCATEUR; INTER-CHURCH STEEL REPORT.)

Establishment. As ordinarily used, this may mean either (1) a single industrial factory or WORKS, commonly called a PLANT, or (2) more than one factory or works, provided they are owned or controlled and operated by a single individual, partnership, corporation, or other owner or operator, and are located in the same town or city.

Establishment Fund. This term refers to a plan, often adopted in large industrial or commercial undertakings, by which all the workers of one establishment, or of several correlated establishments in one industry, make regular (usually monthly) contributions to a fund for providing various forms of SOCIAL INSURANCE

in their own behalf. Such contributions are often compulsory, and occasionally the fund is enhanced by a more or less substantial subsidy from the employer. In any case, the company administers the fund. A stated period of service with the company is required before an individual employee may become a beneficiary of the fund, and usually he forfeits his payments if he leaves the company for any reason. Funds of this sort are particularly prevalent in the railroad industry in the United States, where they are often administered by definite branches of the railway service known as "railway relief departments," "voluntary relief departments," "voluntary benefit associations," etc. Establishment funds are sometimes called "relief funds" and "benefit funds"; but under whatever name, they should be carefully differentiated from trade union benefit funds. (See OLD AGE INSURANCE; DEFERRED PARTICIPATION.)

Estimate Work. See LUMPER.

Examining Board. In some trade unions, a local or district board which examines applicants for membership in the union, with a view to determining their qualifications. (See ADMITTANCE TO THE TRADE UNION.)

Exception Principle. It is a basic principle of the TAYLOR SYSTEM of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT that the ablest men are or should be the highest in the organization. Therefore, "all matters within the capacity of subordinate officials are finally determined by them and only such matters as are beyond their scope or authority are passed up the line, thus leaving the higher officials free to devote their time to the broadest and most important problems of administration." This is commonly known as the "exception principle."

Exchange Theory of Wages. As elaborated by the Austrian school of economists, in connection with the PRODUCTIVITY THEORY OF WAGES, the exchange theory holds that "wages are advances made by the employer to the workman in order that he [the workman] will not have to wait for the completion of the product before he can receive his share. The time element is important in modern industry, and this time space is bridged over by wages."

Exclusion Policy of Trade Unionism. It is a very common practice of trade unionists to refuse to work with non-unionists, and to bring pressure to bear in various ways to compel employers to exclude non-unionists and others who are obnoxious to the union. The highest English judicial authority, the House of Lords, has held,

in the famous case of Allen *v.* Flood, that workingmen have the right to refuse to labor with others to whom they object, or, indeed, to refuse to labor on any ground which seems to them proper. American courts, on the other hand, usually take the position that such action on the part of the unions is an interference with the liberty both of the employer and the workingman. But in this connection, as with all other matters of trade union policy, it is vitally important to examine the underlying motive or object. "The chief purpose of the trade union is to increase the market price of that kind of labor which the members have to sell. As soon as the union acquires a partial control of the market, strong enough to have some effect upon wages, all workingmen in the trade, both within it and without it, begin to profit by the increase. Workmen outside may gain in either of two ways. They may get the full rate which the members of the union get, or, by cutting under the union rate, they may secure steadier employment. In either case the union feels that it has a grievance against them. The maintenance of the union organization, through which the wage is upheld, costs time and trouble and money. More important than anything else, it involves for those who are active in it the peril of the displeasure of their employers and the loss of their livelihood. If the non-union man secures a rate of wages above what he could get if the union did not exist, the members of the union feel that he has made a gain directly at their expense. . . . If he is not willing to share the burden, it seems to them only just that he should be excluded from the gain. If, on the other hand, nonunion men, as efficient as the members of the union, compete for employment by cutting under the union rates, there is a great weakening of the COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. The employer will prefer the nonunion to the union man because he is cheaper. Those who are in the union will be tempted to leave it, because their chances of employment will be greater outside than in. The final result of the process, if permitted to work itself out freely, will be, it is declared, the destruction of the organization itself. If the union is willing to receive any competent person into its ranks, no man can complain of being absolutely deprived of work because union men refuse to work with him so long as he fails to join the organization. When, however, a union has established a substantial control of its special kind of labor, the temptation arises to restrict the number of members. This is occasionally done by an absolute refusal to receive new candidates. Such action is, however, rare; the forms in which this tendency more commonly appears are restriction on APPRENTICESHIP and high INITIATION FEES." (See RESTRICTION OF NUMBERS;

MONOPOLY POLICY OF TRADE UNIONISM; COMPULSORY TRADE UNIONISM.)

Exclusive Agreement. A form of TRADE AGREEMENT, at one time common in the building trades, by which the members of an EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION agree to hire none but union men, while the unions on thei side agree to work exclusively for the associated employers. Such an agreement, among its other effects, compelled the contractors of a locality to become and remain members of the employers' association, as otherwise they could not obtain a sufficient number of skilled workmen. The union men were usually given higher wages or shorter hours, and in return the association obtained a monopoly of the local contracting in the particular trade concerned. Although declared illegal by the courts, the agreement was frequently made, and is yet sometimes found, in spite of the fact that the national organizations now oppose its use. (See BIRMINGHAM ALLIANCES.)

Executive Committee. See TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—LOCAL.

Exempt Cards. In some trade unions, members over a certain age and physically unable to earn the standard rate of wages are granted "exempt cards" or "old-age certificates" which permit them to work at certain specified rates below the union standard. (See EMPLOYMENT AT WILL; STANDARD RATE.)

Exemption of Wages. See WAGE EXEMPTION.

Existence Minimum. See MINIMUM SUBSISTENCE LEVEL.

Exploitation. The use of persons or materials as a means to profit-making. Economists use the word without reproach; but socialists and others who condemn the PROFITS SYSTEM make exploitation synonymous with the idea of unethically taking advantage of human necessity, ignorance, good nature, credulity, etc. In this sense scientific socialists regard all existing capital as consisting, in essence, of exploited "labor."

Expropriatory General Strike. See GENERAL STRIKE.

Expulsion. See FINANCES OF TRADE UNIONS; DISCIPLINE.

Extra-Hazardous Occupations. See HAZARDOUS OCCUPATIONS.

Extractive Industries. See INDUSTRY.

Extremists. See LEFT, LEFT WING.

F

F. L. P. See FARMER-LABOR PARTY.

F. S. See FABIAN SOCIETY.

Fabian Research Department. See LABOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT.

Fabian Society. An association for socialistic research and propaganda, founded in London in 1884, and numbering among its early members Bernard Shaw, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas, H. G. Wells, and other well-known persons. It sought at first to advance the cause of SOCIALISM by "permeating" the conventional political parties with advanced economic ideas. Later, however, the Society definitely entered the field of labor politics, and in 1900 helped to found the INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY. The Fabian leaders, particularly Mr. and Mrs. Webb, have exerted a strong influence on the British labor movement ever since. In 1918 Mr. Webb was one of the principal factors in drafting the British Labor Party's famous reconstruction programme, "LABOR AND THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER." The Fabian Society has, at least until lately, advocated a programme tending strongly in the direction of administrative STATE SOCIALISM. Its members are critical of Marxian formulæ, and believe for the most part in the gradual development of society into a COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. (See PERMEATION POLICY; LABOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT; FABIANISM.)

Fabianism. Politically, the doctrine or method of "making haste slowly," the term being derived from the name of Quintus Fabius Maximus, a Roman general noted for his cautious and dilatory tactics. In the modern socialist movement, a narrower usage confines this term to the theories and practice of the British FABIAN SOCIETY.

Fachschulen. In Germany, specialized TRADE SCHOOLS for apprentices, coordinate with the CONTINUATION SCHOOLS and alternative to them. They are for the most part conducted by trade guilds.

Factory Acts. A general term covering all legislation, whether applied to factories or to other industrial or commercial establishments, in regard to such matters as safety and health of workers, hours of labor, CHILD LABOR, payment of wages, etc. The term has usually been confined to such laws as require continuous official inspection and enforcement; as distinguished from laws which involve the bringing of an individual court action (such as MECHANIC'S LIEN, WAGE EXEMPTION, EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY, etc.), the latter class being known as LABOR LEGISLATION. This distinction, however, is tending to disappear, and "labor legislation" is now generally used in designation of all laws relating to labor.

Factory and Workshop Acts. Factory legislation in Great Britain dates from the year 1802, and between that date and 1856 numerous statutes were passed to regulate the hours of labor of women, young persons, and children in textile factories, and to make provisions for their safety, etc. In 1864 and 1867 certain non-textile factories and workshops were dealt with; and in 1878, as a result of a Royal Commission appointed in 1875, a comprehensive Factory and Workshop Act was passed. This was followed by various other Acts in 1883, 1889, 1891, 1895, and 1897. Then the provisions of these Acts were consolidated in the Factory and Workshop Act of 1901. This, with various amending Acts of later date, is now the principal general labor code of Great Britain. The matters dealt with are ventilation, sanitation, cleanliness, fencing of machinery, fire-escapes and exits, conduct of dangerous trades, etc. For women, young persons (those between fourteen and eighteen years of age), and children there are special regulations in regard to working hours, etc. The employment of children under twelve years of age is forbidden. An elaborate system of factory and workshop inspection is provided for. (See PARTICULARS CLAUSE; SANITATION AND SAFETY.)

Factory Committee or Council. See WORKS COUNCIL.

Factory Committees in Russia. See TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION IN RUSSIA; TRADE UNIONS IN RUSSIA; WORKERS' CONTROL IN RUSSIA.

Factory Inspection. The several American states and those foreign countries which have enacted laws protecting employees and regulating their hours in factories and in mines have found it necessary, in order to secure the enforcement of such legislation, to create staffs of inspectors with police powers. The duties of these

inspectors include the enforcement of the laws providing for safety and sanitation; those prohibiting CHILD LABOR, in which case usually cooperation is maintained with the school authorities and the truant officers where such officers exist; those for the regulation of SWEAT SHOPS, bake shops, and mercantile establishments; those regulating employment on public works, and so on. In those states which have STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONS, the factory inspection system is usually under the control of the commission; in other states the system is separately organized.

Factory Schools. TRADE SCHOOLS carried on in connection with large industrial establishments, the instruction being designed primarily as a substitute for APPRENTICESHIP, are commonly so called. The term is also sometimes applied to general CONTINUATION SCHOOLS conducted by individual employers within their own establishments. (See CORPORATION SCHOOLS; VESTIBULE SCHOOLS; RAILWAY SCHOOLS; WORKS SCHOOLS.)

Factory System. As marking the fourth and latest stage in modern INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION, this is the method of LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION (superseding the DOMESTIC SYSTEM) under which workers and machinery are concentrated in specially designed buildings known as factories. This method usually involves the use of complex machinery and tends toward a minute DIVISION OF LABOR. The individual initiative of the domestic system is replaced by corporate responsibility, and the control of industry passes definitely into the hands of the owners of capital. In many cases the organization of production has extended until it involves vastly more than the single factory—until it includes, in a unified system, many factories, and sometimes a great variety of industries, cooperating toward the production of a single ultimate product or class of related products. (See NATIONAL ECONOMY; LABOR PROBLEM; WAGE SYSTEM.)

Factory System in the Garment Trades. As distinguished from the CONTRACT SYSTEM or any form of OUTWORK, the term "factory system" denotes in the garment trades the plan or method under which articles are produced entirely upon the premises of the manufacturer. The term "Boston system" is sometimes used in a similar sense. (See INSIDE SHOP.)

Fair, Unfair. As used by trade unionists, these adjectives commonly denote the acceptance or non-acceptance of union regulations and conditions, on the part of either employers or fellow-

workers. Thus, a "fair shop" or "fair house" is one that employs union workers under union conditions; while an "unfair shop" or "unfair house" does not. A "fair man" is one who belongs to a union; an "unfair man" is a non-unionist. The word "foul" is still occasionally used in the sense of "unfair"—as for example, "foul shop," "foul man," etc. (See FAIR LIST; UNFAIR LIST.)

Fair Day's Pay. See FAIR WAGE.

Fair Day's Work. Like its companion term, FAIR WAGE or "fair day's pay," this phrase is too relative and abstract to permit of precise definition. As an employer's standard, it may be either (1) the amount of work which he personally and arbitrarily fixes as a "fair" standard; (2) the amount produced by the most proficient worker in his employ—sometimes a professional "speeder" or "pacer"; (3) an amount determined by careful averaging of past shop records for the entire working force. As a worker's standard, it may also be a purely personal and arbitrary one; or it may be an amount determined by collective understanding after weighing all the facts and factors connected with the particular work to be done. In any of the above cases, however, what is considered "fair" by one side might be counted grossly "unfair" by the other. Unless determined by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, there is little chance of fixing a standard acceptable to both sides. (See PRODUCTION STANDARDS.)

Fair List. As sometimes published or otherwise circulated by trade unions, this is a list of employers in a specified town or district who comply with union regulations and conform to union conditions. In a general way it corresponds, on the trade union side, to the employers' WHITELIST. (See UNFAIR LIST.)

Fair Wage. As far as it is possible to frame any definition of so relative and abstract a term, the following (quoted from Tead and Metcalf's "Personnel Administration") is perhaps as satisfactory as any other: "A fair wage is one which, in relation to the work agreed upon, under existing circumstances, with the then available facts and taking account of all active factors, the interested parties agree to be reasonable, possible, and expedient." As officially used, the term "fair wage" may mean, in the United States, either a LIVING WAGE or a wage established by the highest rate of payment for the particular kind of work in a particular industry; in England and Canada it generally means the prevailing rate of wages for a specified kind of work in a specified industry. (See FAIR WAGES CLAUSE; FAIR DAY'S WORK.)

Fair Wages Clause. Under a clause adopted by Parliament in 1909, it is provided in all contracts made by the British government, and in the majority of those made by the local authorities, that the contractor must pay rates of wages and observe hours of labor not less favorable than those commonly recognized by employers and trade societies in the trade and district where the work is carried out. The contractor who sub-lets his work is made responsible for the observance of the fair wages clause by the sub-contractor.

Familistère. A famous LABOR COPARTNERSHIP society at Guise, France. It was started in 1859, as a community settlement, by Jean Baptiste Godin, a French socialist and wealthy iron manufacturer. In addition to the workshops, there are homes for the workpeople, stores, hospital, nurseries, theatre, and other buildings; all belonging to the society and managed on a copartnership basis.

Family Budget. The necessary expenses of a family over a given length of time. The determination by labor statisticians of a "standard" family budget, based on a system of averages for a particular locality at a particular time, is a necessary preliminary to the fixing of a MINIMUM WAGE. There are various "levels" upon which such a standard budget may be calculated—the MINIMUM SUBSISTENCE LEVEL, the MINIMUM COMFORT LEVEL, etc. With a given level in mind, the process involves two inquiries: (1) The determining of a "quantity budget," *i.e.*, the number or quantity of the various things necessary to maintain the living level referred to; and (2) the ascertaining of a "cost budget," *i.e.*, the total cost of such numbers or quantities at prevailing prices. Such budgets are usually calculated for what is known as a "standard family" of five persons, consisting of husband, wife, and three dependent children below the age of fourteen. (See ENGEL'S LAW OF FAMILY EXPENDITURE.)

Family or Household System. The first or original stage in modern INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION is commonly so called. At this stage, according to W. J. Ashley, "there is no separate body of professional craftsmen at all; where all that can be called 'industry,' as distinguished from agriculture, is carried on within the household group, for the satisfaction of its own needs, by persons whose main business is the cultivation of the land or the care of flocks. The main activities of all except the fighting class are still in this stage preponderantly agricultural; but the cultivators of the soil make their own clothes and furniture and utensils, and there is practically no outside 'mar-

ket' for their manufactures." (See HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY; FEUDALISM.)

Family Wage. Considering the family, rather than the individual, as an economic unit, this term denotes the total income of a family several members of which are wage-earners. The "family wage" is an important factor in keeping down the general wage level. According to the staff report of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, "all experience has shown that in the end the father's wages are reduced by about the amount that the children earn. . . . Examination of the wages in different industries corroborates the theory that in those industries, such as textiles, where women and children can be largely utilized, the wages of men are extremely low." (See FAMILY BUDGET.)

Farm Labor. See AGRICULTURAL LABOR.

Farmer-Labor Party. Formed at Chicago in July, 1920, after an unsuccessful attempt at fusion between the NATIONAL LABOR PARTY, the NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE, and a liberal organization known as the "Committee of Forty-Eight." As finally constituted, the Farmer-Labor Party consists mainly of members of the former National Labor Party, reinforced by various farmers' organizations. The Party put a national ticket in the field for the presidential election of November, 1920, polling nearly 300,000 votes, and adopted a platform similar in most respects to that of the National Labor Party.

Farming Out. In an industrial sense this term is perhaps most commonly used in designation of the arrangement, particularly prevalent in the garment trades, by which all or part of a manufacturing process is assigned to home workers instead of being carried on in a factory or workshop. (See HOME WORK; HOME FINISHING; PIN MONEY WORKERS.)

Fascisti. An Italian "patriotic" organization which has sprung up as a result of the revolutionary political-industrial conditions in Italy since the armistice of 1918. The Fascisti, which until about the close of 1920 was confined to a small "bitter-ender" nationalist organization in Romagna and Tuscany, is now a nation-wide organization with branches in nearly every city and village in Italy. The leaders claim 2,000,000 members. Squads are prepared at any moment to undertake any violence at command. Organized militarily, it is a sort of Ku Klux Klan, owing military obedience to a

local general, who is responsible to the commander in chief, Mussolini, an ex-Socialist editor of Milan, who maintains a permanent staff. The Fascisti are composed chiefly of students, former soldiers, and shopkeepers, led by intellectuals and idealists, but because of the violent nature of their programme they include many rowdies and gunmen from the worst strata of society. The method of the Fascisti is intimidation of all organizations with revolutionary tendencies, and of their leaders and members. It is now virtually impossible in Italy for communist, socialist, or labor union leaders to call or hold public meetings. The Fascisti are often supported by government troops, who preserve an appearance of neutrality but arrest the communists who resist the Fascisti.

Fat. See CLICKING SYSTEM.

Father of the Chapel. See CHAPEL; SHOP STEWARD.

Fatigue. One of the most important factors in industrial operations, and also one of the most ignored. Industrial fatigue, according to one definition, is "a diminished efficiency of the organism occurring after labor and partly dependent upon it"; in another definition, it is "the sum of the results of activity which show themselves in diminished capacity for doing work." Prolonged or excessive effort, according to Dr. E. M. Bogardus, in his book on "The Relation of Fatigue to Industrial Accidents," has two important physiological effects: (1) An actual exhaustion of the energy-yielding material in the muscles; and (2) the formation of various fatigue substances which exert a poisonous and paralyzing effect upon the whole organism, particularly the nervous system. The latter is the more important of the two, and accounts for a considerable percentage of all industrial accidents. Fatigue, with all its resultant dangers and disadvantages, is especially incident to NIGHT WORK, OVERTIME work, and SPEEDING UP. Given adequate equipment, efficient administration of the plant, and a proper spirit among the employees, it is (quite aside from its larger social implications) the greatest single obstacle to maximum output. Fatigue diminishes output not only directly, but indirectly, by increasing accidents and the proportion of spoiled work, and by causing sickness and absences of employees. "Fatigue costs," it has been said, "may be expressed in terms of the effect upon health, longevity, safety, labor supply, employment stability, industrial contentment, productive efficiency —*i.e.*, alertness, speed, accurate work, minimum waste—as well as output and profits." It has been estimated by a recent writer on this

subject that there is a loss because of fatigue of twenty cents per day per year for each employee, which would reach the staggering total loss to the nation, for the 40,000,000 workers of the United States, of approximately two and one-half billion dollars a year. The term "overstrain" is often used in a sense generally synonymous with fatigue. (See OVERWORK; FATIGUE STUDY; JOB ANALYSIS; LABOR AUDIT.)

Fatigue Study. The systematic investigation of the effects of working conditions and hours of labor upon the physical and mental condition of workers. Fatigue study is often included among the specific functions of PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION.

Federación Libre. See PORTO RICAN FREE FEDERATION OF WORKERS.

Federación Obrera Regional Argentina (Argentine Federation of Labor). Founded in 1901, as a national trade union organization of non-political character. It has been involved in numerous strikes, in which many lives were lost, and has met with governmental repression on several occasions. In 1920 the Federation had an affiliated membership of 70,000.

Federal Commission on Industrial Relations. A body created by act of Congress in August, 1912, for the principal purpose of inquiring into existing industrial conditions and relations and the causes of INDUSTRIAL UNREST in the United States. The Commission consisted of nine members, appointed by the President, three of whom were employers and three representatives of labor. With the aid of a large staff of expert investigators, and by the examination of witnesses representing every possible point of view on industrial affairs and relations, the Commission made an exhaustive investigation in the field assigned to it. The evidence presented was published in eleven large volumes in 1916. No unanimous report was agreed upon by the Commission, which separated into two groups issuing separate reports and recommendations. What is known as the "staff report" or the "Manly report" was signed by four members, while the "Commons-Harriman report" was signed by five members—in each case, however, with separate comments or reservations by most of the individual members.

Federal Industrial Commission. A body of eighteen members created by act of Congress in June, 1898. The duties of the Commission and the scope of its inquiries are indicated in the following sections of the creating act: (1) "It shall be the duty of this

commission to investigate questions pertaining to IMMIGRATION, to labor, to agriculture, to manufacturing, and to business, and to report to Congress and to suggest such legislation as it may deem best upon these subjects." (2) "It shall furnish such information and suggest such laws as may be made a basis for uniform legislation by the various States of the Union, in order to harmonize conflicting interests and to be equitable to the laborer, the employer, the producer, and the consumer." The Report of the Commission, published 1901–2 by the Government Printing Office in nineteen volumes, contains a mass of material of the highest value relating to labor organization, labor policies, etc., in the United States.

Federal Labor Union. A form of local labor organization within the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, consisting of seven or more wage-earners in various crafts or industries who are not members of any other body affiliated with the A. F. of L. The main function of a federal labor union is to gather and hold together scattered local workers in different crafts or trades, until the formation of LOCAL TRADE UNIONS is possible or until the separate crafts are nationally organized—in other words, to serve as a recruiting station. Federal labor unions are chartered by and affiliate directly with the A. F. of L., which bears the same relation to them as does a national or international union to its local branches. They are designated by number—*e.g.*, "Federal Labor Union No. 15938." (See MIXED LOCAL.)

Federal Plan. See EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION; LEITCH PLAN.

Federated Press League. See LABOR PRESS.

Federation. In labor terminology, an alliance of a group of independent unions in one or several industries, covering either a single locality, a district, a country, or the world. Ordinarily the process of federation implies a somewhat loose connection as contrasted with AMALGAMATION, the purpose of the alliance being usually mutual support in disputes, the adjustment of mutual differences as to JURISDICTION, the furthering of propaganda work, etc.; and each union in such an alliance as a rule remains fully autonomous. But some federations have become virtually a single self-governing and negotiating body,—as for example, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, which acts for the whole industry on national issues, as if it were an amalgamated union. In fact, as G. D. H. Cole points out, "federations of almost every degree of intensity exist: and it is never

possible, without particular study of each case, to discover what the mere fact of federation implies. Some federations are merely political, some in practice concern themselves almost solely with DEMARCATION disputes; others are regarded by their promotors merely as steps to amalgamation, and yet others are the real centres of industrial action. Their efficiency depends partly on their constitution and powers, and partly on the nature of the industry which they cover." (See AFFILIATION; INDUSTRY FEDERATION; FÉDÉRATION D'INDUSTRIE; FEDERAZIONE DEI MESTIERE.)

Fédération d'Industrie. In France, a national FEDERATION of all the SYNDICATS, or local trade unions, in a single industry. Most of the national labor organizations are of this type; the craft federations (*fédérations de métier*) having gradually disappeared since 1906, after which date they were forbidden affiliation with the CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL. Inside the national federations, the constituent *syndicats* are generally fully autonomous and are able to seize any favorable moment for a strike or other local action, without consulting the central body. The role of the *Fédérations* is "to organize and strengthen the *syndicats*, to undertake campaigns of a general kind, and to reinforce the resistance to the employer." They are, in short, mainly organs of coordination and not of control. But there are some important exceptions to this autonomous system. Some of the national organizations are known as *Syndicats Nationaux;* these, as a rule, possess more highly centralized powers than the *Fédérations* and are therefore more formidable fighting bodies.

Fédération de Métier. See FÉDÉRATION D'INDUSTRIE; SYNDICAT.

Fédération des Bourses du Travail. See BOURSES DU TRAVAIL.

Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions. See AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Federation of Trade Unions of Western Japan. See JAPANESE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Federazione dei Mestiere. The national federations of trades in Italy, each representing the various labor organizations in a single national industry, are so called. Every local branch of one of these trade federations is affiliated with its local CAMERA DEL LAVORO (chamber of labor); while the national bodies are themselves

affiliated, for the most part, in either the CONFEDERAZIONE GENERALE DEL LAVORO or the UNIONE SYNDICALE ITALIANA.

Fellow Servant Laws. Those state or national statutes which modify or abolish the common-law principle known as the "fellow servant rule" or COMMON EMPLOYMENT DOCTRINE, under EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY, are generally so called. (See SUPERIOR SERVANT DOCTRINE.)

Fellow Servant Rule. See EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY; FELLOW SERVANT LAWS; COMMON EMPLOYMENT DOCTRINE.

Fellowship Piece Work. A form of COOPERATIVE PIECE WORK often practiced in British engineering shops. It is thus described by G. D. H. Cole: "In practically all engineering districts the recognized basis for collective piece-work is that all balances should be paid through the office in proportion to time-rates and hours worked. This may be done, but, when they have come outside the office, a group of men may prefer to 'pool' earnings, and redistribute the balances on some mutually arranged basis, usually that of complete equality, irrespective of the hours worked. This 'fellowship' system is usually confined to men of the same trade, and often to a small group of men who choose to work together upon it. It is, of course, purely voluntary, and 'pools' and 'fellowships' readily form and dissolve. A particular application of this system arises in shops in which some jobs are being done on piece-work and some on day-rates. In such cases the men in the shops sometimes arrange for certain men to do all the time-work jobs, but for all alike to share in the 'pool' at the week's end."

Feudalism. A name given to the social system that prevailed in northern and western Europe during the Middle Ages, and that completely disappeared only with the final freeing of the serfs in Russia in 1863. Its main peculiarity was that the bulk of the land was divided into "feuds" or "fiefs," held by their owners on condition of the performance of certain duties, especially military services, to a superior lord—sometimes the sovereign of the country. The landholders divided their holdings among lesser nobles, who in turn allotted them to the serfs or peasantry, the latter doing all the work of cultivation and thus maintaining the various classes of tenants and lords above them. Social relations were fixed according to the varying status of the landholders. Feudalism was fatally weakened by the substitution of money payments for dues rendered in service

on the land, and was finally swept away through the growth of industry and commerce. (See SERFDOM; BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM.)

Final Appeal Court. See BRITISH TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION.

Finance Committee. See TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—LOCAL.

Finances of Trade Unions. In most of the trade unions of Great Britain there seems to be complete community of funds between the local BRANCHES. Mr. and Mrs. Webb remark that when the local clubs began to draw together into national unions it was assumed, as a matter of course, that any cash in possession of any branch was available for the needs of any other branch. Before a central authority was established, the several local bodies were expected spontaneously to send their surplus moneys to the aid of any district engaged in a strike. When there came to be a common treasury the local treasuries were treated as parts of it, and as collectively composing it. This involves, of course, uniform contributions from all the members throughout the organization. "The financial evolution of the American unions has been different. National treasuries have been established, not by the assumption of centralized control over the local treasuries, but by exacting a definite contribution from each local union, in proportion to its membership, and placing the resulting fund in the immediate possession of the national officers. In most of our national trade unions each LOCAL is substantially as free to fix the payments of its own members as if it had no connection with a national body. The regular methods by which the national organization replenishes its treasury are a CHARTER FEE on the organization of new locals, and a PER CAPITA TAX of so much per week or per month, levied on the locals in proportion to their membership. In some unions a part of each INITIATION FEE is also payable to the national treasury. Another very common source of revenue is the profit made on the sale of stationery and supplies to the locals." The revenue from fines for infractions of DISCIPLINE should also be mentioned. Several unions, including some of the strongest, have uniform initiation fees and MEMBERSHIP DUES throughout, and treat the total receipts substantially as a common fund, after the manner of the British unions, or divide them between the national treasury and the local treasuries according to some fixed rule. "In some unions all the receipts of the national treasury go into one general fund. In others they are divided into

special funds for particular purposes. The two commonest special funds are that for strikes and that for sick and death BENEFITS. Particular fractions of the receipts are sometimes set aside for other purposes, such as the payment of various insurance benefits, the support of the official journal, and the payment of the expenses of conventions. The financial officers of the national organizations are, almost without exception, required to give bonds signed by some surety company. The cost of the bond is regularly paid by the organization. It is very common, also, to limit the amount of money which the secretary or the treasurer may retain in his hands, and to require that all above a certain small maximum be deposited in some bank." The funds in the hands of local treasurers do not usually exceed a few hundred dollars, and those in the hands of a national treasurer seldom exceed a few thousand. The great accumulations of some of the British unions, amounting in some cases to a million or a million and a half dollars, have few parallels in America. Under these circumstances the only resources of the unions when trouble comes are voluntary contributions and SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS. In a great strike, which arouses widespread interest, voluntary contributions are sometimes a more important source of revenue than might be supposed. The only means of enforcing the payment of trade union revenues is, of course, suspension or expulsion from the union. Some unions emphasize the penalty by charging more for reinstatement than for original admission. In most cases members are liable to suspension when they are in default for from three to six months' dues. The national union may suspend a local union or cancel its charter if its per capita tax or assessments fall behind for a period which varies in different organizations from two months to a year, but is oftenest put at six months. (See FINANCIER; STAMP RECEIPT SYSTEM; CHECK-OFF SYSTEM; COLLECTORS; MEMBERS IN GOOD STANDING; MUTUAL INSURANCE; STRIKE FUND.)

Financier. In some unions, notably the Cigar Makers' International Union, where the union funds are held by the several LOCALS instead of being deposited in a central treasury, this is an official of the central organization who goes from local to local, generally arriving unexpectedly, for the purpose of examining the financial accounts and transactions of the locals. In the Iron Molders' Union, the financier is an official who keeps the books of the national association and maintains general oversight over those of the local branches. (See DEPUTY SYSTEM.)

Finks. See UNDER-COVER MEN.

Finnish Trade Union Federation. See SUOMEN AMMATTIJARJESTO.

Fire Boss. See MINE MANAGER.

First Inspection. By this term, commonly used in connection with SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, is meant the minute inspection of the first piece to be produced in a "lot order," rather than waiting for the entire lot to be finished before it is inspected; the object being to detect faults at the beginning of the operation and before more than one piece can be spoiled.

First Internationale. See INTERNATIONALE.

Fixed Group Demand Theory. See LUMP OF LABOR THEORY.

Floaters. See MIGRATORY LABOR.

Fluidity of Labor. See MOBILITY OF LABOR.

Flunkey. In labor slang, a migratory worker who does odd jobs around a labor camp—such as fire-building, helping the camp cook, cleaning out bunk-houses, etc. The terms "bull cook" and "crumb boss" are often used in a similar sense.

Fodder Basis. See MINIMUM SUBSISTENCE LEVEL.

Fogger. See LITTLE MASTER.

Folded Arms Strike. See GRÈVE AUX BRAS CROISÉS.

Fonds Nationale de Caisse. A Belgian organization, established by royal decree in January, 1921, for the collection and distribution of sums of money to aid the unemployed, in case of industrial crises, who are affiliated with the officially recognized "Caisses de Chômage," which are regularly established organizations for the aid of the unemployed. The Fonds Nationale de Caisse is to be maintained by government subventions, by subscriptions, and by voluntary contributions from employers and from the public. It is to be administered by a council composed of a president and from six to nine administrators who are to be named by the king for a term of three years.

Force Anarchists. Those persons who commit individual acts of violence in the name of ANARCHISM. Such persons are repudiated by the great majority of anarchists, who are either opposed to the use of force in any form and under any conditions or would

employ it solely as a mass weapon of the working classes. Also called "anarchists of the deed."

Force Report. As an essential factor in computing percentages of LABOR TURNOVER, this is a statement of the number of persons actually working on a given day in a given establishment, as shown by attendance records.

Forced Labor. See NATIVE LABOR; PEONAGE; INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE.

Foremen. See SUPERVISORY WORKERS.

Fortbildungsschule. PART-TIME SCHOOLS are so called in Germany, where they have been more highly developed as a part of the public educational system than in any other country. The attendance of children below a certain age limit is compulsory, and the instruction is largely along vocational lines.

Forty-Eight Hour Week. The demand for a working week limited to forty-eight hours usually accompanies the demand for the EIGHT-HOUR DAY, as ensuring one day of rest for the worker during the week. Sometimes, however, it replaces the demand for the eight-hour day, because greater elasticity is possible in arranging the hours of work; and the adoption of a half holiday, or even a whole holiday, on Saturday or some other week-day is made feasible by longer work periods than eight hours on other days. The principle of the forty-eight hour week, in connection with the eight-hour day, was officially adopted in the draft conventions of the first GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Forty-Four Hour Week. A working week limited to forty-four hours is often urged as a necessary item in any programme for humanizing labor conditions. As a rule, such a working week is divided into five eight-hour days, with a four-hour Saturday, and a Sunday of rest. Sometimes, however, it is wholly divided among five days, with full holidays on the sixth and seventh days.

Forty-Hour Week. As generally understood, this is a working week of five eight-hour days, with full holidays on the remaining two days—usually Saturday and Sunday. The forty-hour week movement has made considerable headway in Australia particularly.

Foster Report. A detailed report on "Organized Public Service in the [British] Building Industry," prepared by a subcommittee of the BUILDING TRADES PARLIAMENT in 1919. The chairman

of this subcommittee was Thomas Foster. The report deals in a thoroughgoing manner with some of the most important general problems of industry, and has created widespread discussion. (See LIMITATION OF OUTPUT.)

Foul Man. See FAIR, UNFAIR.

Foul Shop. See FAIR, UNFAIR.

Four-L's. See LOYAL LEGION OF LOGGERS AND LUMBERMEN

Four-Shift System. See SIX-HOUR DAY.

Fourierism. A socialistic scheme of cooperative ownership, production, and distribution, together with a programme of associative living, formulated by a French socialist writer, F. C. M. Fourier (1772–1837). Fourier's scheme is based on a division of society into departments or *phalanges*, each *phalange* (consisting of about 1600 persons) inhabiting a *phalanstère*, or common building, with a certain portion of surrounding land for cultivation. The conflict between capitalist and worker and that between producer and consumer were to be resolved by a merging of the interests of all four into that of the individual member of the *phalanstère*, who became at once worker, shareholder in a stock company, and business director of the enterprise. Fourierism is to be distinguished from SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM in many important respects. It differs from COMMUNISM in that it does not contemplate equality in labor and consumption. While all definite experiments based on Fourierism (several were tried in the United States about the middle of the last century) have been unsuccessful, its influence is still felt—particularly in the anarchist movement. (See ASSOCIATION; UTOPIAN SOCIALISM.)

Fourth Internationale. See INTERNATIONAL WORKING UNION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES.

Foxing. See SMOOTING.

Frame or Frame-Up. See PLANT.

Fraternal Delegates. In labor conventions or congresses, these are delegates from foreign labor bodies, or from home organizations unaffiliated with the particular body in convention. They take part in general discussions, but usually have no vote.

Free Laborers. In England, this term is commonly used by employers and others in designation of those workers who are not

members of trade unions, and who "pledge themselves to work amicably with others whether members of a union or not." They are generally known among British unionists by the less euphemistic terms, BLACKLEGS and SCABS. A large number of these workers are affiliated in an organization called the "Free Labor Association."

Free Speech Fights. With particular reference to the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, this term refers to what was for several years an important part of I. W. W. policy and tactics. Indeed, the organization's dramatic "free speech fights" with municipal authorities, particularly those of the Pacific slope, have attracted quite as much attention as its occasional dramatic strikes. A definite strategy seems to have been followed in most of these struggles. Whenever the I. W. W. organizers in a particular town are arrested for "incendiary utterances," the call goes out to all I. W. W. locals in the same region for an invasion by "foot-loose" members. They flock into the fight area, are usually jailed wholesale by the local police, and make themselves the "guests" of the town in such numbers as to clog the machinery of municipal administration and cause heavy expense to the local tax-payers. Since 1913 free speech has been a less important issue with the I. W. W.

Free Trade Unions. See GEWERKSCHAFTEN.

Free Workers' Union of Germany. See FREIE ARBEITER-UNION DEUTSCHLANDS.

Freedom of Contract. In regard to dealings between employers and workers, this term denotes "the legal right of every individual to make such a bargain for the purchase or sale of labor as he may think most conducive to his own interest"; or, in the familiar phraseology of employers, "the right of the workingman to work for whomever he pleases, as many hours a day as he wishes, and for whatever wages he is willing to accept." The right to "freedom of contract," as guaranteed by the Constitution, is frequently invoked in opposition to all legislative efforts in the United States to improve the wages, hours, or conditions of the working class. It is also the favorite incantation of opponents of trade unionism, who maintain that the doctrine is nullified by such trade union devices as COLLECTIVE BARGAINING and the CLOSED SHOP. But the essential point in the whole matter, as one of the greatest of living jurists has pointed out, is the simple fact that "freedom of contract begins where there is equality of bargaining power." Without equality, or at least approximate equality, of bargaining power, "freedom of

contract" becomes a self-evident absurdity. (See WOMAN IN INDUSTRY.)

Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (Free Workers' Union of Germany). The title, adopted in December, 1919, of the central organization of German syndicalist associations, representing a combined membership on the date above mentioned of 110,000. As this total indicates, SYNDICALISM plays but a small part in the German labor movement. Its adherents are commonly known as "localists." (See GEWERKSCHAFTEN.)

Freie Gewerkschaften (Free Trade Unions). See GEWERKSCHAFTEN.

French Conciliation and Arbitration Law. A measure, enacted in 1892, which provides that either party to a labor dispute may apply to the *juge de paix* of the canton, who informs the other party of the application. If they concur within three days, a joint committee of CONCILIATION is formed of not more than five representatives of each party, which meets in the presence of the *juge de paix*, who, however, has no vote. If no agreement results the parties are invited to appoint ARBITRATORS. If such arbitrators are appointed and cannot agree on an umpire, the president of the civil tribunal appoints an umpire. In the case of an actual strike, in the absence of an application from either party it is the duty of the *juge de paix* to invite the parties to proceed to conciliation or arbitration. The results of the action of the *juge de paix* and of the conciliation committee are placarded by the mayors of the communes affected. The law leaves the parties entirely free to accept or reject the services of the *juge de paix*.

French Economic Council of Labor. See CONSEIL ECONOMIQUE DU TRAVAIL.

French Federation of Christian Workers. See FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT.

French General Confederation of Labor. See CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL.

French Labor Movement. The growth of trade unionism is comparatively recent in France, for while freedom of association was recognized by ancient French law, it was, except for short intervals, denied to French workmen up to the year 1860. From that time to 1884 it was tolerated and there was a slow growth in work-

men's societies up to 1884, when a law was passed according freedom of association to both employers and workers; but it was not until 1901 that these rights were fully granted. Organization has always been more complete among employers than among the workers, though since 1914 membership in employees' federations has been increasing rapidly, that of the CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL having grown from about 500,000 in 1914 to about 1,500,000 in 1920. The national FÉDÉRATIONS D'INDUSTRIE and national SYNDICATS and the local BOURSES DU TRAVAIL which make up the C. G. T. are mainly composed of local *syndicats rouges* (red unions), devoted largely to the CLASS STRUGGLE and the abolition of the WAGE SYSTEM. Recent affiliations to the C. G. T. are the Federations of Civil Servants, which include the Postal Federation, the Federation of Officeholders, and the Federated Union of State Employees. An organization with aims somewhat similar to those of the C. G. T. is the recently-formed amalgamation of four organizations of agricultural workers, called the National Federation of Agricultural Laborers. Not all of the workers' organizations in France are founded on the principle of the class struggle, however. There are the so-called *syndicats jaunes* (yellow unions), founded in 1900 and working to better the conditions of the workmen by law and upholding the entente between employees and employers; the recently formed *Confédération Nationale du Travail*, which has approximately 100,000 adherents, largely ex-soldiers, and which stands for agreement between "capital" and "labor" and against the struggle of the classes; and the Federation of Christian Workers, with a membership of 140,000, which stands for the defense of the occupational interests of its members. Each branch of the French labor movement is independent or autonomous; that is, there is no stable tie connecting the trade union, socialist, and cooperative groups, and they do not meet except in special definite cases to plan their policy; so that it is seldom that the members of the Socialist Party are called upon to act as propagandists of trade unionism or the cooperative movement. On the other hand, prominent members of the Socialist Party have a large part in determining the policy of the C. G. T. through their membership in that organization. In March, 1920, the law of 1884 in regard to trade unions was amended to extend the civil rights of unions. The additional rights granted include the ability to acquire property, the guaranty of the protection of the law in cases of direct or indirect injury to the collective interests of the trade they represent, protection of the MARQUE SYNDICAL (union label), right to form cooperative buying and selling organiza-

tions for their members, and protection from seizure of property essential to the business of the unions. The general tendency in the French labor movement, as represented by the dominant labor group the C. G. T., and by the labor leaders within the Socialist Party seem to be to subordinate ordinary working-class or trade union aims to the furtherance of extreme revolutionary ideas. The communistic ideas of the working people had taken root before the war, and had been most strongly evidenced in the elections of 1914. The union of the labor leaders with the other parties during the war in the *Union Sacrée* for the common defense of the country silenced for a time the aspirations for control by the workers. The war ended, and the need for united action being past, the old differences reasserted themselves, augmented by the economic difficulties which were a result of the war and by the effects of the Russian revolution. But for the present at least, the revolutionary tendencies within the labor movement seem well under the control of the government, which is backed not only by a powerful middle class but by a considerable non-revolutionary minority among the workers. (See CONSEIL ECONOMIQUE DU TRAVAIL; EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN FRANCE; ASSOCIATIONS OUVRIÈRES DE PRODUCTION; BUREAUX PARITAIRES; FRENCH CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION LAW; CONSEILS DE PRUD'-HOMMES; MUTUALITÉ; REFORMIST; SOCIÉTÉS COMPAGNONNIQUES; CHASSE AUX RENARD; CODE DU TRAVAIL ET DE LA PRÉVOYANCE TRAVAIL; CORPORATISME; GRÈVE AUX BRAS CROISÉS.)

French National Federation of Agricultural Laborers. See FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT.

French National Vocational Schools. See ÉCOLES NATIONALES PROFESSIONALES.

French Superior Council of Labor. See CONSEIL SUPÉRIEUR DU TRAVAIL.

French Trade Union Congress. See CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL.

French Working-Men's Associations of Production. See ASSOCIATIONS OUVRIÈRES DE PRODUCTION.

Friendly Benefits. See BENEFITS.

Friendly Societies. Voluntary mutual thrift and insurance associations, formed mainly among the manual wage-earning class. Such associations have an immense combined membership in Great

Britain, where some of them date back to the 17th century. Their principal function is to provide financial assistance to members during illness, or to their families in case of death. Similar forms of organization in the United States are usually known as benevolent or benefit societies. (See NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT.)

Friendly Unionism. See UPLIFT UNIONISM.

Fringe of Unemployed. The excess in the supply of available workers over the demand, for the country as a whole or for any particular locality, at any given time. Though varying in size and shifting in character, this "fringe of unemployed" (or "margin of idleness," as it is sometimes called) is an integral feature of modern INDUSTRIALISM. (See LABOR SURPLUS; RESERVE OF LABOR.)

Fruit Tramp. A nickname commonly applied in the Western states to a "casual" worker (often a member of the I. W. W.) who goes about from place to place finding short spells of employment in fruit-picking operations.

Full-Crew Laws. Owing to the practice of railroads in continually making trains longer and heavier, without proportionate increase in the size of the crews, about half the states of this country have enacted legislation requiring train crews to consist of a specified number of men for trains of specified length.

Full Pay. In the most usual sense, individual WAGES from which no deduction has been made for time when the worker was idle through no fault of his own.

Full Time. The normal number of working hours per day or week established by custom, by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, or by law for a particular industry, occupation, or indust ial plant—the number of hours the employee regularly expects to work and the employer expects him to work. (See SHORT TIME; OVERTIME.)

Full Worker. One who has served his apprenticeship, and is entitled to regular JOURNEYMAN wages, etc., in his trade.

Functional Democracy. Advocates of GUILD SOCIALISM hold that all members of a community should be organized according to their individual functions in society. As producers they should be members of the "national guild" of their particular trades, these "national guilds" to be controlled by a central "council of guilds" or guild congress. As consumers, they should be members of the political State, whose machinery should be so modified as not only

to look after their interests as consumers but to perform other social functions as well. The consumers as a body should decide what and how much is to be produced; the producers, how and under what conditions production is to be carried on. It should be the joint function of both bodies to determine prices and distribution of income. Because of this emphasis upon "organization by function," guild socialism is sometimes referred to as "functional democracy."

Functional Foremanship. In any shop system of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, the worker's activity is as far as possible confined strictly to actual handling of the machine or tool, and of the material only as far as necessary to apply the tool to it. All other work is the function of management. In accordance with this idea, the TAYLOR SYSTEM involves a method known as "functional foremanship," by which "such details of administration as determination of the sequence of operations, machines, tools, and methods to be used, time to be taken, relative importance of orders, recording of operations, instruction of workmen, moving of materials, and maintenance of equipment and tools, are the special functions of separate foremen, each of whom is responsible for the proper handling of his detail with reference to a varying number of men, and all of whom bring to bear their specialized knowledge on each man." This system of functional foremanship is also sometimes called "divided foremanship" and "functional management." (See SINGLE FOREMANSHIP.)

Functional Management. See FUNCTIONAL FOREMANSHIP.

Funeral Benefits. See DEATH BENEFITS.

G

G. F. T. U. See GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

Gaffer. A slang term used by British workmen in designation of a foreman or GANG BOSS.

Gain Sharing. As evolved and named by Henry R. Towne, president of the Yale and Towne Manufacturing Company, this is often described as the application of PROFIT SHARING to the separate departments of a business instead of to the business as a whole, the plan being based upon demonstrable gains in the efficiency of departments as shown by careful accounting. In reality, however, it belongs to those related forms of remuneration in addition to wages which depend upon some other factor than net profits. Under the Towne system, the amount of the additional remuneration is proportionate to the "gain," or saving in the cost of production, irrespective of the rate of profit realized by the employer. Any plan of wage payment under the PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM is sometimes called "gain sharing."

Gang Boss. A petty foreman, usually one in charge of a small group of workers engaged at a single specialized task. (See GAFFER; CHARGE-HAND.)

Gang Piece Work. See COLLECTIVE PIECE WORK.

Gantt System. This term is sometimes applied to a general modification of the TAYLOR SYSTEM of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, devised by H. L. Gantt, one of Taylor's associates; sometimes it is used with specific reference to the method of wage payment that is a part of the Gantt plan. Under this system, as described by Mr. Gantt, "each man has his work assigned to him in the form of a TASK to be done, by a prescribed method, with definite appliances, and to be completed within a certain time. The task is based on a detailed investigation by a trained expert of the best method of doing the work; and the task-setter, or his assistant, acts as an

instructor to teach the workmen to do the work in the manner and time specified. If the work is done within the time allowed by the expert, and is up to the standard for quality, the workman receives extra compensation (usually 20 to 50 per cent of the time allowed) in addition to his day's pay. If it is not done in the time set, or is not up to the standard for quality, the workman receives his day's pay only. The system is thus in effect a combination of the day-rate and PIECE WORK systems." Under the Gantt system in general, the existing form of organization in an industrial plant is left more nearly intact than under the Taylor system. As a rule, also, the TIME AND MOTION STUDIES are not so minute, and the percentage of allowance for such factors as interference, FATIGUE, and inertia is more liberal, thus making it easier for the worker to earn the bonus earlier and even to go under the bonus time. The GANG BOSS as a rule receives a bonus for each worker who fulfills his task satisfactorily, and a double bonus when all the workers under his supervision are successful. The Gantt plan of wage payment is often called the "task and bonus system," but this name could be applied with equal accuracy to some of the other methods of wage payment under scientific management.

Garnishment of Wages. The process of requiring an employer, by court order, to withhold the payment of wages due an employee pending the determination of a legal claim against the employee. Also called "trusteeing of wages." (See WAGE EXEMPTION.)

Garret Master or **Garret Boss.** See LITTLE MASTER.

Garton Foundation Report. A detailed memorandum on the industrial situation in Great Britain as affected by the first two years of war, published in 1916 by the Garton Foundation, London, of which Arthur Balfour, Viscount Esher, and Sir Richard Garton are trustees. To allay INDUSTRIAL UNREST, the Report proposed the replacing of the idea of private advantage by that of public service, through a system of joint committees or councils leading up through factory and district representation to a national industrial council for each major industry. The WHITLEY PLAN is largely based on the recommendations of this report.

Gemeinsamerbetriebsrat (Joint Works Council). See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW.

General Council, Trades Union Congress. See TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

General Executive Board. As found in most of the larger national and international American trade unions, this is a central governing body having more or less control over the administrative and judicial affairs of the organization. The chief function of the general executive board is to serve as a check on the power of the NATIONAL OFFICERS. In most cases, the executive board levies assessments appoints temporary officers to fill vacancies, and performs other duties which were vested in the president in the early days of the older organizations. "The duty of declaring strikes, which none of the older organizations ventured to entrust to the president, has been delegated to the executive board by practically all unions save the few which submit this question to popular vote. Perhaps the most important function of the board is to bring to trial and remove officers for misdemeanors and neglect of duty, since control over officers depends so largely upon the ability of the board to exercise this power." As a rule, union members in each section of the country and in each branch of the trade demand representation on the board. Its personnel being thus scattered about the country, meetings of the board are held infrequently, because of the expense of bringing together the members; and much of its business is transacted by mail or telegraph. (See TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—NATIONAL.)

General Federation of Trade Unions. A British organization established in 1899 mainly as a mutual insurance agency against the heavy financial burdens to which trade unions are subject in the distribution of STRIKE PAY. By means of a small annual contribution from a large aggregate membership, the Federation has been able to build up a large reserve fund, upon which the affiliated unions may draw during a trade dispute. Its governing body is a General Council consisting of delegates appointed by affiliated organizations in proportion to their numbers. The General Council chooses each year a Management Committee of fifteen, who together with the Secretary, elected at the annual meeting, form the executive of the Federation. In 1919 the Federation included 141 affiliated unions, with a constituent membership of 1,215,107. Most of the affiliated unions are also affiliated with the TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

General Hazard of the Industry. See TRADE RISK PRINCIPLE.

General Labor Conference of the League of Nations. The clauses of the Treaty of Versailles creating an INTERNATIONAL

LABOR ORGANIZATION under the League of Nations provide that this organization shall consist of (1) a General Conference of Representatives of Members of the League, and (2) an INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE. It is the function of the General Conference to frame drafts of conventions or recommendations in regard to labor matters, which shall later be submitted to the national legislative bodies of the constituent members of the League, for adoption or rejection. The General Conference "shall be composed of four representatives of each of the members, of whom two shall be government delegates and the two others shall be delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of the members." Advisers are allowed to accompany delegates, and in questions affecting women one adviser in the delegation "should be a woman." The delegates vote individually. Meetings of the Conference must be held at least once a year at the seat of the League of Nations (Geneva), or elsewhere as may be decided. The first meeting was convened at Washington, D. C., on October 29, 1919, and adjourned a month later. Delegates representing labor and employer groups of all countries included in the League were in attendance. The Conference perfected its permanent machinery, appointed a Director General of the International Labor Office, and adopted six conventions and six recommendations for proposed labor legislation. The conventions were as follows: (1) Establishment of an EIGHT-HOUR DAY and a FORTY-EIGHT HOUR WEEK; (2) establishment of government EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES and abolition of private agencies; (3) prohibition of NIGHT WORK for women except in undertakings where only members of the family are employed; (4) prohibition of children under fourteen years of age from industrial work; (5) prohibition of young persons, male or female, from working at night; and (6) indemnification of wage-earning mothers at time of childbirth. The six recommendations dealt with the following: (1) Remedies for UNEMPLOYMENT; (2) reciprocity in the treatment of foreign workers; (3) prevention of anthrax; (4) protection of women and children against lead poisoning; (5) government health services; (6) prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. The second meeting of the Conference opened at Genoa, Italy, on June 15, 1920, and concluded its sessions on July 10. The agenda related solely to the welfare and protection of seamen; and in addition to the official delegates, a number of representatives of shipowners and of seamen's organizations sat in the Conference as non-official delegates. Several draft conventions in regard to seafaring labor were adopted. The agenda for the third Conference, to meet at

Geneva in the autumn of 1921, has to do mainly with agricultural labor and industrial disease. (See INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION.)

General Labor Unions. In England, organizations made up in largest part of the following types or classes of workers: (1) Unskilled workers in industries in which specialized CRAFT UNIONS of skilled workers exist, *e.g.*, engineering laborers, builders' laborers, etc.; (2) workers of all sorts in industries or trades for which no effective special organizations exist, *e.g.*, laundry workers, chemical workers, brewery workers, etc.; (3) workers in trades or industries for which, although special organizations exist, these special organizations do not cover the whole country, or have not been able to establish their claim to organize all the workers employed in a particular trade or industry, *e.g.*, DOCKERS, vehicle workers, etc. These unions, many of which are large and powerful national organizations, are for the most part federated in the NATIONAL FEDERATION OF GENERAL WORKERS.

General Laborers' National Council. See NATIONAL FEDERATION OF GENERAL WORKERS.

General Members. See MEMBERS AT LARGE.

General Secretary. The principal administrative officer of a British national trade union is so called. He is usually a full-time salaried official, although in some of the smaller unions he works at his trade and devotes only his spare time to the union's business. The general secretary is, as a rule, elected annually by popular vote. As a matter of fact, however, the tendency is to reelect the same man each year; and, as in the case of the other national officials, his tenure of office is practically permanent as long as he gives satisfaction. In some of the SINGLE-BRANCH UNIONS the general secretary, besides handling all the routine business, carries on negotiations with employers and controls general policy as well. (See BRITISH TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION.)

General Strike. Few terms in the labor movement possess so varied and elastic a meaning as this. It may refer merely to an organized stoppage of work by all the workers in a single community, or by all the workers in a single industry in a community; at the other extreme, it may involve all or practically all the workers of an entire country, or all the workers in a single national industry. When confined to a single community or a single industry (sometimes

called the "partial general strike"), its aims are nearly always economic—the gaining of some definite concession from the employers. When employed upon a national scale by workers in all industries, it is usually political in character—as in the general strike in Germany to defeat the Kapp *coup d'état* early in 1920, or in the action of the Danish workers against the unconstitutional dissolution of the Cabinet by the King in the same year. What is variously known as the "social general strike," the "revolutionary general strike," and the "expropriatory general strike"—that is to say, a general strike on a national or international scale, which aims at the complete overthrow and expropriation of capitalistic society, and the substitution of a new order—is as yet nothing more than a theory, the central item in the philosophy of SYNDICALISM. According to a French writer, Paul Delesalle, it means "the complete and simultaneous stoppage of production, which must render impossible the normal functioning of capitalist society. The workers, conscious at last of their force and their power, pour forth, with one accord, from factory and workshop and yard, only to return there at length to carry on production for their own profit, working no longer for a master or a capitalist trust, but for themselves, for the profit of the whole community." The French use the term "generalized strike" in contradistinction to the "social" or "revolutionary" general strike. Any form of general strike is often referred to as a "mass strike." (See HARTAL.)

General Wages. See WAGES.

General Workers. In British industry, a common designation for the numerous nondescript workers (usually unskilled or semi-skilled) who are either not eligible to or are not sought after by the national craft unions. These workers are strongly organized in several national societies known as GENERAL LABOR UNIONS, which are federated in the NATIONAL FEDERATION OF GENERAL WORKERS.

Generalized Strike. See GENERAL STRIKE.

Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften (General Commission of Trade Unions). See ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND; GEWERKSCHAFTEN.

Geneva Internationale. See INTERNATIONALE.

Geographical Jurisdiction. See JURISDICTION.

German General Trade Union Federation. See ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND.

German General Workers' Union. See ALLGEMEINE ARBEITER-UNION.

German National Economic Council. See REICHSWIRTSCHAFTSRAT.

German National Labor Administration. There are two main executive departments devoted to labor affairs in the central government of the new German Republic. These are the National Ministry of Labor and the National Ministry of Economics. In demarcation of their respective functions, the following official statement has been issued: "All questions of a socio-political character relating to the labor contract will be dealt with by the Ministry of Labor; in particular, unemployment relief, compulsory engagement of workers, share of workers in business management and WORKS COUNCILS. The Ministry of Economics, on the other hand, deals with labor questions only in so far as they relate to the continuation and reconstruction of the processes of production and its technique. In this connection the cooperative societies, the trade unions, joint industrial leagues, and similar organizations will be dealt with in the National Ministry of Economics."

German Spartacus League. See SPARTACANS.

German Trade Union Congress. See ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND.

German Trade Union Organization. As a typical example of German trade union organization, Mr. C. M. Lloyd (writing in 1914) thus describes the Metalworkers' Union, the largest of the German "free" (Social Democratic) national unions or ZENTRALVERBÄNDE, with more than a million members: "The Metalworkers' Union comprises 451 branches, grouped in eleven Districts. The government is in the hands of a supreme executive committee of paid officials, elected triennially by delegates from the Districts. The authority of this national executive is very substantial, including, as it does, the power to forbid a strike in any District (except a 'defensive' strike: there its sanction is not required, though it is, as a matter of course, consulted before hostilities are begun), the right to reject at its discretion even duly elected candidates for the District Executives, and the expenditure of something like seventy-five or eighty per cent of the ordinary contributions of the members, which are paid direct into its hands, with a final voice even in the disbursement of the balance that remains in the local exchequer.

The organization of the District is elaborate. There are two subdivisions—the one geographical, into wards, the other professional, into 'craft' groups or branches—fitters, moulders, coppersmiths, brassworkers, boilermakers, machinists, crane drivers, scientific instrument makers and so on. Both the ward and the group have their committees, as well as a staff of SHOP-STEWARDS, each one responsible for keeping the members in his particular works or shop in touch with the officials and with the Union as a whole. The central control of the District is in the hands of permanent officials (elected by the general meeting), who, with the chairman of the ward and group committees, form the Executive Council. This Council meets weekly, receives reports from each ward and group, and issues its own decisions and proposals to be laid before the shop-stewards and the ward and group meetings. Once a quarter a general meeting is held, which—in the larger districts at least, like Berlin—is not attended by all the members, but by the various officials, the ward and group committee-men, and the shop-stewards of the District. In exceptional cases, on matters of supreme importance, a referendum may be taken. . . . Here, then, is a vast organization, combining into one society literally dozens of different trades, from metalworkers to laborers, from farriers to boilermakers, which yet works with marvellous smoothness, and has been enormously successful in improving the conditions of its members." (See MATERIAL TRADE UNION.)

German Works Councils Law (*Betriebsrätegesetz*). The constitution of the new German Republic, adopted July, 1919, contains tentative provisions for an elaborate system of WORKS COUNCILS. According to this system, all manual wage-earners and salaried employees will eventually be represented in three main forms of works council organization, as follows: (1) Local works councils, or *Betriebsarbeiterräte*, organized for each individual factory or establishment; (2) district workers' councils, or *Bezirksarbeiterräte*, organized for each economic area; and (3) a national workers' council, or *Reichsarbeiterrat*. As yet, the district and national forms of organization have not come into existence. The remaining form was definitely created in a measure enacted in January, 1920, by the National Assembly. All industrial or commercial establishments, of whatever character, employing more than five workers come within the provisions of the Works Councils Law. Agricultural workers, government employees, and home workers are also included. In each establishment employing at least twenty workers a works

council (*Betriebsarbeiterrat* or, in the usual shortened form, *Betriebsrat*) is to be organized. In establishments employing less than twenty but at least five workers, the functions of a works council will be performed by a *Betriebsobmann*, a works steward elected by the workers. In addition to the general works council there are to be formed in each of the larger establishments separate group councils (*Gruppenräte*) consisting of a manual workers' council (*Arbeiterrat*) and a non-manual or salaried employees' council (*Angestelltenrat*), representing the special economic interests of each of these two groups. The law also provides for a works assembly (*Betriebsversammlung*), composed of all the manual and non-manual workers of an establishment, which really stands in authority above the works council. In the case of several similar or economically interdependent establishments owned by the same firm, a central works council (*Gesamtbetriebsrat*) may be formed in addition to the individual works councils; or a joint works council (*Gemeinsamerbetriebsrat*) may be formed to take the place of the individual works councils. The members of a works council, varying from three to thirty, are elected by vote of all the workers in an establishment. They may be either men or women. "Although the works council law came into being in its present form against the will of the majority of all organized workers, the creation of works councils must be considered as an economic gain of labor. To be sure, the law did not recognize the right of the workers' and salaried employees' representatives to a voice in the management of the establishment. It opened, however, the way toward giving these representatives an insight into the management of the establishment and thus placed them legally in a position to support the policy of the management in bringing about the highest efficiency and the greatest possible economy in the operation of the plant. The law, moreover, gives the works council a deciding vote in all questions relating to labor conditions, especially in the formulating of shop regulations, a voice in the discharge of workmen, and a voice in the suspension of work to the extent that general lines of conduct governing the procedure of suspension are to be agreed upon between the works council and the employer." (See REICHSWIRTSCHAFTSRAT.)

Gesamtbetriebsrat (Central Works Council). See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW.

Gewerbegerichten. German industrial courts which, like the French and Belgian CONSEILS DE PRUD'HOMMES and the Italian PROBI-VIRI, have jurisdiction in cases arising out of existing labor

contracts. In addition, however, they are empowered under certain conditions to offer their services to mediate between the parties to an ordinary labor dispute.

Gewerbeordnung. The general governmental labor code of Germany, regulating the safety, health, morality, etc., of workers, the hours of women and children, the conduct of dangerous trades, the TRUCK SYSTEM, etc.

Gewerkschaften or **Freie Gewerkschaften.** The socialist (Social Democratic) or "free" trade unions of Germany, forming by far the largest and most effective section of German trade unionism, are so called. They began to appear in the sixties of the last century, and were organized in most cases by members of the Social Democratic Party. In 1878 the German government passed an anti-socialist law which practically destroyed all effective trade combination. Between 1878 and 1888, 108 trade unions were dissolved by the authorities. Those that kept together were compelled to limit their activities to the provision of friendly society BENEFITS. But even under the iron rule of the anti-socialist law, cautious and disguised attempts were made to carry on trade union organization. A number of bodies, the real objects of which were concealed under the title of "friendly society," were formed, so that when the anti-socialist law lapsed in 1890 there were fifty-eight *Gewerkschaften* in existence, with a membership of 301,500. The regained freedom was used to bring these bodies into closer relation, and a conference was held at Berlin, which created a central organization—the *Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften*, superseded in 1919 by the ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND. Since this date Congresses have been held at intervals, at which important methods affecting the affiliated unions, which are now generally known as ZENTRALVERBÄNDE (centralized unions), are discussed and decided. One of the most important questions decided by the first Congress was with regard to the form the trade union organization should take. A number of the *Gewerkschaften* were anxious to retain local autonomy, with a more or less loose form of national confederation. The majority, however, stood for strict national centralization, and on this being carried the supporters of localized methods separated from the main body. The latter declared at first that they considered themselves to be a part of the Social Democratic movement, thus limiting their membership to declared socialists. Later they developed a type of syndicalist doctrine known as *Anarcho-Sozialismus*, which caused the Social Democratic Party to repudiate them.

The majority of the localized organizations then broke away and joined the centralized bodies, and the minority have now no influence in the German trade union world. The total membership of the *Gewerkschaften* increased from less than three millions in 1918 to nearly eight and a half millions in 1920. Of this latter number some two millions are women workers. (See GEWERKSCHAFTSKARTELLE; ARBEITERSEKRETARIAT; GEWERKSCHAFTHÄUSER.)

Gewerkschafthäuser. In Germany the local and district organizations of GEWERKSCHAFTEN ("free" or Social Democratic unions) usually combine for the provision of suitable offices and meeting places. In large towns, and even in some small ones, the unions have erected splendid buildings (*Gewerkschafthäuser*), in which their bureaus are located. There were seventy buildings of this kind in Germany just before the war. In some cases the Social Democratic political organizations cooperate for this purpose, and have their headquarters under the same roof. The *Gewerkschafthaus* in Berlin cost over $500,000, and contains a spacious restaurant, large and small halls, a lodging house for travelling trade unionists, and baths, as well as the numerous offices of the trade unions of the capital and those of the ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND.

Gewerkschaftskartelle. The local federations of GEWERKSCHAFTEN ("free" or Social Democratic trade unions) are so called in Germany. They are similar, in general, to the British TRADES COUNCILS, their principal task being the strengthening and expansion of trade unionism in their respective areas. In addition, many of them maintain workers' secretariats, legal information bureaus, libraries and other educational facilities, workmen's lodging houses, etc. They also make arrangements for the election of workmen's representatives to various public bodies. (See ARBEITERSEKRETARIAT; GEWERKSCHAFTHÄUSER.)

Gewerkschaftskommission Deutschösterreichs (Austrian Central Trade Union Commission). An executive board or national commission which acts for the entire body of SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNIONS (*Gewerkschaften*) in Austria, representing an affiliated membership of 772,146 at the end of 1919—as against only about 263,000 in 1918. This remarkable increase is in part due to the affiliation of numerous organizations of non-industrial wage-workers, such as bank employees, domestic servants, policemen, postal and telegraph employees, hospital nurses, etc. Through the affiliation

of these organizations the *Gewerkschaftskommission* has become the official representative not only of the industrial workers of Austria but of Austria's entire wage-earning population—with the exception of a small minority organized in the CHRISTIAN and YELLOW UNIONS. It works in close cooperation with the Austrian Social Democratic Labor Party (*Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in Deutschösterreich*), organized in 1888, which represents the political interests of the great majority of Austrian workers, who are for the most part moderate socialists—although a considerable left-wing or communist movement has lately developed. As in Germany, the Austrian trade union movement is strongly centralized, the affiliated membership represented by the *Gewerkschaftskommission* being concentrated at the end of 1919 in fifty-five national unions.

Gewerkschaftsschule. See WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.

Gewerkvereine or Hirsch-Duncker Unions. German labor organizations of a non-political and anti-socialist character. The Hirsch-Duncker *Gewerkvereine* came into being in 1868, at about the same time as the GEWERKSCHAFTEN, and were the creation of prominent Manchester School liberals of that period, the names of two of whom form the title of the organizations. The *Gewerkvereine* are opposed to State interference, and in favor of free competition and self-help. They are based on the assumption that there is no fundamental antagonism between the capitalist and the worker, and they aim at settling all differences between the two by purely peaceful means. Formerly it was the custom to take a pledge from the members that they would have no relations with the Social Democrats, but this has now been dropped. During the era of the German anti-socialist law (1878–1890) they were undisturbed by the police, owing to their harmless character, and in consequence they grew fairly rapidly. At the end of 1919 they were reported to have 190,000 members, distributed among nineteen affiliated groups.

Ghent System. A plan, originated by the Belgian city of Ghent in 1900, under which trade unions providing OUT-OF-WORK BENEFITS to their members receive a subsidy from the municipality, province, or State, the amount of the subsidy being proportioned to the trade union benefit, varying from 33⅓ to 100 per cent. The Ghent system, with various more or less important modifications, has been adopted in many communities throughout Europe.

Gilbreth's Three-Position Plan. See THREE-POSITION PLAN.

Gild. See GUILD.

Gild Socialism. See GUILD SOCIALISM.

Ginny. An Italian laborer in the United States is commonly so nicknamed; although the term is often applied to any European laborer in this country. It is an obvious corruption of "guinea." (See DAGO; WOP.)

Go Canny. See CA' CANNY.

Go Easy System. See CA' CANNY.

Go Slow Strike. See STRIKING ON THE JOB.

Godin Familistère. See FAMILISTÈRE.

Golden Scabs. A term used during the American railway strikes of 1920 in designation of certain wealthy commuters, college students, and others, who acted as volunteer firemen and switchmen, taking the places of men out on strike. (See WHITE COLLAR SCABS.)

Good from Oven. In the British pottery industry, where the PIECE WORK basis prevails, workers are paid only for ware that comes "good from oven"—that is, ware that does not break in firing. Disputes over breakage under this custom are frequent and sometimes serious.

Governing Branch. Under the form of government at one time common among British national trade unions, a certain town was chosen as the headquarters of the organization; then the local BRANCH or branches of the national union in this town selected certain of their members to constitute the general board of management. A paid official, known as the secretary or secretary-treasurer, was elected by vote of all the members of the national union. This officer had merely routine secretarial and financial duties. The board met weekly or oftener, and transacted much business that is now commonly performed by salaried officials. Through periodical removals of the seat of government, the participation of all members was secured, though of course not continuously. The "governing branch" system, now largely obsolete, has been adopted, either exactly or with modifications, by a few American national unions.

Government by Injunction. Owing to the frequency with which the INJUNCTION is resorted to as an anti-labor weapon and the wide scope of its assumed powers, American workers often speak ironically of our governmental system as "government by injunction."

Government Ownership. See NATIONALIZATION.

Grading System. This term usually refers to the plan, sometimes found in unorganized trades, under which workers at a specific occupation are classified into various grades, according to the degree of individual skill possessed, with different rates of TIME WORK wages for the different grades. Practically all trade unions are strongly opposed to the grading system. "It might seem to be possible for the union itself to fix grades of ability, with corresponding differences of wages, to which it might assign its several members; but the universal voice of the union world declares this to be impracticable. Such grading could not be effected without jealousies and heartburnings. In a purely voluntary and democratic organization, whose strength depends upon the loyalty of its members, it would not be safe to introduce a policy so heavy with causes of discord. On the other hand, to permit members to be assigned to different grades by the employers would be to revert to the individual bargain; and the tendency would be to reduce the greater part of the members to the lowest grade." (See INCREMENTAL SCALE; WAGE DIFFERENTIAL; RATING SCALE.)

Grand Division or **Grand International Division.** See DIVISION.

Grand Lodge. See LODGE.

Grand National. One of the most interesting experiments in the early British labor movement was the establishment in 1834 of the "Grand National Consolidated Trades Union," under the leadership of Robert Owen—socialist, factory reformer, and educationist. It was, in effect, a form of SYNDICALISM or ONE BIG UNION (although organized long before those terms were ever heard of), which aimed at including all the manual workers in every trade in the country, with the various trades organized in associations or parochial lodges, and centrally united through delegates to a "Grand National Council." Each trade union or "company" was to be an independent unit, controlling its own industry throughout the country, excluding commercial competition and destined finally to supersede the State as well as the private capitalist. Within a few weeks the organization had enrolled between half a million and a million workers; but internal dissensions, employers' lockouts, and government prosecution combined to bring it to a speedy collapse.

Grass Hands. See GRASS WORK.

Grass Work. A common nickname in England for "casual" or irregular employment—that which occupies the worker for part of the day or the week only. Those workers who depend upon "grass work" are commonly known as "grassers" or "grass hands." They are usually extra or relief workers, who "fill in" during rush hours or other special contingencies. The use of "grass" in this sense is probably derived from the phrase, "turned out to grass," as applied to horses that spend most of their time in the pasture. (See ON-AND-OFF SYSTEM.)

Grassers. See GRASS WORK.

Grassing. See SMOOTING.

Greaser. A term of contempt applied in some parts of the United States to a native Mexican, particularly of the common laboring class.

Great Industry. The present international industrial organization for production and exchange is frequently so called by modern economists, in contrast with the relatively narrow and local conditions under which industry was formerly carried on. A world-wide interdependence for raw materials and finished products is the chief characteristic of the Great Industry.

Greater Unionism. See INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Greek General Confederation of Labor. Founded at a Pan-Hellenic Labor Congress in 1918, with 75,000 members. Owing to government persecution, including the deportation of its executive, the membership had fallen to 60,000 in 1920. In general, trade unionism in Greece is of very recent development and comparatively small proportions.

Green. In accordance with the popular tendency to associate political and economic creeds with specific colors, "green" is generally used in connection with European peasant affairs and interests, the peasants as a rule being neither "red" nor "white"—although the more well-to-do (particularly the peasant proprietors) incline toward the latter. Thus, there have been reports recently of the formation of a so-called "Green Internationale" among the peasants of central and eastern Europe, in opposition to the "Red Internationale" of the town socialists and communists.

Green Hands. Workers who are new to the particular task or industry at which they are employed, or who have not yet become

"seasoned" in the methods of a particular plant. While "green" workers are often "unskilled" workers, the two terms are by no means synonymous.

Green Internationale. See GREEN.

Greenbackism. As associated with the American labor movement from about 1867 to 1878, this was the theory that working-class interests would best be served by the suppression of banks of issue, the confinement of currency to "greenbacks" or paper currency put out by the government, and the total or partial payment of the national debt in such currency. Greenbackism was "the American form of Europe's SOCIALISM and ANARCHISM" which were then dividing the foreign labor movement. (See NATIONAL LABOR UNION.)

Greener. A name applied in England to an alien just landed in that country, particularly one unskilled in any trade and more or less destitute.

Grève aux Bras Croisés. In France, the "folded arms strike" —one in which the workers play a purely passive part, and which is mainly a test of financial strength between employer and employees.

Grève Perlée (Pearled Strike). The French designation for that form of SABOTAGE which consists in creating the greatest possible amount of confusion and loss to an employer by intentional "mistakes" and inefficiency of employees. Thus, packages may be misdirected, the wrong goods delivered to a customer, telegrams made unintelligible or misleading, stock misplaced, important letters delayed, etc. The general purpose is to worry and distract the employer into granting the workers' demands.

Grievance Committee. Usually a standing committee appointed by a local trade union to confer with employers in regard to the adjustment of complaints brought to its attention by members of the union. Grievance committees are also sometimes set up by the employees of individual plants—occasionally under the employer's initiative. (See TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—LOCAL.)

Grievance Fund. See STRIKE FUND.

Grinding Money. In certain British trades in which the workers supply their own steel tools, this is an extra payment,

usually stipulated in the WORKING RULES, for time spent by the men in sharpening their tools.

Group Insurance. A single insurance policy, usually taken out by an employer and covering all his employees against sickness and death, regardless of their various ages and conditions and without requiring any individual action or payment on their part. Group insurance has also been successfully adopted by the British cooperative movement.

Group Piece Work. See COLLECTIVE PIECE WORK.

Grütliverein (Grütli Union). The oldest of Swiss labor organizations; founded in 1838. It maintains numerous branches throughout the country; but its efforts are directed more toward political and socialistic than toward purely industrial ends. It is at present largely merged in the Swiss Socialist Party, of which it forms the OPPORTUNIST wing.

Gruppenräte (Group Councils). See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW.

Guaranteed Time. Refers to the principle, established by some trade unions, that if a worker is hired at all he must be assured a full day's or week's work or, failing that, FULL PAY for the period. It is often proposed, by those who advocate making UNEMPLOYMENT "a charge on the industry," that this principle should be extended to cover the entire year.

Guerilla Unionism. See PREDATORY UNIONISM.

Guild or Gild. Historically, an association of craftsmen and merchants, exercising a monopoly over a particular trade or craft in a single town. Guilds of this type practically controlled the industry of medieval Europe. Roughly speaking, they were associations of producers of a particular commodity within a particular area, grouped together to protect their own interests and the interests of the consumer. They fixed prices and wages, as well as quality standards of production, and in many cases played also a prominent part in the social and political activities of their localities. At first beneficial in its effects upon master, worker, and consumer alike, the guild system later degenerated into a selfish and exclusive industrial oligarchy. The change from TOWN ECONOMY to NATIONAL ECONOMY, the rise of a capitalistic class, internal feuds, external suppression, and various other causes led to the gradual extinction of the guilds,

although certain nominal survivals are still to be found in various parts of Europe. Some authorities trace the origin of the modern trade union back to the medieval guilds, but this connection has been rather convincingly disproved by Mr. and Mrs. Webb. Quite aside from the above-described system, the term "guild" is often used in designation of various forms of association for cooperative effort, some of which are of considerable antiquity. (See INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION; HANDICRAFT SYSTEM.)

Guild Congress. See GUILD SOCIALISM; FUNCTIONAL DEMOCRACY.

Guild Socialism. A plan for the management of industry by self-governing organizations of workers, acting in cooperation with the political State, which has won many adherents in Great Britain during the past few years. Under this plan, "ownership of the means of production is to rest with the community, but the Trade Unions are to be definitely recognized by the State as the normal controllers of industry. They are to be statutory bodies exercising a monopoly but admitting of free entry on reasonable conditions. The amount and character of their production are to be determined for them by demand, but the methods and processes are to be left entirely in their hands: they are to elect their own officials, and to be self-governing corporations with the widest powers. In fact, they are to resemble in their main characteristics the self-governing professions, the doctors and the lawyers, of the present. As the Unions will include every one concerned in the industry, from general manager to laborers, they will be in essence 'Guilds,' *i.e.*, associations not of dependent, but of independent, producers." This summary is from the pen of one of the leaders in the movement, G. D. H. Cole. The same writer says, in another place: "We who call ourselves National Guildsmen look forward to a community in which production will be organized through democratic association of all the workers in each industry linked up in a body representing all the workers in all industries. On the other hand we look forward to a democratization of the State and of local government, and to sharing of industrial control between producers and consumers. The State should own the means of production; the Guild should control the work of production." Under this plan there would be, in addition to the Parliament or national political assembly (elected, as at present, on a territorial basis and representing the community as consumers), a national "Guild Congress," consisting of representatives of the national guilds and representing the community as

producers, which would enact and enforce all purely industrial legislation. An equal number of representatives from the Parliament and the Guild Congress, in the form of a Joint Committee, would constitute the ultimate sovereign body of the community. Relations between different groups of producers would be the concern of the Guild Congress; matters concerning the territorial or geographical interests of the inhabitants, and their interests as consumers, would be decided by the Parliament; while all disputes between these two bodies, and questions involving producers and consumers alike, would be decided by the Joint Committee. Thus, guild socialism steers a middle course between SYNDICALISM, on the one hand, which would abolish the political State altogether and take account of men only or chiefly as producers; and, on the other hand, STATE SOCIALISM, which would enhance the powers of the political State and deal with men wholly or chiefly as consumers. The British guild socialists are divided into several factions, differing chiefly on the form of the political Parliament, or the degree of sovereignty which it will exercise, in connection with the Guild Congress or economic Parliament. But notwithstanding divided counsels in the movement, guild socialism has exerted a strong influence on a number of prominent trade unionists, and it has been made the basis of several interesting experiments in British industrial affairs. (See FUNCTIONAL DEMOCRACY; DUAL STATE; COLLECTIVE CONTRACT; INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONALIZATION.)

Gumshoes. See UNDER-COVER MEN.

Gunmen. See ARMED GUARDS.

Guv'nor's Man. See COMPANY MAN.

H

Half Members. In some unions, as for example the United Mine Workers, boys under sixteen years of age are taken into the union as "half members." They pay only half as much in the way of dues and assessments as full members, and have but half a vote in the deliberations of the local union.

Half-Time System. Under the British FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS, this term refers to the various regulations and restrictions under which children and YOUNG PERSONS may be employed either for consecutive half-days (that is, in morning or afternoon "sets") or for alternate full days during the week; leaving one-half of their time free for schooling. Those employed under the half-time system are commonly known as "half-timers."

Half-Timers. See HALF-TIME SYSTEM.

Halsey Plan. This, the simplest form of the PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM of wage payment, was devised by F. A. Halsey, an American engineer. By reference to past records the normal or standard time required for a given job is ascertained. If the worker completes the job in less than this standard time, he receives a bonus or premium, graduated in proportion to the amount of time saved. If he does not produce the normal amount of work, he still receives the usual time wage. Thus, if the standard time allowance for a job is ten hours, and the worker does the job in six hours, payment will be made for six hours and also for a proportion (usually either one-third or one-half) of the four hours saved in doing the job.

Hammering from Without. See DUAL UNIONISM; BORING FROM WITHIN.

Handicraft System. A name given to the second stage in modern INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION—the stage following the FAMILY SYSTEM and preceding the DOMESTIC SYSTEM. This is the stage, according to W. J. Ashley, "when professional craftsmen come into

existence: men who, though they may have small holdings of land which they cultivate, and may indeed receive remuneration in the shape, to some extent, of these holdings, are yet primarily craftsmen—primarily, for instance, weavers or smiths. . . . Production in this stage is still on a small scale; it takes place either at the customer's home or in a small workshop or room or shed within or adjoining the craftsman's own dwelling; and there is no intermediary between producer and consumer. The producer either works on the customer's own materials or, if he buys his own material and has not only 'labor' but a 'commodity' to sell, he deals directly with a small neighboring circle of patrons. There is a 'market' in the modern business or economic sense, but it is a small and near one, and the producer is in direct touch with it; though, indeed, it may sometimes consist, not of the ultimate consuming public, but of fellow-artisans in some other 'mistery.'" (See DIVISION OF LABOR; TOWN ECONOMY; GUILD.)

Hands. A common designation, of long standing, for members of the working class—as for example, "mill hands," "farm hands," "factory hands," etc. The use of this term unconsciously reveals the deep-rooted conception of labor as a commodity, and of the laborer as a sort of automatic machine rather than a human being. (See COMMODITY THEORY OF LABOR; GREEN HANDS.)

Handy-Man. See HELPER.

Hart, Schaffner & Marx Labor Agreement. This "industrial constitution," adopted by negotiation between a large men's clothing factory in Chicago and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has been called "the most successful and most highly developed machinery of labor adjustment in the United States—perhaps in the world." Since this agreement was first reached in January, 1911, there has not been a strike in the large Hart, Schaffner & Marx establishment, employing normally 7,000 workers; although the employees, virtually all of whom are members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have gained a long succession of improvements in hours, wages, working conditions, and shop control. The essential feature of the plan is a system of CONTINUOUS ARBITRATION, vested in two permanent joint bodies—the Trade Board and the Board of Arbitration. The former, which is the primary board for adjusting grievances, consists of ten employees of the company, five chosen by the management and five by the union, with a chairman representing the mutual interests of both sides. The Board of

Arbitration, which has full and final jurisdiction over all matters arising under the agreement, consists of three members, one chosen by the management and one by the union, with an IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN selected by both parties. This impartial chairman is in effect the controlling or regulating factor in the entire arrangement. Besides these two bodies, provision is made for various minor officials—company and union DEPUTIES, SHOP CHAIRMEN, etc.—who assist in the operation of the agreement. The PREFERENTIAL SHOP principle is an important feature of the entire arrangement. Labor agreements modelled on the Hart, Schaffner & Marx plan have been adopted by many other American employers in the men's clothing trade.

Hartal. The name given to a mild form of GENERAL STRIKE in India. The *hartal* has so far been resorted to mainly by way of political protest, and is more in the nature of passive resistance than active insurrection. "On appointed days a general strike of the classes and the masses is called in protest against some injustice, and business is practically suspended in one or several large towns of a province. Frequently the call extends to the towns in several provinces." The *hartal* was originally an ancient Indian custom—a day of public mourning. Its modern form, as described above, is sometimes called the *satyagraha* or "passive resistance strike."

Harvest Labor Problem. See LABOR OUTINGS.

Harvest Stiff. A migratory worker, often a member of the I. W. W., who travels from farm to farm in the Western states, helping in harvesting operations, is thus colloquially known. (See STIFF.)

Harvester Works Council Plan. As adopted in 1919 by the International Harvester Company, this plan provides for the formation in each of the company's plants of a joint WORKS COMMITTEE or council for the "consideration of all questions of policy relating to working conditions, health, safety, hours of labor, wages, recreation, education, and other similar matters of mutual interest." Employees and management have equal representation on the works council. The final decision upon any matter over which a deadlock has been reached rests in the hands of an "impartial and disinterested" ARBITRATOR or arbitration committee.

Harvesters. A trade union nickname for skilled workmen who come to this country from Europe for a few months of work during the "rush" season and then return home. Some unions,

notably the Stone Cutters' Association, have endeavored to abate the "harvester" evil by charging a high INITIATION FEE to applicants from outside the United States. (See BIRDS OF PASSAGE.)

Hazardous Occupations. Those which are dangerous to the life, limbs, or health of the workers who engage in them. According to a recent exhaustive investigation, there are eight general industries which are more hazardous, in regard to fatal accidents, than service in the United States Army, and of these metal and coal mining head the list. The classification of hazardous industrial processes usually includes the cleaning and oiling of machinery, adjustment of belts, operation of machine saws or of stamping, washing, grinding, and mixing machines, and the manufacture of lead products or of compositions containing poisonous acids. Under the head of extra-hazardous occupations is generally included work in mines, at blast furnaces, or on railroads, in the outside erection of electric wires, or in the manufacture of explosives. (See PROHIBITED EMPLOYMENTS; HEALTH HAZARDS; INDUSTRIAL HAZARD; SAFETY FIRST MOVEMENT.)

Health Hazards. With reference to industrial workers, these may be classified as dangers arising from (1) poisons, dusts, fumes, gases; (2) heat, humidity, improper ventilation; (3) bad or insufficient lighting; (4) overcrowding; (5) inadequate or unsanitary washroom and toilet arrangements; (6) SPEEDING UP, long working spells, OVERTIME work, NIGHT WORK, lack of proper REST PERIODS; (7) association with diseased fellow-workers. (See INDUSTRIAL HAZARD.)

Health Insurance. See SICKNESS INSURANCE.

Helper or Handy-Man. An unskilled or semi-skilled worker who assists a JOURNEYMAN in any industrial task. The helper must not be confused with the APPRENTICE. "The latter is in training to become a journeyman. He uses journeymen's tools; he is permitted if efficient to do journeyman's work, and he is under the supervision of the journeymen's union. The helper or LABORER, except in a few of the trades, is not in training; he is not allowed to use journeymen's tools, and in most cases he belongs to an independent union. As his name implies, he helps the journeyman; he is supposed to do the unskilled work and to lend a hand when required to do so." Clauses limiting the number of helpers a journeyman may have, and restricting the work which they may perform, are found in the rules of many trade unions. (See BERKSHIRE SYSTEM; IMPROVER.)

Hirsch-Duncker Unions. See GEWERKVEREINE.

Hoboes. See MIGRATORY LABOR.

Hold-Up Unionism. See PREDATORY UNIONISM.

Holding Company. See TRUST.

Holland, Labor Organizations in. See DUTCH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Home Finishing. See HOME WORK; TENEMENT-HOUSE WORK; PIN MONEY WORKERS.

Home Work. Immense quantities of small articles are manufactured wholly or partly in the homes of workers. The latter may give practically all their time to industrial tasks, as is usually the case in TENEMENT-HOUSE WORK; they may be factory workers who eke out their day wages by night work at home; or they may be what are called PIN MONEY WORKERS, for whom the industrial task is incidental to the customary home concerns. In any case, they are in much the largest part women and children. Home work is particularly prevalent in the garment-making industry. A considerable part of the felling, hemming, button-sewing, basting-pulling, etc., (collectively known as "finishing") on certain garments is done by home workers in city tenements and in the country districts adjacent to garment-making centres. But home work is the rule rather than the exception in a number of other industries as well. Considered in its general social implications, industrial home work conflicts with family duties, children are neglected, homes are uncared for, mothers are exhausted, and the children of home workers are made to labor during time they should spend in play and study. Even when the children do not actually assist in the industrial home work, they carry goods to and from the factory and inadequately perform many of the household tasks that their mothers have not the time or energy to do, such as dishwashing, sweeping, cooking, and taking care of the babies. School records indicate that "many children engaged regularly in home work attend school irregularly, are dull when they do attend and frequently fail in their term's work." From the trade union point of view, remark Mr. and Mrs. Webb, home work "necessarily involves INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING, and makes, moreover, the enforcement of any COMMON RULE practically impossible. . . . Nor are these insidious effects confined merely to the outworkers. The operatives employed on similar tasks on the employer's premises have to submit to reductions of wages and extensions of hours,

under the threat of the diversion of more and more of the business to their out-working competitors. Home work, in fact, makes all Trade Unionism impossible." (See OUTWORK; COTTAGE INDUSTRY; SWEATING SYSTEM; SUB-CONTRACTING; FARMING OUT; PARASITIC INDUSTRIES.)

Homestead Act. This Congressional enactment of 1862, providing for free occupation of public lands under certain conditions, is generally regarded as early LABOR LEGISLATION, as it furnished an outlet to laborers from the overcrowded mines and factories of the East, and thus had an important effect upon industrial conditions for a long period.

Honorary Card. See WITHDRAWAL CARD.

Horizontal Combination. See LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION.

Horizontal Wage. A uniform time wage paid to all workers in a single class, regardless of differences in individual efficiency.

Hospital-Fee System. Where an employer provided medical and surgical treatment for sick or injured workers, it was long customary to deduct a certain amount (usually fifty cents to a dollar) from the monthly or semi-monthly wages of each employee, as a compulsory fee for the services thus provided. This "hospital-fee system," which still survives to a limited extent, was a source of much dissatisfaction among the workers.

Hour Laws. Legislative enactments regulating the hours of labor for specific kinds of labor or for particular industries or occupations are generally so called. In the United States, the numerous state statutes of this sort may be divided into four classes, the first class including those which merely fix what shall be regarded as a full day's labor in the absence of any contract between the parties, and these may either be general or extended only to special occupations; second, those laws which fix the labor of persons not fully *sui juris*, as minors, or, in some states, women of all ages; third, those which fix the hours of labor under the POLICE POWER in occupations specially dangerous or unsanitary, or in which the safety of the public is specially concerned; and, finally, those which fix the hours of adult laborers, male as well as female, in general occupations, and prohibit contracts for longer hours without special rates or pay for OVERTIME. While nearly all the states have laws restricting women's and children's hours of work in all industries, and men's hours in certain industries, only two have imposed a general restric-

tion regardless of age, sex, or kind of industry. The basis of all hour laws "is not the need of the working people for fewer hours in order that they may have more leisure in general, but simply the injury imposed by the occupation upon their health. This of course is a broad position and is indefinite in extent. Legislation regulating the hours of women applies to all factories, and often in practice makes it necessary for employers to fix the same hours for men in the same establishments. While it is doubtless true that in many occupations excessive hours are injurious to the health of men as well as women, conditions differ greatly in different industries, or even in different establishments in the same industry. Legislation, therefore, upon this subject cannot be general, but must be based upon accurate investigation of the conditions in the several industries." While in manufactures and mining the regulation of hours belongs to the several states, yet in transportation the interstate character of the industry brings the subject under the powers of Congress. There is one phase of legislation affecting the hours of labor wherein the interests of private employment are not directly affected—namely, the hours of workmen employed directly by the Federal, state, and local governments. These different governments combined are undoubtedly the largest employers of labor in the United States, and whatever labor legislation is enacted affecting them has relatively important weight upon the condition of the working people in general. The Federal government has been the pioneer in reducing the hours of labor of its employees, and a considerable number of state and local governments have followed its example in adopting the EIGHT-HOUR DAY. (See SHORT HOUR MOVEMENT; SIXTEEN-HOUR LAW; ADAMSON LAW; WORKING HOURS IN RUSSIA; WORKING HOURS IN GERMANY.)

Hour Work. The system of wage payment under which the worker receives a specified sum per hour of working time. The term "hour work" is sometimes used as a general synonym for TIME WORK.

House of Call System. A method practiced in several important British trades, by which an employer needing a workman is encouraged or required to send to a specified place of resort for the unemployed, termed a "house of call," and the man who has been longest on the list or "call book" of such a place is, if suitable, deputed to fill the vacancy.

Household Assistant System. In an effort to solve the vexed problem of DOMESTIC SERVICE, the UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE organized early in 1919 a special committee to study

this problem and make recommendations for its solution. The committee has outlined a system on the following lines: "Regular eight-hour assistants engaged to be exclusive employees for the housewives (preferably working for no one else at the same time) and engaged to work quite as permanently as ever servants do. They give eight hours a day, six days a week. They eat and sleep at home. They agree to give extra service whenever required, for which they are always to receive extra pay. The wage is determined according to a sliding scale of efficiency and length of time in employment, and does and should compare favorably with that which obtains in factory, shop, and office. These assistants are engaged for regular specific duties, just as resident maids are, but—and here is to be found the safety valve never existing in our present order of domestic service—never, under any condition, is specialization permissible. During the eight hours they hold themselves ready to do whatever the circumstances of the particular day require."

Household Economy. In an historical sense, this is the name commonly given to the first stage in economic organization. Household economy "is characterized by restriction of the whole course of economic activity, from production to consumption, to the exclusive circle of the household (the family, the clan). The character and extent of the production of every household are prescribed by the wants of its members as consumers. Every product passes through the whole process of its manufacture, from the procuring of the raw material to its final elaboration in the same domestic establishment, and reaches the consumer without any intermediary. Production and consumption are here inseparably interdependent; they form a single uninterrupted and indistinguishable process. The earnings of each communal group are one with the product of their labor, and this, again, one with the goods going to satisfy their wants, that is, with their consumption. . . . The members of the household have not merely to gather from the soil its products, but they must also, by their labor, produce all the necessary tools and implements and, finally, work up and transform the new products and make them fit for use." With the increasing concentration of society into walled towns, and the resulting complexity of economic organization, household economy was succeeded by what is commonly known as TOWN ECONOMY; that in turn later giving place to NATIONAL ECONOMY. (See FAMILY OR HOUSEHOLD SYSTEM; FEUDALISM.)

Household System. See FAMILY SYSTEM.

Household Union. See COMPANY UNION.

Housing. It is generally recognized that the provision of sanitary, comfortable, wholesome, and inexpensive living quarters for wage-earners is an indispensable requisite for any permanent condition of social well-being and industrial peace. The investigations into this subject made by the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS are summarized in the following statements: "(1) The present provisions for the housing of workmen are generally bad, not only in the large cities but in industrial communities of every size and in rural districts. (2) Not only are the houses and tenements which are available for workers largely insanitary and unfit for habitation, but they are inadequate, resulting in high rents, overcrowding and congestion. (3) Such conditions make not only for discomfort and unhappiness, but for disease and degeneration. (4) The ordinary method of supplying houses through their erection by private capitalists for investment and speculation has rarely if ever been adequate. (5) Excellent plans for the housing of workmen have been put into effect by a number of firms and corporations, but such measures have not at all affected the general situation, and being dependent upon the volition of individuals can not be regarded as likely to greatly influence progress. (6) The tenement-house acts, as well as the health ordinances and building regulations of municipalities, while generally productive of good effects, are at best surface remedies and can never cure the evils of the present housing situation. (7) In every important European country government aid and direct intervention to curb speculation have proved to be necessary for the promotion of any real progress. (8) Governmental action in Europe has chiefly taken the following forms: extension of credit to voluntary non-profit-making associations; construction by the Government of buildings which are leased for long periods on easy terms; exemption from taxation and other subsidies for homes constructed for occupancy by their owners; legislation designed to prevent the holding of land out of use and to secure for the Government a part of the 'unearned increment.'" (See BRITISH HOUSING ACTS; COMPANY HOUSING; MANCHESTER BUILDING GUILD; INDUSTRIAL HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION BUREAU.)

Housing (Additional Powers) Act. See BRITISH HOUSING ACTS.

Housing and Town-Planning Act. See BRITISH HOUSING ACTS.

Human Engineering. This term has been applied to various efforts "to restore as far as possible the personal element to industry —to make it possible for employers to gain an inkling of the problems and the aspirations of their employees, and for employees to come into touch with some of the problems which the business man must solve." As commonly used, the term is synonymous, in a broad and general sense, with PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION.

Human Relations Department. See INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT.

Hungarian Trade Union Commission. See UNGARLÄNDISCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSRAT.

Hunk. See HUNKY.

Hunky. A common nickname in the United States for a laborer belonging to one of the Slavic races. "Hunk" and "bohunk" are alternate forms often used.

Hunting the Fox. See CHASSE AUX RENARD.

I

I. C. A. See INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE ALLIANCE.

I. F. T. U. See INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

I. L. P. See INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.

I. L. P. and T. U. C. See IRISH LABOR PARTY AND TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

I. S. B. See INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

I. S. S. See INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

I. T. and G. W. U. See IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.

I. W. W. The initials by which both an individual member of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD and the organization itself are most commonly known.

Idle Money. See OUT-OF-WORK BENEFITS.

Illegal Men. Workers who have not served the regulation APPRENTICESHIP period, and thus gained the right to follow their trade as qualified JOURNEYMEN, are sometimes so called.

Illegal Strike. See INDEPENDENT STRIKE.

Immigration. The influx of great numbers of foreign-born laborers, mostly unskilled and accustomed to lower standards of living than the native-born workman, has played a most important part in the American labor movement. According to Professor Commons, "no understanding of the American movement, compared with that especially of England, can be acquired until one perceives the importance of race and language. These underlie the strenuous demand of American unions for the CLOSED SHOP, as compared with the relative indifference of English unionists on this subject. The closed shop is essentially labor's application of the protective tariff

principle. . . . It is, therefore, on this question of races and immigration that the real class conflict in American industry has occurred; for the backward or alien races have been made the instruments of employers to reduce the wages of the older nationalities. The hostility to immigration, exhibited by American unionists, is simply evidence of their attack upon the instruments used by their employers to defeat their demands." The economic effects of immigration are thus summarized by the staff of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, on the basis of evidence presented to the Commission: "(1) The immigration policy of the United States has created a number of our most difficult and serious industrial problems and has been responsible in a considerable measure for the existing state of INDUSTRIAL UNREST. (2) The enormous influx of immigrants during the past twenty-five years has already undermined the AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING for all workmen except those in the skilled trades, and has been the largest single factor in preventing the wage scale from rising as rapidly as food prices. (3) The great mass of non-English-speaking workers, who form about one-half of the labor force in the basic industries, has done much to prevent the development of better relations between employers and employees. (4) The presence of such a large proportion of immigrants has greatly hampered the formation of trade unions and has tremendously increased the problem of securing effective and responsible organizations. (5) The unreasonable prejudice of almost every class of Americans toward the immigrants, who form such a large proportion of the labor force of our industries, has been largely responsible for the failure of our Nation to reach a correct understanding of the labor problem and has promoted the harshness and brutality which has so often been manifested in connection with industrial disturbances. It has been and to a large measure still is felt possible to dismiss the most revolting working conditions, the most brutal treatment, or the most criminal invasion of personal rights, by saying, 'Oh, well, they are just ignorant foreigners.'" The increasing success of American trade unions in organizing the foreign-born workers, as apparent particularly among the coal-mine and garment workers, has lessened these evils in some degree; but opposition to unrestricted immigration is still a prominent item in the programme of organized labor. The first GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS proposed that migrations of workers from one country to another be permitted only after obtaining the approval of the employers' and the workers' organizations of both countries affected. In the United States no agency exists for consulting either employers

or workers on this question. A permanent immigration commission would, however, be the natural channel through which such mutual arrangement could be effected. (See CHINESE EXCLUSION LAWS; JAPANESE-AMERICAN PASSPORT AGREEMENT; ASIATIC BARRED ZONE; CONTRACT LABOR; PADRONE SYSTEM; INDUCED IMMIGRATION; ASSISTED IMMIGRATION; BIRDS OF PASSAGE; HARVESTERS; IMMIGRATION BUREAU; NATURALIZATION BUREAU; IMMIGRATION LAW OF 1921.)

Immigration Bureau. This is the second oldest of the five permanent bureaus of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, having been organized in 1819 in the Treasury Department under the title of "Office of the Superintendent of Immigration." From 1903 to 1913 its functions were administered under the direction of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor; and in the last-named year, in accordance with the provisions of the organic act creating the Department of Labor, it became a part thereof. Under the direction of the SECRETARY OF LABOR this Bureau is charged with the administration of the various Federal acts regulating IMMIGRATION and the admission of Chinese to the United States, and with the examination and registration of alien seamen arriving from foreign ports.

Immigration Law of 1921. This "act to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States," which went into effect June 3, 1921, provides that "the number of aliens of any nationality who may be admitted under the immigration laws to the United States in any fiscal year shall be limited to 3 per centum of the number of foreign-born persons of such nationality resident in the United States as determined by the United States census of 1910." In practical effect, the law applies only to members of the working classes.

Impartial Chairman. Joint arbitration boards or committees of employers and workers frequently utilize the services of an "outside," "neutral," or "independent" person, who often presides at meetings of the board or committee and in some cases individually decides the matter in dispute. In the British trade machinery for CONCILIATION and ARBITRATION, the impartial chairman (also called "neutral" or "independent" chairman) has long been prominent. "The power of this impartial chairman," to quote O'Brien's "Labor Organization," "differs greatly in different cases. For instance, in the Mining Conciliation Boards an independent chairman is only called in when the two parties fail to agree, and has only power to decide between the rival proposals of the two sides, without being

able to suggest a solution of his own, or to decide in favor of a compromise. On the other hand, in the majority of cases, all disputes which cannot be settled by direct negotiations must be submitted to arbitration, and the decision of the arbitrator, whether it completely satisfies both sides or not, is made absolutely final under the sanction of a penalty. Again, the period when the impartial chairman appears on the scene is not the same in every case. Sometimes he is present from the beginning of the negotiation, and sometimes he is only introduced when the parties have failed to agree." In America, the impartial chairman plays a particularly important role in the clothing manufacturing trades. The success of the HART, SCHAFFNER & MARX LABOR AGREEMENT led to the gradual adoption of a similar form of agreement between employers and workers in each of the large American clothing centres—Chicago, Boston, New York, Rochester, Baltimore, and Montreal. In each city a joint board of arbitration was organized, representative of all or most of the employers and organized workers in the city; and a trained industrial expert was chosen as impartial chairman of the board. This official, paid and trusted by both sides, acts largely in the capacity of a court judge; trade disputes are argued before him and his decision is considered final, except in rare cases when appeal is taken to the whole arbitration board. (See CONTINUOUS ARBITRATION; PROTOCOL; IMPARTIAL MACHINERY.)

Impartial Machinery. This term is usually applied to the detailed arrangements, now often specified in local or national TRADE AGREEMENTS, for investigating and adjusting minor disputes arising within a particular trade. The most common form of machinery provided is the following: The parties to any particular dispute which may arise are bound, in case they can not agree between themselves, either to select one or more persons to act as an "ARBITRATION committee" for that dispute, or to refer it to a permanent committee composed of an equal number of persons chosen by the organizations of employers and employees, respectively. If these representatives of the parties can not agree, they are to select some impartial person to act as an "umpire" or odd member of the board, or to call in an umpire previously agreed upon as the ultimate arbitrator of all disputes. The umpire either alone renders a decision, or he sits in conjunction with the other members and they arrive at a decision by majority vote. In nearly all instances where written agreements provide for the settlement of disputes as to interpretation arising under them, they permit the

ultimate decision of the differences by an impartial umpire. It is generally stipulated that this person shall be neither an employer nor a wage-earner (in the common sense), nor an incumbent of political office. In some of the more elaborate systems there are special officials and committees for investigating and (if possible) adjusting grievances before they develop into definite disputes. (See IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN; CONTINUOUS ARBITRATION.)

Impossibilist, Impossibilism. In the field of socialism or labor, an "impossibilist" is a revolutionary or extremist—one who, according to the opposing or OPPORTUNIST school, is seeking the impossible. "Impossibilism" is an opponent's designation for the policy or philosophy of such a person. (See LEFT.)

Improver. In an industrial sense, "one who labors at a trade for the purpose of increasing his knowledge or skill, and who accepts the opportunity of improvement as compensation in whole or in part for services rendered." An improver is usually one who has passed the APPRENTICE age, but is allowed by the trade union to work at less than the union scale in order to acquire the proficiency of a JOURNEYMAN. In some trades a worker must serve a specified term as a HELPER and another term as an improver before he can be classed as a journeyman. In other trades the helper is called an improver. (See LEARNER.)

Incorporation of Trade Unions. Labor organizations in the United States have usually been considered voluntary associations, not subject as collective bodies to legal action. But employers have long and frequently urged that trade unions should be required to incorporate under the various state laws, in order that they may be held legally accountable for breach of contract and other civil or criminal offenses. Labor leaders oppose this proposal—mainly on the ground that their funds would be subject to continual danger and attack by court action in cases of labor disputes, thus seriously crippling if not nullifying the fighting strength of trade unionism. In England this issue was fought out and practically settled in connection with the TAFF VALE CASE and the resulting TRADE DISPUTES ACT of 1906; but it still remains a much debated question in American industrial affairs.

Increasing Misery Theory. A much discussed and much disputed tenet of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, derived from the following statement by Karl Marx: "Along with the constantly diminishing number of magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advan-

tages of this process of transformation, grow the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself." Defenders of this theory maintain that it refers to mental rather than physical misery —that the more the working classes rise intellectually, the more keenly are they likely to feel the burden of "oppression," "slavery," and "degradation."

Incremental Scale. As opposed to a flat rate for TIME WORK, this is a scale of wage payments which ranges upward from an agreed minimum, and varies either with the quality or nature of the work done, or with the length of service or the qualifications of the worker concerned. (See GRADING SYSTEM; WAGE DIFFERENTIAL.)

Indentured Service. The system, common in the 17th and 18th centuries, under which labor was performed according to a written agreement between master and servant, running for a specified number of years. "The master was not free to discharge his servant during the term of his contract, nor the servant free to quit his master and to work for another. The laborer was to serve the master faithfully, keep his secrets, obey his lawful commands, and guard his interests. On the other hand, the master was to give his servant a living, to protect him and look after his welfare." Indentured service marks the transition stage, historically, from SERVILE LABOR to so-called free labor under the modern WAGE SYSTEM. It still exists, however, though in a much modified form and to only a small extent, in the system of indentured APPRENTICESHIP occasionally found in some highly skilled trade. (See CONTRACT LABOR.)

Independent American Shop. See AMERICAN PLAN.

Independent Chairman. See IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN.

Independent Labor Party. A British organization, formed in 1892 under the leadership of Keir Hardy, Tom Mann, and Bruce Glasier, for the purpose of securing the collective ownership of the means of production and exchange through the method of direct labor representation in Parliament and in local government bodies. It is now the largest socialist body in the country. It cooperates with the BRITISH LABOR PARTY, in the formation and development of which it has been an important factor, and with the TRADES UNION

CONGRESS. While the party has withdrawn from the second INTERNATIONALE, under the influence of a strong left-wing movement, it has not yet affiliated with the third. An "Information Committee," for the collection and distribution of data on home and foreign affairs, was established as part of the organization's work in 1919. (See INTERNATIONAL WORKING UNION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES.)

Independent Local. A LOCAL which is not affiliated with the national union in the same craft or industry. Independent locals are usually the result of SECESSION from the national organization. In some cases, however, they precede the national union, refusing for one reason or another to affiliate with the latter body when it is organized, although often maintaining friendly relations with it.

Independent Operator. See OPERATOR.

Independent Strike. One that is inaugurated by a local union without the consent of the officers of the national union, or without compliance with the rules of the national union. While some locals have complete autonomy in the matter of strikes, and in others the independent strike is permitted in certain circumstances, as a rule the national unions forbid any strike without the official sanction of the national executive board of the union concerned. The usual penalty for entering on an independent strike is the withholding of STRIKE PAY from the offending LOCAL. The individual strikers are sometimes fined, suspended or expelled; and in more extreme cases the charter of the offending local is suspended or revoked. But in actual practice, the power of the national officers to punish a union for entering upon an unauthorized strike is likely to be waived. When a strike is once begun the superior officers of a union are likely to consider that their duty to the organization, to their fellow-members, and to their class will be best done by supporting those to whom they are bound by fraternal ties. Independent strikes are sometimes referred to as "illegal," "outlaw," "runaway," or "wildcat" strikes. They have occurred with such increasing frequency during the past few years as seriously to alarm conservative union leaders. (See VACATIONISTS.)

Independent Union. See INDEPENDENT LOCAL; SELBSTÄNDIGE VEREINE.

Indeterminate Agreement. See TRADE AGREEMENT.

Indeterminate Contract. See CONTRACT AT WILL.

Index Numbers. The relative fluctuations of collective commodity prices, wages, etc., from month to month or from year to year are now generally expressed by so-called "index numbers." The method of arriving at such index numbers, with reference to commodity prices for example, is as follows: A certain number of commodities is selected, and the aggregate prices of specified quantities of these commodities at a certain fixed time, or an average of the aggregate prices for such fixed time, is taken as a base and designated as 100. The aggregate prices, or an average of the aggregate, of the same commodities at other times are then calculated as percentages of this base. Index numbers for commodities and wages are published monthly by the labor departments of several prominent countries. They are an important factor in determining variations in the COST OF LIVING and the relation between nominal wages and real wages. (See WEIGHTED INDEX NUMBERS.)

India, Labor Organization in. Owing to various reasons—the extreme poverty, long hours of labor, overcrowding in cities, lack of education, government repression, etc.—organization of the workers in India has until very recently been of a limited and primitive sort. But as a result of the recent war, conditions are now rapidly changing. The thousands of Indian troops serving on the western front have brought back western ideas of working conditions and wages, and this, added to the increase in the cost of living—an increase which in many cases makes it impossible for the Indian worker to eke out an existence on the old wage—has resulted in much unrest. There has developed considerable agitation for improvements in working conditions aside from a mere rise in wages, and organization of the working classes is making rapid headway. The first regular trade unions were formed in 1918 in Madras, when the Madras Labor Union was established, with separate sections for the textile workers, the tramwaymen, the railway workshop employees, the *rickshawallahs*, and the printers. This movement in a couple of years attained 17,000 members. Equally important developments have taken place in Bombay and at other industrial centres. In Bombay, a mass conference of mill hands in December, 1919, summoned by the *Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha* (an Indian Working Men's Welfare Association), inaugurated the new movement. There followed the Bombay cotton strike of January, 1920, which involved 200,000 workers, and ended in a settlement reported as securing a ten-hour day and a rise of twenty to forty per cent in wages. During 1920 industrial agitation and disputes spread all over the Indian

industrial centres. In the single month of October twenty-three large-scale strikes and lockouts were reported, involving weavers, tramwaymen, coolies, gas workers, railway workers, printers, paper-mill and sawmill workers, cement workers, etc., and taking place in districts as widely separated as Assam, Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Mysore, and Rangoon. In October, 1920, the first ALL-INDIA TRADES UNION CONGRESS assembled at Bombay. (See WORKERS' WELFARE LEAGUE OF INDIA; HARTAL.)

Indirect Action. See POLITICAL ACTION; PARLIAMENTARISM; LEGAL ENACTMENT.

Individual Bargaining. As opposed to COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, this is the method by which an individual worker arranges the terms and conditions of his employment directly with an employer or the latter's representative, without the advantage of group pressure and on the basis simply of his own and the employer's necessities at the moment. The tremendous inequality of bargaining strength between the two parties under this method is well indicated in the FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION'S report: "The workman has one thing to sell—his labor. He has perhaps devoted years to the acquirement of a skill which gives his labor power a relatively high value, so long as he is able to put it to use in combination with certain materials and machinery. A single legal person has, to a very great extent, the control of such machinery, and in particular of such materials. Under such conditions there is little competition for the workman's labor. Control of the means of production gives power to dictate to the workingman upon what terms he shall make use of them. . . . The tendency toward unified control of capital and business has only intensified, without essentially changing, the disadvantages of the wage-earner in his dealings with employers. Even when the number of employers is considerable, the number of workmen is far greater. The competition for work is normally far sharper than the competition for workmen. The seller of labor is worse off in several respects than the seller of almost any physical product. His commodity is in the highest degree perishable. That which is not sold today disappears absolutely. Moreover, in the majority of cases the workingman is dependent upon the sale of his labor for his support. If he refuses an offer, the next comer will probably accept it, and he is likely to be left destitute. If, on the other hand, he accepts less than a certain minimum wage, his efficiency suffers. If the other conditions of the market remain unchanged, he can get even less tomorrow than today; for he can accomplish less. . . . The art of

bargaining consists in a great degree in concealing one's own best terms and learning one's opponent's. The workman cannot conceal his need of work, and cannot know how much his employer needs men. He is relatively ignorant of the conditions of the market, both the market for labor and the market for the goods which his employer produces. It is the business of his employer to keep himself informed of the state of both markets. The employer is able to judge what he can afford to pay for a given quantity and kind of labor rather than do without it. He is also in a position to judge at what rate he can probably get it. Under such conditions the result of free competition is to throw the advantages of the bargain into the hands of the stronger bargainer." As a result, the individual worker usually makes no bargain at all—he merely accepts or rejects the terms offered by the employer. Individual bargaining is sometimes known among trade unionists as "competitive bargaining." (See FREEDOM OF CONTRACT; COMMON RULE.)

Individual Bonus System. See BONUS SYSTEM.

Individual Effort System. See EMERSON SYSTEM.

Individual Piece Work. As distinguished from COLLECTIVE PIECE WORK, this is the arrangement under which piece work wages are paid for the output of a single worker—the common or usual basis. Also called "single-handed piece work."

Individual Strike. See STRIKE IN DETAIL.

Individualism. In a general sense, that theory or attitude of mind which opposes State or other collective interference in social and economic affairs, which favors independent action rather than cooperative effort, and which would limit the functions of the State to the maintenance of order, protection of property, and national defense. Individualism involves or implies, according to Mr. and Mrs. Webb, "the conception of society as a struggle between warring interests; the feeling that every man and every class is entitled to all that they can get, and to nothing more; the assumption that success in the fight is an adequate test of merit, and, indeed, the only one possible; and the bounding optimism which can confidently place the welfare of the community under the guardianship of self-interest." It thus represents the opposite extreme from PATERNALISM and COLLECTIVISM, and is in general identified with the policy of LAISSEZ FAIRE.

Individualist Anarchism. See ANARCHISM.

Induced Immigration. Refers to the practice of inducing, assisting, encouraging, or soliciting foreign laborers to come to this country to find employment here, whether under contract or by any kind of promise or agreement, express or implied, true or false. (See CONTRACT LABOR; PADRONE SYSTEM; ASSISTED IMMIGRATION.)

Industrial Accident Insurance. See WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Industrial Action. As opposed to POLITICAL ACTION, industrial action signifies the use of trade union organization to express directly the policies and interests of labor without going through the long intermediate process of parliamentary election and debate. Whereas political action relies upon the ballot, industrial action lays emphasis upon the strength and influence of the industrially effective group. (See DIRECT ACTION; ECONOMIC ACTION.)

Industrial Agreement. See TRADE AGREEMENT.

Industrial Arbitration in Russia. In nationalized (State-conducted) Russian industries the terms of employment are regulated by rules framed by the labor organizations, subject to the approval of the PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF LABOR. In establishments operated by private capitalists the terms of employment are regulated by rules agreed upon between the owners or directors of the establishments and the labor unions, likewise subject to approval by the People's Commissariat of Labor. If no agreement can be reached between management and workers, the terms of employment are drawn up by the trade unions and submitted for approval to the People's Commissariat of Labor. This provision of the Soviet labor laws is theoretically tantamount to COMPULSORY ARBITRATION. It must be borne in mind, however, that the People's Commissariat is a Soviet institution, in the election of which the workers themselves have a dominating vote.

Industrial Benefit Societies. MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES organized on an occupational or industrial basis—a type common in Europe but not yet developed to any considerable extent in the United States.

Industrial Brotherhood. An organization founded soon after the collapse of the NATIONAL LABOR UNION in 1872. As originally constituted, it was a federation of four leading national craft unions of that time—the iron moulders, machinists, coopers, and typographers. It failed to survive the long period of industrial depression that followed the panic of 1873.

Industrial Cooperation. See PRODUCERS' COOPERATION.

Industrial Council. Any delegate body meeting periodically to consider matters of industrial concern may properly be called an industrial council. In common usage, however, this term usually denotes a "joint" body, representative of both employers and wage-earners in a single industrial shop or works, a single industry within a given geographical area, or a number of industries within a given area. Thus, it may denote at one extreme such a relatively unimportant body as a JOINT SHOP COMMITTEE; and, at the other extreme, such a nationally comprehensive organization as the French CONSEIL SUPERIEUR DU TRAVAIL or the German REICHSWIRTSCHAFTSRAT. In between these two extremes come many varieties and forms, some of which are specifically noted in the cross references below. While an industrial council, as mentioned above, is commonly understood to be a "joint" body, the term "JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL" is so generally associated with the WHITLEY PLAN that the definition under that heading in the present volume is confined to the Whitley council form. (See INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL SYSTEM IN BELGIUM; ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFTEN; COUNCILS OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY; ARBEITERKAMMERN; KAMERS VAN ARBEID; INTERIM INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEES; BUILDING TRADES PARLIAMENT; PORT LABOR COMMITTEE; MARKET BOARDS; NATIONAL BOARD FOR JURISDICTIONAL AWARDS IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY; PRINTING TRADES INTERNATIONAL JOINT CONFERENCE COUNCIL; NATIONAL ADJUSTMENT COMMISSION; WORKS COMMITTEE; EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION; JOINT CONFERENCE SYSTEM.)

Industrial Council System in Belgium. The post-war problems of wage adjustment, etc., in Belgium have since the armistice been settled almost wholly by joint INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS of employers and workers. As both groups are highly organized, mostly in national unions for each industry, with single national organizations for the whole of the mining industry, the metallurgic industries, etc., on both sides, they easily came together for national conferences in each group of trades. Representatives of the employers' associations met an equal number of labor union delegates, and all the government was asked to do was to nominate officials of the Department of Industry and Labor as IMPARTIAL CHAIRMEN and provide them with the necessary secretarial staff to record the decisions and make them public. By this simple form of COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, with a minimum of official interference, labor conditions were fixed on a national scale before the resumption of work. In all

the important industries these joint conferences of organized employers and workers have developed into permanent industrial councils for the settlement of labor conditions, on a nation-wide scale, with district and shop councils for the adjustment of local problems.

Industrial Counsellors. A name sometimes given to public officials whose function it is to study methods of PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION and conference relationships and through consultation with employers and labor leaders aid "in the development of measures which will make possible the necessary economic adjustments with a minimum of strikes, lockouts, and other disturbances." Two permanent "industrial counsellors" have recently been appointed by the New York State Industrial Commission.

Industrial Courts Act. A British Parliamentary enactment of November, 1919, which provides for a permanent central Court of Arbitration (called the Industrial Court), to which recourse can be had by parties to industrial disputes, if both sides consent. The Court consists of an unspecified number of members, appointed by the Minister of Labor, "of whom some shall be independent persons, some shall be persons representing employers, and some shall be persons representing workmen, and in addition one or more women." Normally the Court sits in London, but when necessary it arranges to hear cases elsewhere. The President of the Court may also depute individual members to hear cases locally in certain circumstances. There is a further provision under the same Act for the appointment by the Minister of Labor of special courts of inquiry, to make immediate investigation of any existing or apprehended dispute (whether or not it is directly referred to the Court for settlement) and to give an impartial report of its merits to the public. While the courts of inquiry may compel the production of documents and attendance of witnesses in securing facts regarding a labor dispute, neither they nor the permanent Industrial Court have compulsory powers to enforce their findings or decisions, and the Act contains no prohibition of strikes.

Industrial Cycle or Economic Cycle. A term somewhat loosely used to denote the period of time (commonly from seven to fifteen years) between an industrial boom and an industrial depression, based on the theory that such booms and depressions recur at fairly regular intervals, the conditions in the intervening periods leading progressively or retrogressively from one to the other.

The causes of such recurring crises are obscure. "From the Malthusian theory of over-population, through Jevons' theory of sun spots, Hobson's theory of over-production due to excessive savings, and the theory of psychological cycles, over-speculation, Tugan Baronowsky's theory of misdirected production down to the theory of under-consumption because of the extraction of surplus value, various explanations have been given by some economic writers only to be discarded by others. Socialists have designated industrial crises, with their necessary consequences, UNEMPLOYMENT and distress, as the inevitable consequences of competitive industry." (See CYCLICAL FLUCTUATIONS.)

Industrial Democracy. This phrase is now commonly applied to almost any actual or imagined industrial arrangement in which the interests of the workers are served and their will expressed in the general conduct of industry—either relatively or absolutely. It may denote, at one extreme, complete WORKERS' CONTROL or, at the other, merely some particular method of joint industrial regulation and adjustment—as, for example, the LEITCH PLAN. Properly speaking, industrial democracy implies the joint sharing between workers and management of the direction and control of industry, no less than of its regulation. It implies that the worker shall have an equal voice with the management in determining the conditions and the terms under which they must work, and that they shall take an equal share of responsibility for the joint decisions arrived at. In this sense, industrial democracy is as yet almost wholly an ideal rather than an actuality. Some approach has been made by the avenue of trade unionism, and by the method of joint INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS; but industrial government is still a very long way from the essential principles of democracy. (See INDUSTRIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.)

Industrial Democrats. A name sometimes assumed by, or given to, advocates of SYNDICALISM in Great Britain.

Industrial Diseases. See OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES.

Industrial Education. Three distinct and separate forms of instruction, often confused in the public mind, may be defined under this heading, as follows: (1) Trade education, or the training of young persons for a specific trade or craft, in substitution for APPRENTICESHIP; (2) technical education, or the teaching of the sciences in their practical application to the material interests of man, for the purpose of developing scientific industrial specialists;

(3) manual training, or instruction in hand-work, with or without the use of tools, as part of a complete educational discipline. What is called VOCATIONAL EDUCATION may be either trade education or technical education, or it may be unrelated to either—as in the case of instruction for non-industrial vocations. The purpose of education in the broader sense need not and should not be lost in industrial education; but it is here a subordinate purpose. As a matter of fact, many courses in industrial education do include instruction in general subjects. Nevertheless, a distinction must be maintained between the various forms of industrial education and general WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION of a non-vocational character. (See TRADE SCHOOLS; PART-TIME SCHOOLS; CONVERSION TRAINING.)

Industrial Employment Survey. The successful adjustment of labor supply and demand will often involve the migration of workers from one state to another. Realizing that "the Federal government is the only means by which can be secured sufficient uniformity of method and interchange of information as to accomplish the desired results," the UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE began early in December, 1920, the organization of an industrial employment survey of the United States. For the purpose of this survey, the country has been divided into nine districts, in accordance with the United States census, embracing at the beginning 65 cities of leading industrial importance from which pay-roll data are secured, and 231 cities from which industrial employment information is obtained. A district director is in charge of each district. In industrial centres, special agents secure actual pay-roll data. The totals of the information secured are telegraphed, in code, to the administrative offices in Washington, where the reports are analyzed and interpretations and tabulations made. It is planned to make semi-monthly publication of the statistical results of the survey.

Industrial Engineering. See SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

Industrial Evolution. This term refers, in general, to the gradual development of the social organization for production and exchange, from medieval times to the present, and to the changing status of the individual laborer in relation to or as determined by that development. In the course of history, says Dr. Carl Bücher, "mankind sets before itself ever higher economic aims and finds the means of attaining these in a division of the burden of labor which constantly extends until finally it embraces the whole people and

requires the services of all for all. . . . It is the road traversed by mankind in passing from clanship to society, which, as far as we can see, ends in an ever-tightening social organization. On this road the means for satisfying the wants of the individual continually grow in fulness and variety, and at the same time in dependence and complexity. The life and labor of every individual becomes more and more entwined with the life and labor of many others." The three principal stages in industrial evolution, considered in relation to economic organization as a whole, are usually known as (1) HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY, (2) TOWN ECONOMY, and (3) NATIONAL ECONOMY. With more particular reference to production alone, four stages are commonly differentiated: (1) The FAMILY OR HOUSEHOLD SYSTEM, (2) the HANDICRAFT SYSTEM, (3) the DOMESTIC SYSTEM, and (4) the FACTORY SYSTEM. The changing status of the individual laborer in industrial history is ordinarily considered under three main headings: (1) SLAVERY, (2) SERFDOM, and (3) the WAGE SYSTEM. In a larger and more general sense, according to Arthur Shadwell, "the essence of industrial evolution is not the substitution of the grand for the small industry, or even the supremacy of the machine, but something much larger. It is the mastery of nature in the service of man, and for its origin we must go back to the beginnings of science—to the search after knowledge which followed the revival of learning. The mediæval attempts to square the circle, find the philosopher's stone, and produce perpetual motion were the early gropings of the spirit which has produced the steam-engine, the dynamo, wireless telegraphy, the aeroplane, and synthetic rubber. The mastery of nature in the service of man is the one guiding purpose running through the whole story." (See INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.)

Industrial Fatigue. See FATIGUE.

Industrial Hazard. As broadly defined by Dr. Royal Meeker, this term denotes "anything occurring within an industry which impairs the earning power of the worker." This definition includes industrial accidents, sickness growing out of occupations, and above all, UNEMPLOYMENT. More commonly, however, the term refers specifically to the risk of bodily injury to the worker inherent in modern industrial operations. According to E. H. Downey, "every mechanical employment has a predictable hazard; of a thousand men who climb to dizzy heights in erecting steel structures a certain number will fall to death, and of a thousand girls who feed metal strips into stamping machines a certain number will have their fingers

crushed. So regularly do such injuries occur that every machine-made commodity may be said to have a definite cost in human blood and tears—a life for so many tons of coal, a lacerated hand for so many laundered shirts." (See SAFETY FIRST MOVEMENT; HAZARDOUS OCCUPATIONS; HEALTH HAZARDS.)

Industrial Health Work. The activities or services which may properly be considered as coming within the scope of this term are thus specified by Messrs. Tead and Metcalf: Preventive medicine; personal and social hygiene; factory sanitation and safety; emergency surgery and first aid; laboratory tests and hospital care; dental prophylaxis; mental hygiene; medical "follow-up" (periodic examinations); ear, eye, nose, and throat treatment, and clinics in special diseases. (See INDUSTRIAL MEDICINE; INDUSTRIAL PSYCHIATRY; INDUSTRIAL PHYSIOLOGY; INDUSTRIAL SAFETY; OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES; HEALTH HAZARDS; FATIGUE STUDY; COMPANY DOCTOR.)

Industrial Housing and Transportation Bureau. This war-time agency of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR was established in February, 1918, to investigate the housing needs of industrial localities, to build houses for industrial workers engaged in war activities, and to provide for their transportation. In July, 1918, under authority of an act of Congress, the United States Housing Corporation was formed and took over the work of the Bureau with the exception of certain minor matters. Since the armistice, the work of the organization has been mainly confined to completing work already begun, disposing of materials on hand, and adjusting claims.

Industrial Hygiene. See INDUSTRIAL HEALTH WORK; INDUSTRIAL PHYSIOLOGY.

Industrial Insurance. While SOCIAL INSURANCE in general and WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION in particular are sometimes thus designated, this term has more specific reference to a form of private commercial insurance under which members of the working class are insured for small amounts—the chief purpose being to provide for the expenses of death and burial. The premiums are collected weekly or monthly in a house-to-house round by agents of the companies. This form of insurance has assumed tremendous proportions in Great Britain.

Industrial Medicine. As a generic term, this has been defined as "the newer conception of the supervision of the health

of employees, the medical examination of applicants and of the old force, the prevention of disease and accidents by industrial hygiene and safety first, better medical and surgical treatment for the sick and injured, compensation and BENEFITS, and the relation of this human maintenance work to other employees' service departments." (See INDUSTRIAL HEALTH WORK; SAFETY FIRST MOVEMENT.)

Industrial Organization in Russia. Under the Soviet regime, industrial undertakings fall generally into four main classes: (1) Those that have been organized and are being conducted by the present government, known as Soviet industries; (2) large private undertakings that have been taken over and are being conducted by the government, known as nationalized industries; (3) large private undertakings that were originally taken over by the government but have been leased back to their original owners at a nominal rental, and small private undertakings that have never been taken over by the State, known as private industries; (4) cooperative undertakings, owned and operated by the workers. All of these classes are subject to State control in varying degree, under the direction of the People's Commissariat of Commerce and Industry and the SUPREME COUNCIL OF PUBLIC ECONOMY, two of the main executive divisions of the government. Each major industry is nationally organized into a State trust, which is managed by a board or "central" of nine members, representing in equal numbers the workers, the technical managers, and the Supreme Council of Public Economy. Thus, there is a "Coal Central," a "Steel Central," a "Textile Central," etc., each directly correlated with the Supreme Council of Public Economy, and having charge in its own industry of the distribution of raw materials, placing of technical experts, regulation of output, distribution of product, control of finances, etc. (See REGIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCILS; NATIONALIZATION IN RUSSIA.)

Industrial Partnership. This rather misleading and often inaccurate term is commonly applied to any arrangement under which the employees of an industrial or commercial enterprise participate, in any degree, in the ownership or management of the enterprise. (See LABOR COPARTNERSHIP; CAPITAL SHARING.)

Industrial Physiology. A term sometimes used in designation of "the sum of knowledge pertaining to the working of the human mechanism in industrial activity, and it thus includes psy-

chological phenomena as well as those more technically recognized as physiological." "Industrial physiology has two objects: First, the more purely scientific one of learning how the industrial worker actually performs his work and what the conditions are under which he can work most efficiently and can produce the largest output while maintaining his body in health and in the best working condition; and, secondly, the more practical object of establishing in the factories the conditions which conduce at the same time to the maximum output and the maintenance of the maximum power of the worker." (See INDUSTRIAL HEALTH WORK.)

Industrial Psychiatry. A branch of INDUSTRIAL HEALTH WORK which is concerned with the prevention of mental breakdowns by giving the worker a proper environment and removing causes of discontent, and treating such cases from an individual standpoint, as well as considering as psychiatric cases those persons ordinarily known by such unsympathetic names as "kickers," "grouchers," "hoboes," etc. The term has been more concisely defined as the "mental hygiene of industry."

Industrial Rehabilitation. See VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION.

Industrial Rehabilitation Act. See VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION.

Industrial Relations Department. In many large industrial establishments, the study and promotion of satisfactory and equitable relations between employer and employees, as well as all matters that have to do in a large sense with the human factor in production, are assigned to a separate "industrial relations department"—also variously known as "personnel department," "mutual interest department," "human relations department," "employment department," etc. The duties of such a department vary widely in different establishments, but in the main they are concerned with creating and maintaining MORALE, good will, loyalty, *esprit de corps*, and personal efficiency. Some establishments merely offer bonus and insurance schemes, emphasize safety, and follow commonsense leads in cultivating a cordial group relationship between labor and the management, to replace the old individual relationship between the laborer and "the boss." Others provide for visiting absentees, and furnish medical treatment, free nurses, better housing, lectures, club rooms, playgrounds, and cheap homes. A few have given labor a voice in determining some of the policies of management through

a SHOP COMMITTEE or shop council. The official in charge of such a department is commonly known as a PERSONNEL MANAGER, although other titles are used in different establishments. (See PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION; HUMAN ENGINEERING; WELFARE WORK.)

Industrial Revolution. The transformation of modern society which accompanied the transition from handicraft to machine industry. "About the middle of the 18th century, or a little later," according to Dr. Arthur Shadwell, "this transformation began to assume a well-defined character, and entered on a course of rapid and continuous advance—at first in Great Britain and afterwards in other countries. Its efficient cause was a series of capital inventions and discoveries, which transformed many existing industries, and created still more new ones. Its most prominent features were the application of mechanical power and the development of machinery, leading to the evolution of the 'grand' industry carried on in large establishments, and commonly called the FACTORY SYSTEM; an enormous increase of production, with cheapening of commodities; a corresponding expansion of markets and of sources of supply, fed and opened up by the development of transport; the concentration of the population in centres convenient for production and distribution, or, in other words, the growth and multiplication of manufacturing and trading towns, with a corresponding relative decline of the agricultural population—all involving great changes in the occupations of the people and in the conditions of life among them." The industrial revolution is merely one phase of the vast and complex process of INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION, and it is well to remember that generalizations drawn from particular features of it have only a limited application.

Industrial Safety. In the legal sense, probably as good a definition of this term as any is that contained in the Wisconsin state law: "The term 'safe' or 'safety' as applied to an employment or a place of employment shall mean such freedom from danger to the life, health or safety of employees or frequenters as the nature of the employment will reasonably permit." The investigations concerning industrial safety and sanitation made by the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS resulted in the following conclusions: "(1) Great progress has been made during recent years in promoting safety and sanitation in manufacturing, mining and transportation. (2) The progress has been most rapid in the direction of safeguarding workers from industrial accidents. (3) Progress in safety has been in part the result of continued agitation and educa-

tion, but has proceeded most rapidly and satisfactorily since the enactment of WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION laws which render unsafe working conditions expensive to the employer. (4) The movement has also been largely promoted by the formation of safety committees composed of officials and workmen, and by the creation of joint conferences of employers and employees to assist and advise State officials in the administration of the law and in the formulation of safety rules. (5) The campaign for safety needs, however, to be greatly extended as rapidly as possible. The annual list of accidents, approximately 35,000 fatalities and 700,000 injuries involving disability of over four weeks, can not be regarded complacently. From one-third to one-half of these accidents have been estimated by competent authorities to be preventable by proper safeguards, inspection and control. (6) The advance in the sanitation of workshops has been less rapid, because not only are the dangers less obvious, but there is no financial liability for diseases or deaths occurring as the result of improper sanitation. Future progress in sanitation demands attention not only to cleanliness and ventilation, but to occupational diseases. (7) The most direct incentive for the promotion of sanitation would be the adoption of a proper system of sickness insurance. (See INDUSTRIAL SAFETY LAWS; SAFETY FIRST MOVEMENT; HEALTH HAZARDS; HAZARDOUS OCCUPATIONS; OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES; ENGINEERING REVISION; SAFETY STRIKE.)

Industrial Safety Laws. Legislation providing for proper machine guards, sanitary conditions in factories, fire-escapes, mine rescue appliances, automatic car couplers, and similar matters designed to safeguard the life, limbs, and health of industrial workers. In states which have adopted the industrial commission plan, the state legislature does not attempt to cover all these points in specific detailed legislation, but instead enacts a general provision requiring the employer to protect the life, safety, health, and welfare of employees, and authorizing the commission to draw up ADMINISTRATIVE ORDERS specifying the details as to how this shall be accomplished. (See STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION; SAFETY FIRST MOVEMENT; LEAD LAWS; PROHIBITED EMPLOYMENTS; MINE INSPECTION; SAFETY APPLIANCE ACT.)

Industrial Self-Government. This phrase has no single or definite meaning. Used by a capitalist employer, it may denote the freedom of industry from State intervention and regulation. Used by a worker, it may denote either a relative form of INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY or a complete measure of WORKERS' CONTROL. Again,

it may be used by either employer or worker in designation of some particular form of SHOP COMMITTEE system, EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION plan, etc.

Industrial Truce. An agreement made between the British government and British trade union officials in 1915, under the terms of which union labor waived many of its normal rules and restrictions (as for example, in the matter of DILUTION) for the sake of increased production during the war, with the understanding that employers' profits would be limited, that organized labor would be represented in the government, and that the trade union conditions thus waived would be automatically restored at the close of the war. The latter pledge was redeemed through the passing of the Restoration of Prewar Practices Act in August, 1919. (See SHOP STEWARD MOVEMENT.)

Industrial Union. One of the two main structural types of trade union—the other being the CRAFT UNION. Broadly and to some extent theoretically speaking, an industrial union comprises all the workers of an entire industry—all who cooperate in producing a common product or type of product, or in rendering a common service, skilled and unskilled workers alike; whereas the craft union consists as a rule of only skilled or semi-skilled workers engaged in one particular kind of work within an industry. But this pure type of industrial union is by no means common. A large proportion of what are ordinarily known as industrial unions belong, in fact, to the COMPOUND CRAFT UNION type—being AMALGAMATIONS of several related craft unions in one or several industries. Then, too, in actual practice industrial unionism tends largely toward that form of CLASS UNIONISM which consists in a separate grouping of skilled workers and unskilled workers. Thus, in this country, we have at one extreme the sort of exclusive industrial unionism found in the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, consisting in the main of "the union of all the skilled crafts of a single industry, and not, except in rare cases, of all the workers in an industry"; and, at the other extreme, the industrial unionism of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, consisting almost wholly of unskilled "casual" workers. Similarly, in England we find that the chief industrial unions are as a rule amalgamations of skilled craft unions, while the great mass of unskilled or semi-skilled workers are organized in separate GENERAL LABOR UNIONS. But whether in its "pure," its "compound craft," or its "class" form, the industrial union is rapidly taking precedence over the craft type of organization—in most European

countries, at any rate. It is, for one thing, the logical transition means to some form of WORKERS' CONTROL OR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY —which is the goal of the present-day labor movement. For immediate purposes, it is a far more formidable fighting organization than the craft union; and it is much less subject to internal and external dissensions within the labor movement. "The advocates of organization by industries maintain that the true community of interest exists between those who stand face to face with the same employers. The wages, hours, and other conditions of the fireman who tends the boiler at the coal mine, of the cooper who repairs the kegs of the brewery, of the driver who delivers the beer, can be most effectively promoted by their fellow-workmen who have a common employment with them at the mine or in the brewery, rather than by firemen or coopers or drivers whose work is tributary to quite other occupations. Though such a small minority in an industry be separately organized, and though it deny any allegiance to the organization of the great body of workers in the industry, it is upon that body of workers that it must still depend for effective support in its demands. . . . From the standpoint of the employer there would seem to be a considerable advantage in dealing with a single organization, controlling all the men in his establishment, rather than with half a dozen, any one of which might tie up the whole business in spite of any understanding which he might have with the others. . . . On the other hand, unity increases the strength of the workers, and a demand which is backed by a whole working force is less easy to resist than a demand which has the direct support of only a fraction." (See INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM; MATERIAL TRADE UNION; LABOR UNION; PLANT UNION.)

Industrial Unionism. The theory and practice of trade union organization along the lines of the actual structure of industry, without regard to separate crafts or occupations; the basis of organization being the general "form of production" or the common service rendered, rather than any specialized kind of work performed. This theory is in itself neither revolutionary nor even radical, and it has been adopted by many conservative trade unions. But because industrial unionism is generally considered an essential preliminary to, if not the permanent foundation for, any really effective form of WORKERS' CONTROL OR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, it is often identified with various radical philosophies (in particular, SYNDICALISM) which look to the ultimate capture and control of the State by the workers But this form of industrial unionism should properly

be differentiated as REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM. The term "greater unionism" is sometimes used in a sense synonymous with industrial unionism. (See NEW UNIONISM; ONE BIG UNION; EMPLOYMENTAL UNIONISM.)

Industrial Unrest. Disregarding those spiritual or psychological factors, common to normal human beings of whatever economic status, which are expressed in the universal desire and effort for better things, industrial unrest may be broadly defined as the condition of more or less acute dissatisfaction existing among the great mass of wage-earners in regard to what they consider gross inequalities and maladjustments in the present economic and social arrangements. According to the staff report of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, "the sources from which this unrest springs are, when stated in full detail, almost numberless. But upon careful analysis of their real character they will be found to group themselves almost without exception under four main sources which include all the others. These four are: (1) Unjust distribution of wealth and income. (2) UNEMPLOYMENT and denial of an opportunity to earn a living. (3) Denial of justice in the creation, in the adjudication, and in the administration of law. (4) Denial of the right and opportunity to form effective organizations." A more thoroughgoing statement is that contained in the "Trade Union Memorandum" attached to the report of the provisional joint committee of the BRITISH NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE (1919), as follows: "The fundamental causes of Labor unrest are to be found rather in the growing determination of Labor to challenge the whole existing structure of capitalist industry than in any of the more special and smaller grievances which come to the surface at any particular time. . . . It is not enough merely to tinker with particular grievances or to endeavor to reconstruct the old system by slight adjustments to meet the new demands of Labor. It is essential to question the whole basis on which our industry has been conducted in the past and to endeavor to find, in substitution for the motive of private gain, some other motive which will serve better as the foundation of a democratic system. This motive can be no other than the motive of public service, which at present is seldom invoked save when the workers threaten to stop the process of production by a strike. The motive of public service should be the dominant motive throughout the whole industrial system, and the problem in industry at the present day is that of bringing home to every person engaged in industry the feeling that he is the servant, not of any particular

class or person, but of the community as a whole. This cannot be done so long as industry continues to be conducted for private profit, and the widest possible extension of public ownership and democratic control of industry is therefore the first necessary condition of the removal of industrial unrest."

Industrial Workers of the World. This body, more commonly known as the I. W. W., was organized at Chicago in 1905, as a merger of various labor groups that had long been hostile to the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. These groups were (1) the Western Labor Union, formed in 1898 through the efforts of the Western Federation of Miners, and renamed in 1902 the American Labor Union; (2) a section of the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF NORTH AMERICA; and (3) other radical working groups of minor importance. After an auspicious beginning, with a claimed membership of 100,000, it was not long before factional strife developed within the organization. In 1907 its strongest constituent group, the Western miners, withdrew, and in 1908 the remaining organization split into two factions: the POLITICAL ACTION or milder group, consisting mainly of the Socialist Labor Party element, formed what was at first known as the Detroit I. W. W. but is now called the WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION; the remaining members, devoted to DIRECT ACTION, constituted the Chicago group, which is much the more numerous and active, and represents what is known today as the I. W. W. In the preamble to its first constitution the I. W. W. declares that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common. . . . It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. . . . A struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system." Starting out on the plan of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, uniting skilled and unskilled workers alike along the lines of capitalistic production, the I. W. W. soon shifted to a basis of CLASS UNIONISM and accepted as its specific function the organization of the great mass of unskilled workers alone—the nondescript "under dogs" of our economic system whom the aristocratic craft unions will as a rule have none of. According to Carleton Parker, "the I. W. W. is a union of unskilled workers in large part employed in agriculture and in the production of raw materials. While the I. W. W. appeared in the East at Lawrence, Paterson, and certain other places, at the height of strike activity, its normal habitat is in the upper middle West and the far West from British Columbia down into old Mexico." Membership

in the West is consistently of one type—migratory workers. About half are of American birth; the other half is largely made up of newer immigration from Southeastern Europe. Starting out with a definite scheme of organization, not altogether unlike that of the American Federation of Labor, the I. W. W. soon degenerated into "a loosely bound group of uncontrolled fighters." To quote Dr. Parker again: "It has in fact no formal politico-legal existence. Its treasury is merely the momentary accumulation of strike funds. Its numerous headquarters are the result of the energy of local secretaries. They are not places for executive direction of the union as much as gregarious centres where the lodging house inhabitant or the hobo with his blanket can find light, a stove, and companionship. . . . In times of strike and disorder the headquarters becomes the centre of the direct action propaganda. But when this is by, its character changes to the casuals' rest house." No accurate figures regarding the I. W. W.'s present membership are available, but various estimates range from 50,000 to 150,000. However, its significance does not lie in organization or numbers, but in its aspect as a social phenomenon and in its power of enlisting the sympathies of the lower classes of workers in times of crisis. The activities of the I. W. W. are by no means confined to the United States and Canada, but extend to most English-speaking countries—in particular, Australia and the British colonies of South Africa. (See FREE SPEECH FIGHTS; AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' ORGANIZATION; SAB-CAT; BUMMERY; WOBBLY; SPITTOON PHILOSOPHERS; STIFF; TIMBER WOLF; FRUIT TRAMP; SCISSORBILL; TRAVELLING WITNESSES; ONE BIG UNION; DUAL UNIONISM; BORING FROM WITHIN; MASS UNIONISM; PURE AND SIMPLE UNIONISM; MIXED LOCAL; UNIVERSAL LABEL; SABOTAGE; REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM; CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAWS; UNLAWFUL ASSOCIATIONS ACT; CONFEDERACIÓN REGIONAL OBRERA MEXICANA.)

Industrialism or Industrial System. A general designation for the present stage or period of economic development, marked by LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION for private profit. The effects of industrialism are seen primarily in the growth of population and in changes of grouping by locality and occupation. Rural life yields to urban, and agricultural occupations to industrial and commercial. The development of the town is the chief outstanding feature of industrialism; it marks every industrial country. (See INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION; FACTORY SYSTEM; LOCALIZATION OF INDUSTRY; WAGE SYSTEM.)

Industrialized Nationalization. As an outcome of the sittings of the CONSEIL ECONOMIQUE DU TRAVAIL, the French CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL has recently sponsored a programme of industrial reform under the name of "industralized nationalization," which represents a compromise between pure SYNDICALISM (of which the C. G. T. has hitherto been the leading advocate) and GUILD SOCIALISM. As summarized in O'Brien's "Labor Organization," "this programme proposes that when any industry is nationalized it shall at once be handed over to be administered by a council representative of three interests—producers, consumers, and the public. The producers of course consist of all the workmen in the industry; the consumers include first the cooperative societies as representing the ordinary domestic consumer, and secondly the trade users and the public. Representatives are to be drawn, half from the technical and half from the administrative personnel of the State services. One important feature of the scheme is that the NATIONALIZATION of regional or even individual industries is contemplated, so that competition will remain. It is proposed that the profits of the industries should be divided into three parts; one part to pay interest on working capital and the amortization of the capital taken over, another part to provide houses and improved conditions of employment for the workers, and the other part to be applied to the development of the national resources."

Industry. This term has been broadly defined as "the process by which the resources of Nature are transformed through human effort into services and commodities available for use." In a narrower sense, the word denotes a single specialized field or department of a country's industrial activity—such as the "steel industry," the "railway industry," the "mining industry," etc. The separate industries of the human race may be conveniently grouped thus: (1) Extractive, including agriculture, mining, lumbering, etc.; (2) distributive, including commerce, wholesale and retail trade, transportation, communication, and all the media of exchange; (3) manufacturing; (4) services and free incomes, including domestic servants, government officials, professional men and women, students, etc.

Industry Federation. In England, a FEDERATION uniting all the trade unions of a single industry of national scope—as for example, the Miners' Federation. Such federations are sometimes in actual effect AMALGAMATIONS, their executives having power to act for the industry as a whole in respect to national issues.

Infirmity Insurance. See INVALIDITY INSURANCE.

Initiation Fees. In common with nearly all other organizations, trade unions require every new member to pay a fixed sum of money at the time of joining the union. Initiation fees are, in practically all cases, charged and collected by local unions only; although the specific amount, or a minimum and maximum limit, may be prescribed in the constitution of the national union. The maximum fee is sometimes thus fixed to restrict the tendency of local organizations, when they have a good local control of the trade, to make the initiation fee almost prohibitory, with the aim of increasing the amount of employment for those who are already members. The minimum fee, as in the case of minimum membership dues, is often fixed to insure adequate support of the local treasuries. In some unions a part of each local initiation fee must be paid to the national treasury. Some unions make a distinction between Americans and foreigners, charging the latter a higher rate. The fee is sometimes lower for women than for men, when both are admitted to the union; and the fees are also often reduced for HELPERS and HALF MEMBERS. As a rule, members moving to another town are not required to pay an initiation fee when they join a new local of the same national union.

Initiative and Referendum. One of the most important instruments in the government of national and international unions. Originally, according to Glocker's "Government of American Trade Unions," "the national trade unions elected officers and transacted all other business—executive, legislative and judicial—through the NATIONAL CONVENTION of delegates. A number of national unions still continue to vest such unlimited, wide-reaching powers in this representative assembly, but the great majority of them have limited its power to a greater or less extent by the use of the initiative and referendum. The trade unions submit a far wider variety of business to popular vote than do political governments. By this method they elect officers, adopt rules, declare strikes, levy assessments, render judicial decisions, and transact other business. In a few organizations the convention has been abolished, and all questions are determined by the vote of the members. The right of popular initiative exists in American trade unions only in a modified sense. A member, for example, may propose any amendment to the international constitution at a meeting of his local union, but his proposal must be endorsed by at least a majority of the members in his own branch, must be signed by the local officers, and must have the seal of the subordinate union attached before it can be recognized at headquarters. Then it must be endorsed by the GENERAL EXECUTIVE

BOARD or by a certain number of other branches before it can be submitted to popular vote. . . . The organs of discussion and deliberation are the trade journal, special circulars, and the local mass meetings. A measure proposed by a local union is stated in the journal or in a circular to each branch; then the question is discussed in the local meetings and perhaps in the columns of the journal. As a rule, the members vote on matters relating to the national organization at a regular meeting of the subordinate union, often without secrecy, in the same way as on purely local measures." In the great majority of American unions, the initiative and referendum are used chiefly to supplement the work of the national convention, between the sessions of that body. In Great Britain, however, the tendency has been to abolish the national convention, and to transact all important business by popular vote. (See TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—NATIONAL; STRIKE VOTE.)

Injunction. With specific reference to labor affairs this is, in its usual form, a court writ prohibiting workers or the leaders of their organizations from performing certain specific acts—most commonly those which are considered essential to the success of a STRIKE or BOYCOTT. The violation of such a writ involves summary punishment by fine or imprisonment or both, for contempt of court. The injunction as an anti-labor weapon first came into marked prominence during the great Pullman strike of 1894 in Chicago; and since then it has been resorted to with ever-increasing frequency in industrial disputes. It has even been used to prohibit union officers from advising or ordering workmen to go on strike, or from distributing STRIKE PAY—as in the notable injunction secured by the Federal government under the LEVER ACT during the bituminous coal-mine dispute of 1919. Not labor leaders only, but many impartial jurists of high rank, have protested against the growing use of the injunction. Their objections are thus summarized in the Report of the FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION: "One serious ground of objection is that ordinarily not sufficient opportunity for hearing is given before the injunction is issued. Judges may issue injunctions either in open court or in chambers, and a temporary injunction may be granted with no notice whatever to those affected by it. Before an injunction is made permanent an opportunity for hearing is given, but in many instances the hearing is a considerable length of time after the preliminary injunction has been granted, and the object of the restraint may already have been effected. Of course, where an injunction is issued against unknown defendants, or against all persons in general,

as sometimes happens, no possible opportunity can be given to all those affected to put in an appearance. Complaint is made especially that the injunction has in many instances been directed against the commission of acts which are held by the courts to be in themselves criminal, and that it has thus taken away the right of trial by jury from those resorting to such acts. In almost innumerable cases injunctions have been issued prohibiting BOYCOTTS, INTIMIDATION, violence, PICKETING, and other practices which the courts regularly treat as ground not merely for civil damages, but for criminal prosecution. . . . Some of those who oppose the extended use of the injunction are inclined to admit the validity of its occasional use to protect the property rights of a private individual, even against acts which are criminal, but they assert that in many cases the courts have considered the public injury rather than the injury to a single individual as the chief ground for issuing the injunction. Where this is the case, the injunction, according to these writers, adds nothing to the force of the ordinary criminal law. The only penalty which it can threaten is fine or imprisonment of the same nature as that which follows criminal prosecution. The fact that the punishment for violation of injunction may be inflicted somewhat more promptly, without the prolongation of a trial, is, it is maintained, no justification for its use. The fundamental object in the use of the injunction, in the opinion of such legal writers, as well as in the opinion of workingmen generally, is to make punishment more sure by avoiding trial by a jury, which might perhaps be influenced by sympathy or class feeling in favor of the defendant. It has always been the principle of English and American criminal law that every man is entitled to a fair trial by a jury of his peers. The summary character of hearings before judges regarding violation of injunctions, giving less opportunity to the defendant to present his case fully, is also complained of, as well as the absence of the right of appeal. . . . Objection has also been raised by workingmen against the issue of injunctions by the Federal courts. Many labor cases, some involving injunctions and others not, have indeed in recent years been brought before these courts. Often such cases have been connected with interstate commerce, but in other cases the ground on which the Federal courts have claimed jurisdiction is apparently the fact that the litigants are citizens of different states. Workingmen often complain that the Federal courts are more disposed to favor capital and its interests than the State courts. Legal writers have also sometimes questioned the right of the Federal courts to issue injunctions regarding labor disputes as freely as they do." The injunction

plays but a small part in the labor affairs of foreign countries, as compared with the United States. (See BLANKET INJUNCTION; MANDATORY INJUNCTION; GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION; CLAYTON ACT; DEBS CASE; BUCK STOVE AND RANGE CASE; DUPLEX PRINTING PRESS CASE.)

Inside Men. See UNDER-COVER MEN.

Inside Shop, Outside Shop. As ordinarily used, these terms have reference to a peculiar system of manufacturing that prevails in the American clothing trade. The system is thus explained in Commons's "Trade Unionism and Labor Problems": "The term 'manufacturer' in the clothing trade has a peculiar significance. It means the wholesale merchant, or warehouseman. The exact designation would be 'merchant manufacturer.' Such a manufacturer usually has an 'inside shop' and several 'outside shops.' The inside shop is usually on the manufacturer's own premises, and includes the cutters who cut the cloth for the contractors, the examiners who inspect the garments on their return, and the 'bushelmen' who repair and reshape the garments if necessary. The 'outside shops' are the shops of contractors who take the goods out from the manufacturer for stitching and finishing. If the manufacturer does his own work directly under a superintendent or foreman, instead of indirectly through a contractor, this shop also is known as an 'inside shop.' Workmen employed by a contractor often speak of themselves as employed by the manufacturer who furnishes the work to the contractor. Since the manufacturer sets the contract price, it might almost be said that the contractor is really the manufacturer's foreman, who takes the responsibility of finding help, doing the work, and making such WAGES OF MANAGEMENT as he can at the price set by the manufacturer." (See CONTRACT SYSTEM IN THE GARMENT TRADES; SWEATING SYSTEM.)

Inside Union. See COMPANY UNION.

Instinct of Workmanship. Classed by Thorstein Veblen as a native disposition, this instinct is the tendency to do a job in a painstaking and workmanlike manner, without respect to the attractions of any rewards outside the satisfaction of the "creative impulse."

Instruction Card System. In nearly all plants operated under SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, the different shop processes are carefully formulated and standardized by a special "planning de-

partment" or "routing department," which then supplies the workers with detailed instruction cards, usually listing the elementary operations in their proper sequence, with the minimum time allowed for each, and containing directions as to speeds, tools, etc. These cards cover whatever information is required for the particular work in hand, and are supposed to be followed explicitly by the individual workers.

Insurance Feature of Trade Unionism. See MUTUAL INSURANCE.

Integration of Industry. See LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION.

Intellectual Proletariat. A term sometimes used in designation of the professional classes—writers, teachers, physicians, lawyers, architects, electrical and mechanical engineers, members of highly technical trades, administrative forces in industries, and national or municipal employees. These persons may be living on salaries instead of wages, and enjoying a social position above that of the wage-worker; but it is argued that they belong nevertheless to the PROLETARIAT, because their incomes are the result of their own exertions, and are not derived from unearned increment or capitalistic EXPLOITATION. (See SALARIAT; MIDDLE CLASS.)

Intellectuals. As used in connection with the working-class and socialist movements, this term denotes those men and women who, although taking a more or less prominent part in the movements, are not manual workers or wage-earners. They may be capitalists, philanthropists, philosophers, professional workers, or even ex-wage-earners; but however devoted to the cause of the working-class, they themselves are not for the time being members of that class. The intellectuals are much more closely identified with, and play a more prominent part in, the labor and socialist movements of Europe than of America.

Intelligence Offices. Privately-conducted EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS, subsisting as a rule on fees paid by the workers, are usually so called in the United States.

Interchange of Labor. This phrase is used by the famous German engineering expert, Dr. Walther Rathenau, in designation of his solution for what he considers the basic social evil of today—"the soul-crushing mechanism of modern industry." The phrase is defined by Dr. Rathenau as follows: "By the principle of Interchange of Labor it is required that every employee engaged in

mechanical work can claim to do a portion of his day's work in intellectual employment; and that every brain worker shall be obliged to devote a portion of his day to physical labor. . . . The essence of the Interchange of Labor will consist in this: that while the distinction between physical and intellectual work will still exist, there will be no distinction between a physical and an intellectual calling."

Inter-Church Steel Report. Soon after the collapse of the strike against the United States Steel Corporation in 1919, the Inter-Church World Movement appointed an impartial commission to inquire into the causes of the strike and the general conditions prevailing in the steel industry. After five months' work, the commission adopted a unanimous report in March, 1920, but this report was not made public until the end of July. According to the report, the number of steel employees who are working the TWELVE-HOUR DAY is 69,000. The number of those who receive the lowest rate of pay—under $1,466 a year—is 70,000. The investigators found that the ultimate control of the plants was vested in a small group of financiers whose relation to the producing force was remote. The annual earnings of more than one-third of all productive iron and steel workers of the Steel Corporation were, and for years had been, below the level set by the government experts as the minimum standard of subsistence for families of five. Further, "BLACKLISTS were used, workmen were discharged for union affiliation, 'UNDER-COVER MEN' and 'labor detectives' were employed. In Western Pennsylvania the civil rights of free speech and free assembly were abrogated without just cause. Personal rights of strikers were violated by the STATE CONSTABULARY and Sheriff's deputies." "The organizing campaign of the workers and the strike were for the purpose of forcing a conference in an industry where no means of conference existed." "Charges of bolshevism or of industrial radicalism in the conduct of the strike were without foundation." The chief reason for the failure of the strike was the size of the Steel Corporation. The causes of the strike lay in grievances which gave the workers just cause for complaint and for action. The report recommends a commission, set up by the Federal government, to inaugurate conferences between the Steel Corporation and its employees for the elimination of the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week and for the readjustment of wage rates. As yet no such commission has been set up, nor has any action been taken to prevent the otherwise inevitable recurrence of similar labor troubles in the steel industry.

Intercollegiate Socialist Society. Organized in New York City in 1905 as a purely educational agency, unaffiliated with any political party, "for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in SOCIALISM among college men and women, graduates and undergraduates." The society has established chapters for the study of socialism in many colleges and centres of population. It conducts a magazine, send lecturers to colleges, organizes conferences and conventions, publishes pamphlets, etc.

Intercontinental Union. See TRADE UNION.

Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committees. Joint bodies, consisting of representatives of employers' associations and trade unions in equal number, formed since the armistice by the British Ministry of Reconstruction, in association with the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Labor. A committee is set up for each industry in which, owing to various reasons, the formation of JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS under the WHITLEY PLAN has been delayed. The committees are intended to exercise a large initiative in devising means by which the transition from war to peace conditions may be most smoothly effected, and the way opened to the rapid restoration of industrial enterprise. As soon as the trade or industry is sufficiently well organized, the purpose is to replace the interim industrial committee with permanent joint industrial councils.

International. (1) The international socialist-labor organization described in the entry, INTERNATIONALE. (2) A term often applied to the whole body or central governing authority of an American trade union. (See NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL UNION.)

International Association for Labor Legislation. Organized in 1900, as "a bond of union to those who, in the different industrial countries, believe in the necessity of protective LABOR LEGISLATION." Through its central organization at Basle, Switzerland, through its international biennial conferences, and through its affiliated "national sections" (of which there were fifteen in 1920), the Association has carried on a most important work in the collection and publication of the labor laws of all countries, in the investigation of industrial conditions and the study of industrial problems, and in the formulation and promotion of legislation based on such investigation and study. The Association has been reorganized since the formation of the INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION under the League of Nations, which in a sense takes over the Association's main work. Its present objects are stated to be: (1) To promote

the ratification, legal enactment, and enforcement of the draft conventions and recommendations adopted by the GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS; (2) to use its influence with reference to the subjects on the agenda of these conferences; and (3) to collect information, conduct investigation, and publish memoranda on questions concerning international labor. Its American "section," the American Association for Labor Legislation, has been a factor of large importance in the investigation, promotion, and enforcement of ameliorative labor laws in the United States.

International Congress of Working Women. An important gathering of representative working women from nineteen countries, called by the NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA, to consider those portions of the Versailles treaty relating to women and children. The Congress was held at Washington, D. C., Oct. 28–Nov. 6, 1919, simultaneously with the early sessions of the first GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, which contained no women delegates. Important papers were read, resolutions adopted, a provisional committee elected for the purpose of calling another Congress, and arrangements made for an international business office in the United States.

International Cooperative Alliance. A federation of the principal national cooperative societies in all countries, established in 1895. The aims and purposes of the Alliance are as follows: "(1) The ascertaining and propaganda of cooperative principles and methods; (2) the promotion of COOPERATION in all countries; (3) the keeping up of friendly relations between the members of the Alliance; (4) the collection and unification of cooperative statistics; (5) the provision of information and the encouragement of studies concerning cooperation; (6) the promotion of trading relations between the cooperative organizations of the various countries." Except during the war, Congresses of the Alliance have been held every two or three years. According to recent figures, the Alliance represents twenty-four national units, which in turn represent about 130,000 cooperative societies, with some twenty million family members.

International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. Organized at the second congress of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE, held at Moscow in July, 1920, as "a militant international committee for the reorganization of the trade union movement" working in conjunction with the executive committee of the third (Communist)

Internationale. The specific aims and objects of the organization, as stated in its "provisional rules," are as follows: "(1) To carry on an insistent and continuous propaganda for the ideas of the revolutionary CLASS STRUGGLE, social revolution, DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT and mass revolutionary action with the object of destroying the capitalist system and the bourgeois State. (2) To fight against the disease of class cooperation which is weakening the labor movement, and against the hope that a peaceful transition from capitalism is possible. (3) To unite all the revolutionary elements in the world trade union movement and to conduct a determined struggle against the INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION of the League of Nations and against the programme and tactics of the INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS in Amsterdam. (4) To take the initiative in organizing an international campaign on the outstanding facts of the class struggle and organize the collection of funds for the support of strikes and great conflicts, etc. (5) To collect all material concerning the international labor movement and to keep all the organizations affiliated to the International Council of Trade Unions informed as to the movement in other countries. (6) To publish books, leaflets, pamphlets affecting the international movement." The International Council is composed of representatives of Russia, Italy, Spain, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, France, Georgia, one representative for each country and one delegate for each general national centre which belongs to the International Council of Trade Unions. The Council also includes a representative of the Executive Council of the Communist Internationale. The Council also elects an Executive Bureau of three persons, including a general secretary and a delegate to the executive of the Communist Internationale. Only those trade unions or minorities of trade unions "that conduct a revolutionary struggle in their country and recognize proletarian dictatorship" are entitled to representation at the international conferences called by the Council. Temporary headquarters have been established at Moscow. The Council is often referred to as the "Red" or "Moscow" Trade Union Internationale. (See INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONISM.)

International Federation of Labor. See INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

International Federation of Trade Unions. Organized at Copenhagen in 1901, as the International Trade Union Secretariat, this was for many years merely an international centre for the collection and publication of statistics, exchange of information and

appeals, promotion of LABOR LEGISLATION, etc. Permanent headquarters were maintained in Berlin, and an international conference was held every two years. The title of the organization was changed to its present form in 1913. After its almost complete disruption during the world war, the Federation was reconstituted at an international trade union conference held at Amsterdam in July, 1919, delegates being present from fourteen countries (including Germany and Austria), representing about 18,000,000 trade union members. The objects of the reconstituted Federation are: "(1) The promotion of the interests and endeavors of the organizations affiliated on a national and international basis. (2) The promotion of the trade union movement, both national and international, in the countries not affiliated. (3) The promotion of combined action on all questions of mutual trade union interest. (4) The prevention of international blacklegging. (5) The provision of funds for the promotion and furtherance of the foregoing objects, and such other trade union objects as may from time to time be incorporated in the rules." Permanent headquarters were established in Amsterdam. The Federation consists of "the national and trade union centres of those countries which are organized on a trade union basis," only one "national centre" from each country being admitted. Each affiliated body is entitled to send one delegate to the biennial conference at the expense of the Federation, and one or more additional delegates at its own expense; and each affiliated body has one vote for every 250,000 of its members or fraction thereof. The expenses of the Federation are met by a per capita tax of one-half cent a year for each member of an affiliated body. Management of the organization is vested in a permanent central bureau of five officers (known as the International Trade Union Secretariat) meeting monthly, a management committee consisting of the bureau and ten representatives of the affiliated countries meeting twice a year, and the biennial conference. In addition to the inclusion of trade union action in its reconstituted policy, the Federation has recently adopted resolutions favoring SOCIALIZATION and the international control and distribution of raw materials, and "international mass action in the assault on reaction, in declaring war against war and for the realization of a new social system." These radical tendencies proved too much for the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, which had played a prominent part in reconstituting the International Federation, and it definitely withdrew its affiliation in the autumn of 1920. To distinguish it from the international socialist organization, the International Federation is often called the Trade Union

agency to a somewhat aggressive organ of mass action and socialistic agitation. The third and most recent phase consists in the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, a federation of revolutionary trade unions and labor groups in various countries, working in conjunction with the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE and frankly devoted to extremist methods in the war against capitalism.

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International Workingmen's Association. See INTERNATIONALE.

International Working Union of Socialist Parties. Between the right wing of the international socialist movement, as represented by the second INTERNATIONALE, and the left wing, as represented by the third, stands the so-called centre, which includes some of the most influential groups and leaders in the present-day movement. They have withdrawn from the second Internationale, which they consider too reactionary and too stained with war compromises; but they still hold aloof from the third, as swinging too violently in the opposite direction. At a Congress held at Vienna in February, 1921, these centrist groups organized into a somewhat temporary "Working Union," membership being open to all parties which aim at "realizing SOCIALISM by the conquest of political and economic power along the lines of the revolutionary CLASS STRUGGLE," and which belong to "neither of the party alliances calling themselves the 'Second' or the 'Third' Internationale." The British INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY is a leading member of this "Working Union," which is variously referred to as the "two and a half," the "fourth," the "pink," and the "Vienna" Internationale.

Internationale or International. The famous organization of international socialist-labor activities commonly known as "the Internationale" or "the Workers' Internationale" (in both cases often spelt without the final *e*) was founded at London in 1864 as the International Workingmen's Association. Its founders were British trade unionists and a number of political refugees from various continental countries. The original constitution and "declaration of principles" were drafted by Karl Marx. At its first Congress, held at Geneva in 1866, delegates were present from England, France, and Switzerland only. But it was not long before nearly all important countries were represented in the membership, and the influence of the organization in international socialist-labor affairs became great. Six Congresses were held during the period 1866–1872. The defeat of the Paris Commune, which the Internationale had fervently supported, and an internal conflict between the Marxian socialists and the Bakunin anarchists, led to the disruption of the organization, and it was formally dissolved at a conference held in 1876 at Philadelphia. Its successor, the second Internationale, grew out of two separate Congresses held by reformist and revolutionary socialists at Paris in 1889. At the Brussels Congress two years later the two sections united. Seven Congresses were held thereafter up to the outbreak of the world war. At the Paris Congress of 1900 there was created a central administrative office, the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU. The outbreak of war in 1914, and the division of socialist-labor bodies throughout Europe into pro-war and anti-war groups, hopelessly disrupted the second Internationale for nearly five years. It was finally reconstructed in greatly weakened form by the moderate elements among British and continental socialists, at a conference held in Berne, Switzerland, in February, 1919. In March of the same year the radical or left-wing groups of the socialist-labor movement met at Moscow, and under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party organized the third or COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE. There are thus two rival "Internationales" in the field at the present time, representing respectively the right-wing and the left-wing sections of the socialist-labor movement, with the centrist elements separately grouped in a more or less temporary organization known as the INTERNATIONAL WORKING UNION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES. Between these rival bodies a bitter struggle is in progress —a struggle marked by continual shift and change, as one element or another in one of the bodies goes over to a rival camp. The ultimate alignment of forces is as yet impossible to discern. The second Internationale claims to represent about fourteen million

fear of unfair competition, undertook to secure better and, as far as possible, equal conditions for all the workers of the world by the adoption of uniform Draft Conventions or Recommendations. Precise constitutional rules were established. The texts of the Draft Conventions and Recommendations are settled by the General Conference, which meets at least once a year. The International Labor Office, under the direction of its Governing Body, prepares the Agenda for the meetings of the Conference, corresponds with Governments with regard to the ratification by each State of the Conventions adopted and will eventually follow up their application. For the purpose it may organize enquiries and undertake inspection and, where necessary, may have recourse to its sanctions." (See GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS; LABOR PLATFORM OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS; INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION.)

International League of Young Communists. See YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE.

International Socialism. See INTERNATIONALE.

International Socialist Bureau. Established 1900, as the permanent central organization of the second INTERNATIONALE. Its functions are to carry out the decisions of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS, held ordinarily every second or third year; to convene special Congresses in cases of emergency; and to maintain international archives for socialist literature and documents. The Bureau consists of two representatives from each of the adhering countries elected by the national sections of the Congress. The members of the INTERPARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION are at the same time alternate delegates to the Bureau and have the right to take part in its meetings. The Bureau has a permanent secretary whose duty it is to obtain and compile required information, to report on the state of the socialist movement, to maintain a library, and to publish studies on the more important socialist problems. The permanent secretary, a president, and two other Belgian members make up the executive commission of the Bureau. Headquarters are maintained in Brussels, and expenses are met by contributions of the adhering national sections.

International Socialist Congresses. The periodic conferences which form the chief activity of the INTERNATIONALE. The following regulations in regard to admission were adopted at the Paris Congress of 1900: "Those admitted to the International

Socialist Congresses are (1) all associations which adhere to the essential principles of SOCIALISM: SOCIALIZATION of the means of production and exchange, international union and action of the workers, conquest of public powers by the PROLETARIAT, organized as a class party; (2) all the labor organizations which accept the principles of CLASS STRUGGLE and recognize the necessity of POLITICAL ACTION (legislative and parliamentary) but do not participate directly in the political movement." Under the first Internationale (1866–1872) six Congresses were held. Up to the outbreak of war in 1914, the second Internationale held nine Congresses. (See INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.)

International Trade Union Secretariat. See INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS; INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONISM.

International Trade Unionism. As a distinct and separate movement, international trade unionism developed somewhat more tardily than the international political (socialist) labor movement, partly because it was at first incorporated with the political movement, and partly because of the general prevalence of laws against organization which were in force in most European countries until well into the 19th century. Of recent years, approximately since 1900, international trade unionism and the international political labor movement have formally maintained separate organizations. Yet it is true that in many countries the leaders are the same in both groups, and the political theories of the members of both groups are, on the whole, identical. Three main aspects of the international trade union movement, in its non-political character, should be distinguished. There are, first, some thirty or more separate international trade or occupational federations—the miners, metal workers, printers, textile workers, transport workers, farm workers, seamen, etc.—the central offices or bureaus of which are commonly known as "International Trade Union Secretariats." The earliest and largest of these, the International Miners' Federation, was founded in 1890. The main functions of such organizations before the war were the holding of periodic conferences and (through their respective Secretariats) the collection of trade union statistics, etc. Since the war, however, they have become much more active and militant. A second phase of international trade unionism is represented by the INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, with which are affiliated the leading national federations of labor and national trade federations in various countries. Since the war this organization also has changed from a mild secretarial and debating

agency to a somewhat aggressive organ of mass action and socialistic agitation. The third and most recent phase consists in the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, a federation of revolutionary trade unions and labor groups in various countries, working in conjunction with the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE and frankly devoted to extremist methods in the war against capitalism.

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socialists and trade unionists throughout the world. The tide is still running too swiftly to permit of any accurate estimate of the third Internationale's present numerical strength. But with its recent conquest of the German Independent Socialists and the French Socialist Party, it has assumed an importance which cannot be easily discounted. The first Internationale is commonly called the Geneva Internationale; the second was originally known as the Paris Internationale, but in its reconstituted form is generally referred to as the Berne Internationale; while the third or Communist Internationale is also variously termed the Moscow, Red, and Bolshevik Internationale. Adherents of the latter often refer to the second Internationale as the Yellow Internationale, in scornful disparagement of its moderate tendencies. (See INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESSES; INTERPARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION; COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.)

Internationalists. In general, those who favor internationalism, as opposed to nationalism; more specifically, members of the INTERNATIONALE, or International Workingmen's Association.

Interparliamentary Commission. A subordinate body of the second INTERNATIONALE; established through a resolution of the Amsterdam Congress of August, 1904. It consists of one delegate from each nation represented in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU which has declared its willingness to take part in the Commission. It aims to secure uniform parliamentary action in the various countries, and assists in attaining this end by the collection of the laws and by interchange of parliamentary discussions. In connection with a meeting of the Bureau there is held annually a conference in which all members of the adhering parties may take part. The members of the Bureau may take part in the sessions of the Commission in an advisory capacity. The voting of the Commission is similar to that of the Bureau. Its expenses are raised through dues and voluntary contributions.

Interstate Joint Conferences in the Coal-Mining Industry. One of the most important examples of large-scale COLLECTIVE BARGAINING is to be found in the annual joint conference held between the bituminous coal OPERATORS and representatives of the United Mine Workers for the several districts of what is called the "central competitive field"—comprising Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania. These conferences have been called "the largest industrial parliament in the world." On one side sit the

operators, on the other the representatives of the local unions of the miners; constituting what is practically a representative legislative body with two branches. From the discussions and deliberations of this body an agreement is developed which covers the broader or basic elements of wages and working conditions in the several coal districts, the prime purposes being to equalize competitive conditions between operators in the different districts and create uniform standards for the workers. The details of wage scales and of mining methods are left to adjustment by state and district conferences. The operators and miners of each state are allowed the same number of votes—four; and every important decision must be reached by unanimous vote. In actual practice, the greater part of the work of bringing about an agreement is performed by the so-called "scale committee," made up of an equal number of operators and miners from each state. This joint scale committee reports from time to time to the convention the progress which is being made, and after discussion in general conference the unsettled questions are referred back to the scale committee for settlement. When the latter body makes its final report, this is as a rule unanimously adopted without change. The interstate agreement method is followed also in what is called the southwestern district—comprising Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Kansas—and, on a more limited geographical basis, in some other parts of the United States and Canada. (See JOINT CONFERENCE SYSTEM; TURN LIST.)

Intimidation. In connection with STRIKES and LOCKOUTS, this term has been variously interpreted by the courts. Some magistrates have held that intimidation, as a criminal offense, consisted in the utterance by a trade unionist of any threat or warning to an employer or non-union worker; while others have ruled that it must involve some degree of actual physical violence. "In many States are found statutes expressly prohibiting intimidation of workmen or others in their lawful business, while in those States which have specifically legalized strikes the laws ordinarily except combinations for the purpose of intimidating or coercing others, which are declared illegal. In the absence of statutes the courts ordinarily go quite as far under the common law. The decisions on this subject rest on the general principle, frequently enunciated, that it is the fundamental right of every individual to carry on his lawful business or labor without interference. Most commonly the courts, in condemning acts of strikers in influencing others to quit employment or to refrain from seeking it, characterize them as 'intimidation' or

'coercion.' Just how far men may go in addressing other men without 'intimidating' them is obviously a difficult matter to decide. Apparently the courts have been generally disposed to employ these terms very widely. The acts of strikers which are generally considered in this connection are either the placing of 'pickets' or 'patrols' in comparatively small numbers to accost those seeking employment at the plant struck against, or the gathering together of large bodies of men in the vicinity of the works for a similar purpose. The courts have almost uniformly held that the continued presence of a large body of men is in itself a threat, and especially that, where such an assemblage is accompanied by the use of opprobrious language, cries of 'SCAB,' threats of injury, or demonstrations giving ground for fear of physical injury, it constitutes unlawful intimidation. It has been asserted by several courts that, while the bearing of pickets may, in some cases, be such as to amount to intimidation, strikers are within their rights if the number of pickets is small, and if they confine themselves merely to informing men of the existence of a strike and of its cause, and to persuading them not to enter employment. As a matter of fact, however, the courts very often, perhaps usually, discover in the acts of pickets evidences of actual intimidation." While the above statement follows the popular and legal habit of viewing intimidation as exclusively a working-class offense, it must in justice be noted that the workers are at least no less frequently the victims than they are the practitioners of intimidation. (See PICKETING; TRADE DISPUTES ACT; STRIKEBREAKING.)

Intransigents or Intransigentists. Parties, movements, or persons which refuse to be reconciled or to come to any understanding with the existing order of things. The term is often used in designation of the more radical members of the labor movement.

Introduction of New Processes. Mr. and Mrs. Webb use this phrase in designation of one of the seven classes of regulations which trade unionism seeks to enforce. These regulations relate in the main to the subject dealt with in the entry, MACHINE QUESTION, in the present volume.

Invalidity Insurance. Under the SOCIAL INSURANCE legislation in some countries, a distinction is made between "disability" and "invalidity" on the basis of whether or not the worker is incapacitated for a period of more than six months in the year. Invalidity insurance (also sometimes called "infirmity insurance") usually provides medical as well as cash BENEFITS.

Involuntary Servitude. "Any compulsory control by which the personal services of a human being are disposed of or coerced for another's benefit." The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution provides that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." The system of PEONAGE, which recent disclosures would indicate is common in certain sections of the South, is of course a direct violation of this amendment. Any system of COMPULSORY ARBITRATION, or other legislative restriction of the RIGHT TO STRIKE, is regarded by organized labor as creating a condition of involuntary servitude; and the term "involuntary servitude laws" is often applied to such enactments as the KANSAS INDUSTRIAL COURT act and the COLORADO INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION LAW. (See LABOR CONTRACT; NATIVE LABOR.)

Irish Labor Party and Trades Union Congress. The modern labor movement in Ireland may be said to begin with the formation of the Irish Trades Union Congress in 1894, and the Irish Socialist Republican Party (a Marxian organization initiated by James Connolly; now the Socialist Party of Ireland) in 1896. The Trades Union Congress took on political functions in 1912, and the title of "Irish Labor Party and Trades Union Congress" was adopted in 1918. As described in the "Labor International Handbook," this organization "is a federation of national and local trade unions, TRADES COUNCILS, and workers' councils, and other unions with members in Ireland (*i.e.*, Amalgamated Unions with headquarters in England, such as the National Union of Railwaymen). Local and national unions account for about three-fourths of the affiliated membership, the Amalgamated Unions for the remainder. The total affiliations in 1920 were fifty-four Unions and forty Councils. The membership . . . in 1920 exceeded 300,000, or practically one-half the total number of wage-earners in Ireland. Of these 150,000 are in the IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION, and 100,000 more in two further unions. Unaffiliated to the Party are some 40,000 organized workers in the Belfast area (though the Belfast Trades Council is affiliated with 15,000 members), and in this area a small number of ultra-imperialist workers are organized under open capitalist patronage in the Ulster Workers' Union and the Ulster Unionist Labor Association. The Party represents the working class in Ireland on both the political and the industrial fields: the movement is essentially a mass movement, and the whole

affiliated membership acts, on big issues, as a single unit on the formal advice of the National Executive or of Congress. Its programme since 1918 is definitely committed to a Workers' Republic, and it has worked closely with the Republican movement. . . . In industrial organization the movement has made rapid strides toward ONE BIG UNION with the object of 'eventually taking over the control of industry by the organized working class.' At present the National Executive is engaged, on commission from Congress, in working out a comprehensive plan of 'a single all-inclusive Irish Workers' Union,' constituted of some ten industrial sections under the general direction of a governing body or General Staff, which 'would in the main be appointed by and from the several industrial sections.' This has been retarded by the state of war of the last two or three years, but it is within measurable distance of achievement."

Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Founded in 1909 by James Larkin, as the nucleus for a ONE BIG UNION of Irish workers. According to the "Labor International Handbook," "the long-drawn-out struggle in Dublin in 1913 that centred round this union, with its new revolutionary slogans of the Workers' Republic and the sympathetic strike, marked an epoch in the history of labor in these islands. Out of the Dublin struggle developed the revolutionism of recent years, the establishment of the Irish Citizen Army—the first body of workers to arm for the Workers' Republic in Western Europe—and, through the influence of James Connolly (born 1870, executed while a wounded prisoner in the hands of the English military, 1916), the friendly understanding between revolutionary labor and revolutionary Republicanism, which has presented a common front against the world war and imperialism. Since 1913 the I. T. and G. W. U., with its principles of militant mass action, has dominated the Labor movement in Ireland." It had a membership of 150,000 in 1920. (See IRISH LABOR PARTY AND TRADES UNION CONGRESS.)

Iron Law of Wages or **Subsistence Theory.** This, the earliest economic theory or explanation of general WAGES, is based on the conception that in the long run wages are determined by the "cost of production" of labor—in other words, by the cost of a bare subsistence for the worker and his family; that since population tends to increase faster than the food supply, the numbers of the community are to a large extent held in check by a low rate of wages; and that when wages are increased there is also an increase of population, and the competition of these increased numbers for employ-

ment automatically forces wages down again to their previous level. If, on the other hand, the laborer should receive less than a subsistence wage, he or his children would starve, and the consequent shortage of laborers would necessarily force wages back to the subsistence point. Thus, according to this theory, there can be no permanent increase or decrease in wages beyond what is commonly known as the MINIMUM SUBSISTENCE LEVEL. Thoroughly discredited and refuted as it has long been, this theory still exerts a powerful influence upon many employers and public officials. (See MALTHUSIANISM.)

Ironclad Agreement or Ironclad Oath. A form of contract, sometimes exacted by an employer of labor, which binds an employee never to join a trade union. An early form of the "ironclad," as it is sometimes called, runs as follows: "We also agree not to be engaged in any combination whereby the work may be impeded or the company's interest in any work injured; if we do, we agree to forfeit to the use of the company the amount of wages that may be due us at the time." (See DOCUMENT.)

Irritation Strike. See STRIKING ON THE JOB.

Italian Confederation of Workers. See CONFEDERAZIONE ITALIANA DEI LAVORATORI.

Italian Federation of Economic Trade Unions. See ITALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

Italian General Confederation of Labor. See CONFEDERAZIONE GENERALE DEL LAVORO.

Italian Labor Movement. For various reasons, not least the misgovernment to which they have been so long subjected, the Italians have taken more readily to the doctrines of SYNDICALISM and ANARCHISM than have the workers of any other country. The chief forms of association among the local labor organizations are represented by the CAMERE DEL LAVORO, or local chambers of labor, and the FEDERAZIONE DEI MESTIERE, or national federations of trades or industries. Before the war most of these bodies were nationally federated in either the CONFEDERAZIONE GENERALE DEL LAVORO or the UNIONE SYNDICALE ITALIANA, both of which pursue revolutionary aims, although the latter is the more radical. In chief opposition to these two organizations stand the CONFEDERAZIONE ITALIANA DEI LAVORATORI, a national federation of the Catholic or WHITE UNIONS, and the UNIONE ITALIANA DEL LAVORO, which

attempts the strange feat of harmonizing syndicalism with nationalism. In November, 1920, a new organization, the Italian Federation of Economic Trade Unions, was formed at Milan. Its aim is to unite all the non-political and non-sectarian elements in the Italian labor movement, and particularly the technical and professional workers, for purely economic purposes. The economic exhaustion, disorganization, and impoverishment consequent in general to the recent war have borne with particular heaviness upon Italy and her wage-earners. The period since the armistice has been perhaps the stormiest in the country's industrial history, with strikes, lockouts, and other disturbances occurring with ever-increasing frequency. The most interesting and important development during this period has been the spontaneous rank and file demand for WORKERS' CONTROL of industry which became prominent soon after the close of the war. The chief manifestation of this demand appeared among the metal-workers of northern Italy, who in August of 1920 began a widespread seizure of factories, following the threat of a lockout on the employers' part. Within a few days a majority of the foundries, machine shops, and metal works of northern Italy were in the hands of the workers; and production was to some extent carried on by them, under factory committees. The Prime Minister, Giolitti, called a conference of representatives of the C. G. L. and the employers by which an agreement was reached on September 19, conceding the principle of "trade union control" in industry. The joint commission established to work out the details of this scheme broke down; and in January, 1921, the government introduced a Bill for Labor Control similar in most respects to the GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW. (See BOMBACCI PLAN; COUNCILS OF EXPLOITATION; SOCIETÀ DI LAVORO; FASCISTI; MINISTERO PER IL LAVORO E LA PREVIDENZA SOCIALE; PROBI-VIRI.)

Italian Ministry of Labor and Social Thrift. See MINISTERO PER IL LAVORO E LA PREVIDENZA SOCIALE.

Italian Socialist Party. See CONFEDERAZIONE GENERALE DEL LAVORO; BOMBACCI PLAN.

J

J. I. C. See JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS.

Japanese-American Passport Agreement. A so-called "gentlemen's agreement," made in 1907 between the American and Japanese governments, which provides, in effect, that Japan will not issue passports good for continental United States to Japanese laborers unless such laborers are coming here to resume a formerly-acquired domicile; to join parent, husband, or children; or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country. While the agreement relates only to IMMIGRATION to continental United States, Japan soon voluntarily extended the same provisions to Hawaii. Non-laborers, of course, are not affected, and are free to come and go under the same conditions as aliens of other nationalities. (See PICTURE BRIDES.)

Japanese Federation of Trade Unions. See JAPANESE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Japanese Labor Organizations. As in the case of China, the only form of labor organization in Japan until late in the last century consisted in the primitive guilds. These exist in large numbers under the leadership of "bosses" who frequently act as foremen and also serve in the capacity of private employment agents. Isolated labor unions somewhat approaching the western type began to appear in the nineties. Owing to police persecution most of them had, however, disappeared by 1900. In 1912 a workers' society called the *Yuai Kai* was founded; and a fraternal society of printers, known as the *Shinyu Kai*, appeared in 1917. During this latter year the high cost of living attendant on war-time prosperity produced a series of strikes, and the *Yuai Kai* and the *Shinyu Kai* developed into industrially active organizations. The rice riots of 1918, with their widespread conflicts with the troops, stimulated class consciousness among the workers, and the early part of 1919 saw a rapid growth in strikes and organization. By the end of 1919 a slump followed; and in 1920, to achieve unity, the twelve leading unions of Tokyo and its outlying districts (including the *Yuai Kai*, now organized on indus-

trial lines, with several departments, including metal, transport, mining, textile and other workers, and 150 branches, with a membership of 30,000) united in a loose federation to form the Japanese Federation of Trade Unions; and fifteen unions of Osaka and its outlying districts formed the Federation of Trade Unions of Western Japan. A report made by R. Soeda of the KYOCHO KAI, in January, 1921, states that it is estimated that there are now more than 300 trade unions in the country, nearly all of them being organized during 1919. The weaknesses of the trade unions, he states, lie in their poor financial status; the lack of a definite programme caused by extreme mobility of labor, which is constantly passing from factory to factory and from one occupation to another; the lack of solidarity, which shows in the small remuneration of trade union officers and the constant dissolution of trade unions when the leading members of a union are dismissed from a factory following a labor dispute; lack of confidence in trade union leaders, and the hereditary attitude of loyalty and devotion among the laboring classes toward those who employ them.

Job Analysis. A systematic inquiry, on the part of large industrial and commercial concerns, into the component elements of each individual job in their establishments, and the human qualifications and physical conditions necessary for its performance; the resulting data being used as a basis for proper placement of, and compensation to, the worker. This plan has been especially successful in decreasing LABOR TURNOVER and increasing output. (See EMPLOYMENT MANAGEMENT.)

Job Monopoly. A term commonly used in designation of the purpose or policy of a CLOSED UNION—one that seeks to secure a monopoly of work for its own members in the particular craft or occupation which they follow. "Job monopoly" is commonly accomplished by means of EXCLUSIVE AGREEMENTS with employers' associations, by restricting membership in the trade union, and by other methods. (See MONOPOLY POLICY OF TRADE UNIONISM.)

Job Piece Work. See COLLECTIVE PIECE WORK.

Job Selling. The practice on the part of certain foremen or superintendents of levying tribute from those to whom they give employment. Such tribute is sometimes exacted not only at the time a job is provided, but also at regular intervals as long as the job is retained. This practice is legally forbidden in several states of the American union. (See STRAW BOSS; TOLLING.)

Job Work. In a general sense, work that is paid for in a lump sum agreed upon in advance, instead of on the usual TIME WORK or PIECE WORK basis. Practically all forms of the CONTRACT SYSTEM come within the category of job work.

Jobber. See PIECE MASTER; STEVEDORE SYSTEM.

Joint Agreement. See TRADE AGREEMENT.

Joint Board, Trades Union Congress. See TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Joint Committee. Usually a committee made up of representatives of both the employing and the working class. Sometimes, however, a committee comprising representatives of two or more trade unions, or two or more groups of employers. (See BRIDGEPORT PLAN.)

Joint Conference Council. See COMPANY COUNCIL.

Joint Conference System. This term is ordinarily applied to the more formal plan of COLLECTIVE BARGAINING—commonly found in trades or industries where both employers and employees are strongly organized—which involves more or less regularly recurrent and systematically conducted conferences between representatives of the two sides. In the American workings of this system there is as a rule no written constitution or permanent treaty between the organizations of employers and employees, establishing a definite organization and method of procedure for the conferences by which the general agreements are adopted, or for boards of ARBITRATION and CONCILIATION. "On the other hand, the separate constitutions and rules of the organizations of employers, and more particularly those of the organizations of employees, do provide more or less formally for the maintenance of the system, usually prescribing methods for the selection of conference committees and regulating their methods of procedure in a general way, although much is still left to unwritten custom. Even in the absence of any written joint rules of a permanent character, custom has usually introduced fairly permanent and uniform practices of collective bargaining. There can be little doubt, however, that misunderstandings would in some cases be avoided, and the continuance of the system would be more fully guaranteed, if the practice, so common in England, of adopting formal constitutions and rules for joint committees and conferences should be introduced here. In order to appreciate the significance of the practices of these various trades as regards

the organization and methods of procedure of joint conferences, it is necessary to hold clearly in mind the fundamental nature of the task which these conferences set for themselves. They are not boards of arbitration or conciliation. It is not their function to act judicially in the interpretation of existing rules and practices, nor by conciliatory methods to bring about an agreement as to minor and local matters. They meet for the purpose of bargaining collectively regarding the general conditions on which labor shall be performed throughout the trade. Their work is in a sense to be considered legislation. More strictly speaking, it is simply negotiation between two parties, through their representatives, for the formation of a contract. It is because of this very nature of the collective bargaining process that we find the following facts holding true as regards most of the important national systems in the United States, though there are exceptions to each of the statements: (1) It is not required that the representatives of the respective parties shall be equal in number; (2) action is taken by compromise leading to unanimous agreement rather than by majority vote; (3) persons outside the trade are not called in to decide authoritatively general questions as to which the parties can not agree; (4) the number of conferees is usually quite large, although part of the more detailed work of reaching an agreement is often referred to smaller committees." (For a more detailed account of the joint conference system as developed in two representative American industries, see INTERSTATE JOINT CONFERENCES IN THE COAL-MINING INDUSTRY and JOINT CONFERENCE SYSTEM IN THE RAILWAY INDUSTRY. See also, AGREEMENT SYSTEM.)

Joint Conference System in the Railway Industry. The methods of negotiating with employers which are followed by the four principal RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS are in the main very similar. Most of the railway companies recognize these bodies and deal with their officers. "In no case is there any formal system of joint boards of employers and employees, with equal representation, and with definite constitution and rules. Nevertheless, on most railway systems frequent conferences are held between officers of the brotherhoods and those of the railways. By these conferences, not merely minor disputes are settled, but to a large extent the general conditions of labor are determined. The officers of the brotherhoods are in most instances men of no little ability and of long experience in negotiations with employers. If local officers fail to reach settlements, appeal is usually made to the national officers, who are especially

experienced and conservative. The result is that disputes seldom fail of settlement and that strikes of the more skilled classes of railway employees are comparatively rare. . . In general, with some modifications in details, the system is as follows: Each local LODGE or DIVISION of a brotherhood has a local GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE of three or more members. For each railway line a general committee or general board of adjustment is established, composed of one or more delegates from each local division on the line. In the case of great composite systems of railroads, some of the brotherhoods provide also for a still higher committee of adjustment, composed of the chairman of each of the committees on the separate lines or branches of the system. These chairmen of general committees of adjustment are in many instances salaried officers, devoting their whole time to the interests of the members employed on the railway. It is their duty, in conjunction with local committees, to adjust, if possible, all differences of a local character that may arise. Failing to reach a settlement in this way a meeting of the general committee of adjustment is called and it proceeds to negotiate with the higher officers of the railway companies. The action of such a general committee of adjustment is binding upon all members employed upon the railway line (unless reversed, in the case of some of the organizations, by referendum vote of the members so employed). On occasion of special need the national officers of the brotherhood are called in to negotiate with employers. The general conditions of labor are usually determined from time to time by conferences between these general committees of adjustment and the officers of the railway company, or in the case of the more extensive systems, between the higher committees above referred to and the officers of the system." (See JOINT CONFERENCE SYSTEM.)

Joint Council. As commonly used in connection with American trade unionism, this term denotes a delegate body composed of representatives of local unions in a single trade or several allied trades for a single large city, for two or more cities in close proximity, or for some other limited geographical area. The primary functions of such bodies are the maintenance of uniform conditions of employment, and control over the declaration and conduct of strikes. Very few of them perform any definite administrative or judicial duties. In some national unions, the joint council is differentiated from the DISTRICT UNION, having a more limited jurisdiction than the latter; in others the joint council, usually limited in jurisdiction to a single city, is the only form of representative body for joint action. (See TRADES COUNCIL—AMERICAN; DISTRICT COUNCIL.)

Joint Industrial Councils. The general name given to the various works, district, and national bodies set up in British industry to carry into effect the proposals of the WHITLEY PLAN, which have been approved by the government. They are established only in industries in which both employers and workers are well organized in their respective associations, and they consist of equal numbers of representatives of employers' associations and trade unions. Their general function is to secure the largest possible measure of joint action between employers and workers for the development of the industry which they represent, as a part of national life, and for the improvement of the conditions of all engaged in the industry; and it is open to the councils to take any action that falls within the scope of this general definition. "Among their more specific objects may be mentioned the regular consideration of wages, hours, and working conditions in the industry as a whole; the consideration of measures for regularizing production and employment; the consideration of the existing machinery, and the establishment of machinery where it does not already exist, for the settlement of differences between different parties and sections in the industry with the object of securing the speedy settlement of difficulties; the collection of statistics and information on matters pertaining to the industry; the encouragement of the study of processes and design and of research, with a view to perfecting the products of the industry; the improvement of the health conditions obtaining in the industry and the provision of special treatment where necessary for workers in the industry; the consideration of the proposals for district councils and WORKS COMMITTEES, put forward in the Whitley report, having regard in each case to any such organizations as may already be in existence; and cooperation with the joint industrial councils for other industries to deal with problems of common interest. The Ministry of Labor is the department responsible for assisting industries in the setting up of these councils." The joint industrial councils are commonly referred to under the initials, "J. I. C." (See INTERIM INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEES; TRADE PARLIAMENT; INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.)

Joint Label. A UNION LABEL placed on a product in the making of which several allied trades or crafts, each nationally and separately organized, have participated. (See ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCILS; METAL TRADES COUNCILS.)

Joint Legislative Board. See RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS.

Joint Plant Council. See COMPANY COUNCIL.

Joint Shop Committee. (1) A SHOP COMMITTEE representative of both employees and management in a single industrial establishment or one department of an establishment. (2) A body consisting of all the SHOP CHAIRMEN of a single establishment. (3) A committee made up of employers' representatives and all the shop chairmen in a single establishment. (See SHOP COUNCIL; EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION.)

Joint Standing Industrial Councils. See JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS.

Joint Strike Committee. See STRIKE COMMITTEE.

Journeyman. Meaning literally a day worker, this term was used in the time of the medieval GUILDS in designation of a craftsman who had served his APPRENTICESHIP and had not yet become a master. It now denotes a fully qualified worker at any trade—one who, if a trade unionist, has successfully passed the examination or requirements for entrance to the union. (See FULL WORKER; PRACTICAL MAN.)

Judiciary Committee. See TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—LOCAL.

Jugo-Slavia Central Trade Union Council. See CENTRALNO RADNITCHKO SINDIKALNO VETCHE.

Jungle. Any LABOR CAMP, especially one in a remote and undeveloped region, is commonly known among migratory workers as a "jungle."

Junta. A name given to the group of British trade union leaders who, working together in close association as a committee of amalgamated societies, directed and controlled British trade unionism from about 1850 to 1875, and really laid the lasting foundations of the movement. The principal members of the Junta were William Allen, Robert Applegarth, Daniel Guile, Edwin Coulson, and George Odger.

Jurisdiction. In connection with labor affairs, this term denotes the "right" of a labor organization, as against other labor organizations, to either (1) the exclusive handling of certain kinds of work, material, tools, machinery, etc.; or (2) the exclusive allegiance of workers at a particular trade or occupation; or (3) the exclusive control of workers within a certain geographical area—local, district, or national. The effort to enforce this actual or asserted

right frequently leads to bitter conflict between one organization and another. This form of conflict, known as a "jurisdictional dispute," is indeed the most prolific, costly, and demoralizing source of internal friction in the organized labor movement. It is in connection with the conflicting claims in regard to the handling of certain kinds of work, materials, etc., that trouble most frequently arises. This class of conflicts (called in England "demarcation disputes") may be exemplified by the question arising between bridge and structural iron workers, on the one hand, and plumbers and steam fitters, on the other, as to which class of workers should install threaded pipe used for hand railings; or between carpenters and plumbers as to which should bore the floor-holes for piping; or between printers and machinists as to which should operate type-setting machines. Sometimes the question even involves an entire trade or craft, the whole field of which is claimed by rival unions. All of these disputes derive their interest to employers and the public from the fact that the opposing unions so often back their contentions with the strike. "It seems intolerable that an employer, who is ready to pay the wages and to comply with all the conditions asked for by his workmen, should find his work stopped because two sections of the workmen can not agree between themselves about the boundaries of their fields of work. The workingmen themselves seem to lose as much by such stoppages as the masters, and they seem to have no more to gain. The most obvious motive of the disputants in such cases is the motive which determines so large a part of trade union policy —the desire to get the greatest possible amount of work to do. The field of work is conceived as divided on some basis of established custom, among the several groups of workers. Each group has a sense of proprietorship in that which it has occupied. There is a disputed land around its borders, which it feels to be its property, but which is claimed, with equal conviction, by the neighboring groups. The selfishness of each group suffers from the operations of the others within this disputed tract; but its sense of justice is outraged also. The question of the boundary becomes a question of pride and a question of principle; and it is fought over with an eagerness which is out of all proportion to the intrinsic importance of the dispute. But there is another aspect of such questions, which makes them important to workingmen as a whole, and which may sometimes entitle one of the disputants to consider that it represents the interest of the working class. If the employer is permitted, at his pleasure, to choose which of two unions shall do a given work, the effect is the same in kind as if he were permitted to revert to the

individual bargain. The work of the higher-paid unions may be handed over, little by little, to the lower paid. The higher standard may be nominally maintained, but its field of application is gradually narrowed; and, taking the employment as a whole, there is an insidious and unacknowledged lowering of the STANDARD RATE." Jurisdictional disputes concerning the allegiance of workers in a particular trade or occupation usually occur between a CRAFT UNION on the one hand and an INDUSTRIAL UNION on the other—as for example, in the struggle between the national teamsters' organization and the United Brewery Workers for "jurisdiction" over teamsters employed by the breweries. Conflicts in connection with the claim of exclusive control over a certain geographical area (usually known as territorial or geographical jurisdiction) may be exemplified by the long contest between the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers for control over the western mining districts. Jurisdictional disputes of all three types have been alleviated to some extent by the organization of local unions into national unions; by the AMALGAMATION of rival national unions into a single national body; and by the AFFILIATION of local unions with TRADE COUNCILS and of national unions with a strong national federation. But as yet no permanently successful solution of the problem has been discovered. (See OVERLAP; DEMARCATION; RIGHT TO THE TRADE; VESTED INTERESTS DOCTRINE; SECTIONALISM; DUAL UNION; ENCROACHMENT; LABEL JURISDICTION; JURISDICTIONAL AGREEMENT.)

Jurisdiction Members. See MEMBERS AT LARGE.

Jurisdictional Agreement. A formal understanding between two or more trade unions in regard to the specific authority of each over certain kinds of work, certain workers, or certain geographical areas. A jurisdictional agreement marks the settlement of a conflict over JURISDICTION between the unions which are parties to the agreement.

Jurisdictional Disputes. See JURISDICTION; OVERLAP.

K

Kamers van Arbeid. Dutch chambers of labor or INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS, consisting of equi-partisan bodies of employers and employees representing their respective interests within a trade or locality. They are under the supervision of, and report to, the national department of labor. These councils concern themselves with questions of wages and hours and other conditions of employment, make recommendations to the authorities respecting legislation, and adjust industrial disputes.

Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha (Workingmen's Welfare Association). See INDIA, LABOR ORGANIZATION IN.

Kansas Industrial Court. Under a law passed early in 1920, the state legislature of Kansas has set up a "Court of Industrial Relations," with compulsory powers of supervision and ARBITRATION in a number of industries declared to be affected "with a public interest." The Court is composed of three judges, appointed by the Governor. Ordinary rules of evidence govern its procedure, and the decisions arrived at are fully mandatory. Those industries over which the Court exercises jurisdiction are specified as follows: "(1) The manufacture or preparation of food products whereby, in any stage of the process, substances are being converted, either partially or wholly, from their natural state to a condition to be used as food for human beings; (2) the manufacture of clothing and all manner of wearing apparel in common use by the people of this state whereby, in any stage of the process, natural products are being converted, either partially or wholly, from their natural state to a condition to be used as such clothing and wearing apparel; (3) the mining or production of any substance or material in common use as fuel for domestic, manufacturing, or transportation purposes; (4) the transportation of all food products and articles or substances entering into wearing apparel, or fuel as aforesaid, from the place where produced to the place of manufacture or consumption; (5) all public utilities." Strikes in these industries are permanently forbidden; any dispute arising between employers and workmen must be referred to the

Court for investigation and decision; and the Court has power to order "such changes, if any, as are necessary to be made in and about the conduct of said industry, employment, utility or common carrier, in the matters of working and living conditions, hours of labor, rules and practices, and a reasonable MINIMUM WAGE, or standard of wages." Violations of the orders of the Court or the provisions of the act creating it are considered misdemeanors; while any person intentionally influencing another to violate such orders or provisions is considered guilty of a felony. In either case heavy punishments by fine or imprisonment or both are provided. The act provides that "all incidental powers necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this act are hereby expressly granted to and conferred upon said Court of Industrial Relations." Needless to say, the act has aroused the bitter hostility of organized labor within and without the state of Kansas, as destroying the right of COLLECTIVE BARGAINING and creating what labor regards as a condition of INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE. (See COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.)

Katheder Sozialister. See SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR.

Keating-Owen Bill. A Congressional enactment of 1916, prohibiting the transportation in interstate commerce of the products of factories in which children under fourteen years of age had been employed, or in which children between fourteen and sixteen had worked more than eight hours a day or six days a week or at night. The same prohibition was applied to the products of mines employing children under sixteen. The United States Supreme Court, in June, 1918, declared this act unconstitutional, as an unwarranted extension of the Federal power to regulate interstate commerce. As a result, Congress shifted the basis of its interference to the taxing power, and embodied provisions in the Revenue Act of 1919 levying a special tax of ten per cent on the net profits of employers of CHILD LABOR under certain conditions. (See CHILD LABOR TAX.)

Kindred Craft Union. See CRAFT UNION.

Knights of Labor. A national organization of labor in the United States founded in 1869, under the leadership of Uriah S. Stevens. In 1871 the title of "Noble Order of the Knights of Labor" was adopted by the society. Membership was at first limited to tailors. Soon, however, those in other trades were admitted as associate members, and were later permitted to organize separate branches or "assemblies" in their respective trades. With the formation of these new branches the parent body was designated "Assem-

bly No. 1," and the assemblies later organized were numbered serially. The need of some central or uniting authority led to the establishment of a "Committee on the Good of the Order," consisting of three members from each assembly. In 1873 this temporary committee was superseded by a delegate body known as the District Assembly. As the local assemblies increased, other district assemblies were organized. The parent assembly, of which Stevens was the "Master Workman," together with several of the earlier branches, constituted "District Assembly No. 1," with Stevens at its head. The subsequent increase of district assemblies led to the establishment in 1878 of a national "General Assembly," made up of delegates from seven states and representative of fifteen trades. Stevens was placed at the head of this national body, with the title of "Grand Master Workman." Conventions were held annually thereafter. In 1886 the membership of the Order had risen to 700,000, but soon thereafter it began to decline in competition with the new AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, until today but little remains of the organization. The society was not organized on the autonomous trade union or CRAFT UNION basis, but admitted all workers—skilled and unskilled, men and women, white and black—without distinctions of trade or craft. Until 1881 it was conducted as a secret order, with an elaborate veil of ritual, sign, grip, and password, designed to keep out spies. Its affairs were controlled by a highly centralized authority. It took a large part in politics, and in cooperative production and consumption. (See TRADE UNION COOPERATION.)

Knights of St. Crispin. A secret organization of shoemakers (1867–1873) which was at one time the most powerful labor body in the United States, having some 40,000 members.

Knobstick. See BLACKLEG.

Knox Strike. See ONE-MAN STRIKE.

Krankenkassen. See MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES.

Kustars or Kustarniki. In Russia, persons engaged in HOME WORK are so called. A considerable portion of the Russian peasantry are of this class. They are regarded by the Soviet government as small proprietors, and are subject to State control in various ways. (See COTTAGE INDUSTRY.)

Kyocho Kai (Harmonizing Society). At a meeting of prominent Japanese government officials held at Tokyo in January, 1919, it

was decided that a national organization should be formed having as its main object the creation of amicable relations between "capital" and "labor," and capable of carrying out the following duties: (1) The education of labor, to be effected by means of the publication of newspapers and magazines, the arrangement of lectures, etc., with the object of raising the intellectual standard; (2) the investigation of labor conditions and the study of labor questions at home and abroad likely to contribute toward the solution of the labor problem; (3) the management of a Central Employment Bureau, and the encouragement of activities of employment bureaus in the various districts; (4) the establishment of an internal organization to deal with the settlement of labor disputes; (5) the establishment of branches of the organization in several of the larger cities in the country, to take charge of such questions as the protection and assistance of workers, the education of their children, and the finding of housing accommodations. In accordance with this plan, a fund of six million *yen* was raised and the new society, called the *Kyocho Kai*, or "harmonizing society," was definitely launched in December, 1919. Owing to its close alliance with capitalist interests, the society soon fell into disfavor with the working classes. It was reconstructed on a more popular basis toward the end of 1920.

L

La Follette Seamen's Act. See SEAMEN'S ACT.

Label Administration. In trade unions using the UNION LABEL, the determining of conditions under which the label shall be granted and the defining of methods for issuing the label are usually functions of the national rather than of local officers. It is important to create and enforce uniform conditions, to prevent the unauthorized use of labels, and to see that manufacturers having LABEL AGREEMENTS are duly protected. Sometimes these matters are entrusted to the president of the national body, sometimes to the secretary or secretary-treasurer. At least one union has a national official known as the "label holder," who keeps the labels under lock and key and gives them as needed to the national secretary, who in turn distributes them to the local unions. The local administration of the label is vested in the officers either of the DISTRICT COUNCIL or of the local unions. Where more than one local of a national union is chartered in any locality, the "joint councils" of representatives from such locals administer the label for that locality. In certain unions where the label is of particular importance, the locals have special officers known as "label custodians" or "label secretaries" for the performance of this duty. In others the task is delegated to a local "label committee." The administration of the label in the individual shop is usually entrusted to the regular SHOP STEWARD, although sometimes a special "label steward" is appointed for this specific purpose.

Label Advertiser. See LABEL AGITATOR.

Label Agitator. The work of extending the use of the UNION LABEL and of creating a demand among trade unionists for LABEL GOODS is ordinarily a function of local unions. In some cases, however, this task is delegated to the national union, and is either part of the functions of the national ORGANIZERS or is entrusted to special officials known as "label agitators" or "label advertisers," who travel about the country working among local unions and speaking in

behalf of the label before groups of trade unionists. (See DEPUTY SYSTEM.)

Label Agreement or Label Contract. In those trades which use the UNION LABEL, it is customary for local trade unions to make formal compacts with individual employers setting forth the terms and conditions under which the label is to be used. In return for the privilege of using the label, the employer ordinarily agrees to hire only union labor and to submit all disputes to ARBITRATION. The union commonly agrees not to sanction any strike, and to assist the employer in procuring competent workers in the place of any who may insist upon striking; while the employer agrees not to lock out his workers. (See LABEL SHOP.)

Label Committee. See LABEL ADMINISTRATION.

Label Contract. See LABEL AGREEMENT.

Label Custodian. See LABEL ADMINISTRATION.

Label Goods or Label Products. Goods or products bearing the UNION LABEL are thus designated by trade unionists. (See LABEL JURISDICTION; LABEL TRADES.)

Label Holder. See LABEL ADMINISTRATION.

Label Jurisdiction. Frequent disputes arise between trade unions using the UNION LABEL in regard to the exclusive use of the label on certain products or the exclusive right to organize workers engaged in producing LABEL GOODS. These difficulties arise in three classes of cases: (1) Where the members of two trades claim the right to do the same work and to place their label on the product; (2) where the product is one made by workers of several distinct trades each of which claims the right to participate in the regulation of the label; and (3) where certain trades are essentially subsidiary. Such disputes are usually settled by JURISDICTIONAL AGREEMENTS between the national or local unions involved. In cases of the second-named class, the adoption of a JOINT LABEL has generally served to solve the difficulty. In the third-named class it is sometimes required that members of the subsidiary trades shall become members of the label-using union, in addition to holding membership in the union of their own trade or craft. (See ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCILS.)

Label Leagues. See UNION LABEL LEAGUES.

Label Secretary. See LABEL ADMINISTRATION.

Label Shop. An industrial establishment which uses the UNION LABEL on its product, in accordance with the terms of a LABEL AGREEMENT.

Label Steward. See LABEL ADMINISTRATION.

Label Trades. Those occupations or industries the product of which commonly bear the UNION LABEL are sometimes so called. Cigar making is the oldest and best known of the label trades.

Label Unions. Those labor organizations, local or national, which make use of the UNION LABEL on articles produced by their members, are so called. Such unions are sometimes initiated and fostered by employers, who wish to secure the use of the label as a commercial asset. (See DEPENDENT UNIONISM.)

Labor. In the classic economic definition, "human exertion of mind or body undergone with the object of creating goods"; one of the three agents of production, land and capital being the others. But, unlike land and capital, labor is not a tangible thing; it can never be disassociated from the body and mind of the laborer. Hence the old economic classification has in part given rise to limitless current confusion, as implying that "labor" and "capital" are coordinate things which, according to the cant formula, must "get together," "cooperate," "adjust their differences," etc., etc. As the English writer, R. H. Tawney, has well said, "'labor' consists of persons; 'capital' consists of things or claims to things. To lament 'the strife,' or to plead for 'cooperation' between 'labor and capital' is much as though an author should deplore the ill-feeling between carpenters and hammers or undertake a crusade to restore harmonious relations between mankind and their boots. The muddle is not mended by the fact that by 'capital' is meant 'capitalists.' For the vice of the phrase is that it treats the claims of 'labor and capital' as coordinate. If they are, and were generally recognized to be, coordinate, *cadit quæstio*. But the problem only arises because an increasing proportion of mankind believes that the world should be managed primarily for those who work, not for those who own. To start by burying that fundamental issue beneath smooth phrases as to 'the common aim of industry' is to assume the very point which requires to be proved, and which alone provides matter for discussion." In the present book and in nearly all treatments or discussions of the LABOR MOVEMENT, it is MANUAL LABOR that is chiefly referred to—not because manual labor is regarded as the only form of labor, but because "it is that kind of labor which those

who engage in the movement believe to have been most wronged in the past and most to need having wrongs righted in the present." For a broad inclusive definition of labor Ruskin's is probably the best: "Labor is the contest of the life of man with an opposite; the term 'life' including his intellect, soul, and physical power, contending with question, difficulty, trial, or material force." (See COMMODITY THEORY OF LABOR; LABOR SUPPLY; SUPPLY AND DEMAND, LAW OF.)

Labor Agreement. SEE TRADE AGREEMENT.

"Labor and the New Social Order." A draft report on post-war reconstruction, prepared by a sub-committee of the BRITISH LABOR PARTY and submitted to the Party in January, 1918. Most of its proposals were adopted in the form of resolutions at the Party's summer conference, in June, 1918. The report was widely reprinted and discussed as one of the most significant documents of the war period.

Labor Armies. See REVOLUTIONARY LABOR ARMIES.

Labor Audit. Defined by Messrs. Tead and Metcalf as "a reasonably exhaustive and systematic statement and analysis of the facts and forces in an industrial organization which affect the relations between employees and management, and between employees and their work; followed by recommendations as to ways of making the organization more socially and humanly productive and solvent." It is the work of a trained auditor or investigator, who corresponds, in the field of labor relations, to a financial auditor or sales auditor in the financial and selling fields of industry. The labor audit is an important function of PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION.

Labor Booklet. In order to avoid as far as possible disputes between individual wage earners and the employers of labor over the performance of the terms of employment, every worker in Russia is provided with a "labor booklet," in which must be entered the terms of his employment, the quantity of work performed, the amount of wages received by him, and all other particulars relating to his work and payment. This general system has long prevailed in other European countries, and even in Russia it is by no means an innovation of the Soviet government. In present-day Russia, however, the "labor booklet" serves as a passport and as a method of enforcing the Soviet labor code.

Labor Boss. See Boss.

Labor Camps. Living quarters, generally provided by employers, for workers engaged upon industrial operations (mining, lumbering, railway construction, agriculture, etc.) in regions inaccessible or inconvenient to ordinary towns or cities. Such camps are usually of a temporary nature, although the investigations of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS disclosed "a large number" of labor camps "which have been in existence for more than a generation." Labor camps for certain kinds of work have been brought under public regulation in a few states. (See CLOSED CAMP; COMPANY HOUSING; JUNGLE; FLUNKEY; WALKER.)

Labor Checks. Some socialists have advocated that so-called "labor checks" be substituted for money in the future SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH. In such a State, it is argued, every individual will work for the common good, and for purposes of exchange there will be necessary only an official ticket or token certifying to the amount of such work that has been rendered during a specified period of time. These tickets or tokens would be exchangeable for goods in the various stores owned and operated by the State.

Labor Church Movement. Originating in England in 1891, this movement has since spread to the United States, Canada, and elsewhere. It consists in the establishment of special places of worship for members of the laboring classes, its supporters believing that "the emancipation of labor can only be realized so far as men learn both the economic and the moral laws of God, and heartily endeavor to obey them."

Labor Clearance Zones. See ZONE CLEARANCE SYSTEM.

Labor College. See CENTRAL LABOR COLLEGE.

Labor Colonies. Described as an attempt to "put the waste labor on the waste land by means of the waste capital," labor colonies date back to 1818, when the Society of Beneficence founded the first Dutch enterprise. The members of these colonies are recruited from the ranks of the defective, the vagrant, the inefficient, and the unemployed. Their purpose is generally to provide temporary employment, usually of an agricultural nature, for destitute workers, who receive not only board and lodging but some nominal wages also. The organization of labor colonies has been undertaken by public authorities or private charity associations in nearly all large countries. Sometimes (as in Belgium) such colonies are mainly in the nature of penal institutions for beggars and vagrants. In America the

Salvation Army has led the labor colony movement. Because of its large tracts of waste land upon which labor may be utilized, Australia has been particularly successful in organizing labor colonies.

Labor Contract. A general designation for any form of agreement "by which one who is called the employer engages another who is called the employee to do something for the benefit of the employer or of a third person." While theoretically similar, in a legal sense, to other kinds of contract, the labor contract has in course of time come to be recognized as something peculiar, in that it can never be specifically enforced. According to Commons and Andrews, "the laborer cannot sell himself into slavery or into INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE. He retains the right to change his mind, to quit work, to run away. Certain other contracts can, in the absence of any other sufficient remedy, be enforced by the courts by compelling 'specific performance.' But specific performance of the labor contract is involuntary servitude. Business contracts, if violated, are ground for damages which the court orders paid even to the extent of taking all of the business property of the debtor. The labor contract also, if violated, is ground for damages, but for the court to order damages paid out of labor property would be to order the laborer to work out the debt. This is involuntary servitude. Hence the employer is left with the empty remedy of bringing suit against a propertyless man. He can protect himself by making contracts which he also can terminate at any time by discharging the workman without notice. Thus the labor contract becomes, in effect, a new contract every day and hour. It is a continuous process of wage bargaining. It carries no effective rights and duties for the future, and is as insecure as it is free." Involving as it does the body and life of the laborer, the labor contract is a bargain not only for wages but also for hours of labor, physical conditions of sanitation and safety, risks of accident and disease, etc. "UNEMPLOYMENT is failure to make such a bargain; IMMIGRATION, CHILD LABOR, education, PRISON LABOR, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, and so on, are conditions which determine the bargaining power of the laborer. Every topic in LABOR LEGISLATION is a phase of the wage bargain, and it is because a large class of people have come to depend permanently, not on their property or resources, but on these bargains with property-owners, that labor legislation has significance." While TRADE AGREEMENTS are often called "labor contracts," they are in reality no more than mutually accepted memoranda of rates of pay and working conditions, to which the real labor contract between the individual

employer and the individual employee is supposed to conform. Like the individual contract, it cannot be enforced without creating a condition of involuntary servitude. (See CONTRACT AT WILL.)

Labor Copartnership. A general designation for any effort to modify the WAGE SYSTEM by the application of PROFIT SHARING and CAPITAL SHARING to an industrial enterprise. The use of the term is not limited to any particular method, except, perhaps, that simple profit sharing is usually regarded as only a step towards labor copartnership, and that, in its more definite sense, the principle involves provisions for the employees to accumulate capital. A copartnership idealist would probably add that to be perfect there should be some form of EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION in the administration. It is claimed that copartnership gives the employee increased interest in the economy and efficiency of production, coupled with the feeling that he is being more equitably dealt with in the division of the profits of industry, whilst capital owning brings with it a greater sense of responsibility and a wider outlook. Labor copartnership seems to have received its earliest stimulus in France, where the two most noted examples of its application are found in the Maison Leclaire, a painting and decorating concern of Paris, and the Godin FAMILISTÈRE at Guise. The movement soon spread to England, where it has made the largest progress. Here it is encouraged and represented by the Labor Copartnership Association, which seeks (1) in the cooperative movement to aid by its propaganda and advice all forms of production based on the copartnership principle, and (2) in other businesses to induce employers and employed to adopt schemes of profit sharing and investment tending in the same direction. The plan adopted in 1886 by the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Co., of St. Louis, Mo., and Leclaire, Ill., is one of the earliest and best-known copartnership experiments in the United States. While copartnership has often resulted in increased wages, it has generally failed to give the worker any effective share in the direction and control of industry. It is, indeed, actively opposed by the organized labor movement, as tending to weaken trade unionism and to obscure the fundamental issue between labor and capitalism. The term "copartnership" is often used in connection with independent trading concerns formed by working men, but these are in reality cooperative societies. (See TENANTS' COPARTNERSHIP SOCIETIES.)

Labor Cost or Labor Value. See WAGES.

Labor Councils. See AUSTRALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

Labor Day. An international holiday dedicated to labor, and usually celebrated by parades, picnics, open-air demonstrations, etc. In the United States, Labor Day falls on the first Monday in September; in Europe, on the first day of May. Labor Day is held especially sacred by all American trade unionists. It is not unusual to levy a fine upon any member who works. Sometimes a member is fined even for not joining in the Labor Day parade. Of course these special regulations have a motive beyond the economic motive which prompts the observance of other holidays and the disapproval of OVERTIME. Labor Day is sacred to the working class, and to fail to do it honor is considered a sort of profanation. (See LABOR SUNDAY; LABOR'S MEMORIAL DAY.)

Labor Decrease. See MOBILITY OF LABOR.

Labor Department. See UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Labor Detective Agencies. Private companies whose function it is to supply employers with UNDER-COVER MEN, AGENTS PROVOCATEURS, STRIKEBREAKERS, ARMED GUARDS, etc. The recent exhaustive investigation of ESPIONAGE IN INDUSTRY, made under the auspices of the Cabot Fund for Industrial Research, revealed the existence of hundreds of such agencies. Some are huge national organizations, with branch offices in all prominent industrial centres; while the majority are smaller local agencies. They usually operate under high-sounding names which give no clue to the real nature of the business—such as "service," "service corporation," "industrial engineers," "harmonizers," "conciliators," "adjusters," etc. Many of them originally were, and some still are in part, criminal detective agencies; while their executives are almost invariably former criminal detectives. According to the Cabot Report, the original Pinkerton first discovered the possibilities of the detective in industry; and because of his subsequent activity in this field, it is common among the working class to speak of any labor detective as a "Pinkerton" or "Pinkerton man." The staff report of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS contains the following paragraph with reference to this matter: "In view of the endless crimes committed by the employees of the so-called detective agencies, who have been permitted to usurp a function that should belong only to the State, it is suggested that the Commission recommend to Congress either that such of these agencies as may operate in more than one State, or may be employed by corporations engaged

in interstate commerce, or may use the mails, shall be compelled to take out a Federal license, with regulations to insure the character of their employees and the limitation of their activities to the bona fide business of detecting crime, or that such agencies shall be utterly abolished through the operation of the taxing power or through denying them the use of the mails."

Labor Exchanges. Public EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS, particularly of the highly developed type operated under governmental control in England and other foreign countries, are commonly so called. "Labor exchanges cannot create work nor make the existing irregular demand for labor steady the year through, but they can, if properly managed, remove the unnecessary loss of time which workers now suffer in passing from one job to the next; they can eliminate the numberless evils which now characterize private employment offices; and they can provide the information and administrative machinery which is essential to every other step in dealing with the problem." (See LABOR EXCHANGES ACT; DECASUALIZATION OF LABOR; BUREAUX PARITAIRES; BOURSES DU TRAVAIL.)

Labor Exchanges Act. A British Parliamentary enactment of 1909, which authorized the Board of Trade to collect and furnish information as to employers requiring workpeople, and workpeople seeking employment, and to authorize loans toward meeting the expenses of workpeople travelling to places where employment has been found for them through an employment exchange. For the purposes of the Act, the whole country is divided into several divisions, each with a divisional clearing-house, presided over by a divisional chief, and all coordinated with a national clearing-house in London. Distributed throughout these divisions are more than five hundred local LABOR EXCHANGES, or EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS. A joint advisory committee is established in every principal centre, on which representatives of workmen and employers meet in equal numbers, under the chairmanship of an impartial permanent official. In 1917 the employment exchanges came under the control of the newly constituted Ministry of Labor.

Labor Flux. See MOBILITY OF LABOR.

Labor Forward Movement. A name given to the organized effort on the part of constituent bodies of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR to arouse members to increased activity and zeal in the cause of union labor, and to disseminate more widely information regarding trade union principles and ideals. This work was inaugu-

rated in 1912 by an intensive campaign in Minneapolis and St. Paul, which has been followed at intervals by similar campaigns in other large cities.

Labor Glut. See LABOR SUPPLY.

Labor Increase. See MOBILITY OF LABOR.

Labor Inspection in Russia. The Soviet labor code provides for a national system of inspection under the jurisdiction of the PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF LABOR. Labor inspectors are elected by the central bodies of the trade unions. The powers of the labor inspectors are very wide. They may enter at any time of day or night any industrial establishment, as well as the lodgings provided by the employers for their workers. They may adopt special rules for the removal of conditions endangering the life and health of employees. They may require the production by the management of all the books and records of the establishment, and they may prosecute all persons violating the provisions of the labor code.

Labor Legislation. While distinction was formerly made between FACTORY ACTS and labor legislation, the latter term is now generally used in designation of any laws which are directly or indirectly related to the interests of labor. In Professor Carlton's classification, labor legislation is of three main kinds: "(1) Legislation of a general character, considered desirable by organized labor but not dealing specifically with the wage earners as a class, for example, free schools, free homesteads, the popular election of United States senators, the Australian ballot system, the parcels post; (2) legislation specifically beneficial to the wage earning class, such as laws fixing the maximum number of working hours per day, the restriction of IMMIGRATION, CHILD LABOR laws and WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION; (3) distinctly union legislation, such as modifications in the laws in regard to the INJUNCTION, and the exemption of labor organizations from the provisions of the anti-trust laws." While any adequate outline or discussion of labor legislation is obviously impossible in such a book as this, one or two general points of interest may be noted. The terms "master" and "servant" used in early British and American legislation are expressive of the old servile status of the laborer, when his body was actually or in effect the property of his employer or creditor. While the law still retains these terms, legislatures have largely broken away from them, preferring "employer" and "employee" as expressive of some degree of equality in the wage bargain. In comparison with such a country as Great

Britain, where unified legislation is enacted for the nation as a whole, by a body in which labor has its own elected representatives, the labor interests of the United States are in a position of peculiar disadvantage—owing mainly to our federal system of government and the constitutional supremacy of our judiciary over labor legislation. Professor Commons states the position thus: "On account of the fact that we have some fifty different legislative bodies enacting labor laws on entirely different levels of pressure, and as many different courts declaring these laws unconstitutional, labor has been compelled to organize over a wide area, to solidify its organization, and to enact, by the power of organization, uniform laws which our federal system and our written constitutions have prevented the states from enacting." In addition to this direct enactment of labor legislation, organized labor exerts a considerable influence, through the CITY CENTRALS, STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR, and LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES of the national unions and the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, in advancing legislation "favorable" to labor interests and defeating "unfavorable" legislation. But other groups play an important part. The National Child Labor Committee with its state branches in many industrial states, the NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE, the National CONSUMERS' LEAGUE, the American Association for Labor Legislation—these are some of the important agencies that have helped to secure a large portion of the progressive American industrial legislation of the past. They have often worked in close cooperation with the legislative committees of the unions. (See POLICE POWER; LABOR LOBBY; STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION; LEGAL ENACTMENT.)

Labor Lieutenants. The common assumption of CRAFT UNIONISM that the interests of employer and employee are "identical" has given rise to the charge on the part of radical unionists that the ORGANIZERS and officials of conservative unions are the "labor lieutenants of the CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY"—a phrase said to have been first used by Mark Hanna.

Labor Lobby. In ordinary usage, the term "lobby" is applied to any group of persons who, while not members of a legislative body, endeavor to influence the action of such a body in regard to legislation in which the "lobbyists" are interested. They may be paid representatives of certain "interests," following this as a regular profession, or they may simply visit the capital upon certain important occasions when they wish to advance or defeat a particular measure. A "labor lobby," like any other, may be either of

these two kinds. Its purpose is to promote legislation favorable to organized labor or to defeat unfavorable legislation. Its ethical position, like that of an employers' or any other lobby, depends upon the character of the methods which it pursues. (See LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.)

Labor Manager. The PERSONNEL MANAGER in a large industrial establishment is often so called. In connection with the CONTINUOUS ARBITRATION machinery set up in the American clothing trades, the labor manager has played a particularly important part. Besides the individual managers for the larger plants, the smaller establishments in each of the six leading clothing centres usually combine to hire a single labor manager. These officials, for the most part industrial and economic experts, are usually the employers' representatives on joint boards and in all negotiations with the workers.

Labor Market. This term is commonly used in designation of the total LABOR SUPPLY available for purchase at a given time and place; or, in a more abstract sense, the arrangement by which, or the field in which, the forces of supply and demand in relation to the purchase of "labor" are operative. This common conception of a "labor market," corresponding in all essential respects to a "metal market" or a "wheat market," is of course a natural corrolary to the COMMODITY THEORY OF LABOR.

Labor Members. In England, those representatives of working-class interests who have been elected to any public body—whether the Imperial Parliament or a local board of any sort.

Labor Monopoly. See MONOPOLY POLICY OF TRADE UNIONISM.

Labor Movement. In a limited sense, any organized effort on the part of a group of wage-earners is a "labor movement." In a much broader sense, what is called *the* labor movement is often identified with the purely industrial or economic side of trade unionism, whether of a single country or of all countries. But in the broadest possible sense, the term is an inclusive all-embracing designation for the entire field of labor activities and aspirations—all the facts, theories, forces, tendencies, and achievements which go to make up or are definitely associated with the organized effort of the world's toilers to improve and to control the conditions of their lives. It is in this sense that the term has been used in the title of

the present volume. The labor movement, says G. D. H. Cole, "is at once national and international. It appears in many Commonwealths, and in each it has its own special characteristics. It transcends the borders of Commonwealths; but in its international groupings it consistently recognizes national divisions. But nationally and internationally it has at least two wings or methods of expression—an industrial or Trade Union wing, and a political wing, usually Socialist in character. It has also in most countries a Cooperative wing, more or less loosely attached to either or both of the others. The relations between these different wings of the Labor Movement vary from country to country. Sometimes, as in France, there is very little connection between the Socialist Party and the Trade Unions: sometimes, as in Great Britain, the Trade Unions largely form the political party of Labor: sometimes, as in Germany, the Social Democratic Party dominates the Trade Unions: sometimes, as in Belgium, the political, industrial and cooperative wings of the movement are joined inseparably together. Whatever the actual form of organization adopted, there is usually a fairly close approximation in policy and tactics among the various national movements." In one sense, to quote Mr. Cole again, "the modern Labor Movement is the reaction of the working class against CAPITALISM; but there is a more fundamental sense in which it is not a reaction, but the fruit of a creative impulse. In the first sense, it is merely defensive and protective: it aims merely at maintaining or improving the workers' standard of life within the existing economic order. But in the more fundamental sense, it is a challenge to the existing order, and at least a suggestion of the order which should take its place." Comprising as it does many millions of human beings in every "civilized" country, the labor movement is at once the most complex, many-sided, and significant social phenomenon of present times. It is a movement of continual change, of kaleidoscopic variety, of progression here and retrogression there; a movement divided by conflicting theories and counsels, torn and retarded by internal conflict, yet somehow ever making headway by diverse paths toward a single undiscerned goal. (See WORKERS' CONTROL.)

Labor Norm. In Russia, every wage-earner is required to turn out the daily standard output fixed for his class and grade of work by the valuation committee of his trade union, subject to the approval of the PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF LABOR, representing the interests of labor, and the SUPREME COUNCIL OF PUBLIC ECONOMY, representing the interests of national industry. This standard is

known as the "labor norm." A wage earner who falls below the standard may be demoted by decision of the valuation committee of his union, but he may appeal from that decision to the local and the district office of the Commissariat of Labor. The decision of the district office is final.

Labor Outings. As a solution of the problem of supplying the extra labor necessary to harvesting operations in the grain belt, the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR has proposed that industrial establishments should make their not unusual but irregular suspensions of work at such times and for such periods as would permit their employees to engage in suitable SEASONAL OCCUPATIONS. Not only would this assist in solving seasonal problems; it would tend to make steadier the work of the industrial establishments themselves. To make up for their shortages of output from these seasonal suspensions, the industrial establishments would increase their output the rest of the year and therefore their demand for labor. For workers incapable of doing heavy harvest work, other seasonal employments would be possible. (See AGRICULTURAL LABOR.)

Labor Party of the United States. See NATIONAL LABOR PARTY.

Labor Platform of the League of Nations. The Treaty of Versailles sets forth nine "methods and principles for regulating labor conditions which all industrial communities should endeavor to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit," and which "are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations." These nine "methods or principles," representing what has been called the Magna Charta of Labor, may be summarized as follows: (1) Labor must not be regarded as a commodity; (2) right of association of employees and employers; (3) adequate wage to maintain a reasonable STANDARD OF LIVING; (4) the EIGHT-HOUR DAY or FORTY-EIGHT-HOUR WEEK; (5) weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours; (6) abolition of CHILD LABOR; (7) EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK regardless of sex; (8) equitable treatment of all workers, including foreigners; (9) a system of state inspection, with representation for women. (See INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION; GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.)

Labor Press. The list of regular periodical publications devoted wholly or mainly to labor affairs and concerns is a long and varied one. In addition to the journals issued by, and in the interests of, individual labor organizations, as described in the entry on TRADE

ORGANS, there are numerous periodicals of more general scope which depend for their support upon a working-class clientele. A notable example of this class, in the English-speaking field, is the "Daily Herald" of London, with a daily circulation of several hundred thousand copies. The numerous daily, weekly, or monthly periodicals published in the interests of SOCIALISM may also be considered as essentially a section of the labor press, although their clientele includes many besides manual wage-earners. Still another and decidedly different section is that composed of the official journals and reviews issued by the various national departments and bureaus of labor throughout the world. In these, labor affairs are considered largely from the administrative and legislative points of view. Many of them, however, devote much space to records of general changes and tendencies in the labor field; to reports of special investigations into various aspects of the labor problem; to statistics on the COST OF LIVING, UNEMPLOYMENT, changes in wage levels, etc.; and to digests of current labor legislation. The "Monthly Labor Review" issued by the Federal BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS is typical of this class. Some of the STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONS in this country issue periodicals devoted in the main to a record of the commissions' activities and accomplishments. The INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE of the League of Nations now issues three regular periodical publications, in both English and French editions. Mention should also be made of the official journals or bulletins issued by some of the more important "reform" organizations—as for example, the "American Labor Legislative Review," published quarterly by the American Association for Labor Legislation. A recent development of some importance in connection with the American labor press is represented by the Federated Press League—a central service or clearing-house for news in the field of international labor affairs. While organized primarily in the interests of the labor and liberal press, its membership list is open to individual subscribers as well.

Labor Problem. In a general sense, practically every phase of the LABOR MOVEMENT constitutes a "labor problem" of one sort or another. But in a particular sense, from the point of view of the workers themselves, the single all-embracing labor problem is the problem of securing control over the fundamental conditions of their life and labor. More concretely stated, it is the problem of abolishing the WAGE SYSTEM, and the substitution therefor of some comprehensive scheme of INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. "What may be

called the fundamental factors of the modern labor problem," according to Adams and Sumner, are "the wage system, the permanent status of the wage-earning class, the FACTORY SYSTEM—with all which that implies—and the extreme concentration and control of wealth in the hands of a very small proportion of the population. It is absolutely necessary to keep these fundamental conditions firmly in mind; but it is just as necessary to remember that, permanent as such institutions may seem, they are but steps or stages in a centuried process of evolution, whose past unfolding is as profoundly significant as its future course is fascinating and mysterious." (See WORKERS' CONTROL.)

Labor Representation Committee Trades Union Congress. See BRITISH LABOR PARTY.

Labor Representation Committees. In England, joint committees of local trade unions, trade union BRANCHES, etc., in districts which elect members to the Imperial Parliament, the function of such committees being "to watch over the general interests of labor—political and social—both in and out of Parliament." In some cases such a committee combines with the local TRADES COUNCIL, forming what is really a LOCAL LABOR PARTY, the resulting organization being called a "Trades Council and Labor Representation Committee."

Labor Research Department. Established in 1912 by the FABIAN SOCIETY of London, as the Fabian Research Department, this was later organized as an independent association of labor, socialist, and cooperative bodies, together with individual students and investigators. The Department acts as a general information bureau upon all questions relating to the labor, socialist, and cooperative movements, and has special committees of enquiry into a number of questions of particular importance. It issues to its members a monthly bulletin of news relating to these movements, and has published several useful books and pamphlets. The trade union work of the Department is directed by the "Trade Union Survey," on which are represented many of the largest British trade unions. A separate "International Section" was added to the Department's activities in 1919. Headquarters for the Department are maintained in London.

Labor Reserve. See RESERVE OF LABOR.

Labor Shortage. See LABOR SUPPLY.

Labor Statistics, Bureau of. See BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.

Labor Sunday. At its 1909 convention the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR adopted a resolution urging that the churches of America be requested to devote part of their services to a presentation of the labor question on the Sunday preceding LABOR DAY—the first Monday in September.

Labor Supply. Correctly speaking, this may mean either one of two things: (1) The entire energies of the entire working population within any given geographical area; or (2) the amount of labor that the working population of such area may actually be induced to perform under existing conditions and wages. When the supply of available labor greatly exceeds the demand at any given time, there is said to be a LABOR SURPLUS or labor glut; when the demand greatly exceeds the supply, the resulting condition is called a labor shortage. (See LABOR MARKET.)

Labor Surplus. An unusual excess of the available labor supply over the existing demand. An economic condition, due to whatever cause, in which two workers are obliged to compete for the same job—in other words, a condition in which a labor surplus exists—invariably marks a period of retrogression for organized labor. It is not merely that a widespread labor surplus means UNEMPLOYMENT OR UNDER-EMPLOYMENT, reduced wages, and other direct misfortunes for the workers; but more important still, it means usually a concerted attack upon the main bulwarks that organized labor has built up for its protection during more prosperous periods. The problem of eliminating the labor surplus may well be considered the basic problem with which trade unionism has to deal. (See CYCLICAL FLUCTUATIONS.)

Labor Theory of Value. As expounded chiefly by Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Karl Marx, this is the economic theory that the value of a commodity depends, in the long run, on the amount of labor expended in its production. "It is natural," says Adam Smith, "that what is usually the produce of two days' labor or two hours' labor should be worth double what is usually the produce of one day's or one hour's labor." Ricardo speaks of labor "as being the foundation of all value, and the relative quantity of labor as almost exclusively determining the relative value of commodities"; while according to Marx, "the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity

of labor expended during its production." (See SURPLUS VALUE THEORY.)

Labor Treaties. Formal agreements or covenants, relating to labor matters, entered into by two or more countries. Such treaties fall into three main groups or classes: (1) Those affecting the movement of labor, *i.e.*, emigration and IMMIGRATION conventions; (2) those respecting equality or reciprocity of treatment of native and alien labor; and (3) those providing for uniform labor standards in the signatory countries. Naturally the treaties may again be classified according to the subject matter dealt with. As a result of various international conferences, held usually at Berne, Switzerland, there had been signed early in 1919 thirty such agreements between two countries and two agreements between more than two countries. (See INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION.)

Labor Turnover. In regard to industry as a whole, the shifting of workers from job to job. In regard to a particular establishment, labor turnover as commonly understood is "the change in force due to men leaving. . . . Every worker who leaves the employ of a given establishment for whatever reason constitutes a part in the turnover of that establishment. The study of labor turnover embraces the study of the causes and effects of every termination of employment and the means of preventing such terminations as are socially undesirable." Labor turnover is measured in terms of the ratio of those who leave their employment in a given period—usually assumed to be a year unless otherwise stated—to the average number who have been on the active pay roll during the same period. In any careful consideration of this subject, it is necessary to distinguish between normal and abnormal turnover. According to D. D. Lescohier, "normal turnover occurs when workers leave their employment for death, serious or chronic illness, a disabling accident, old age, to continue their education, to go into business or on a farm, to accept a better position with another employer, or similar reasons. Abnormal turnover occurs when the severance of employment is due to such causes as careless methods of hiring, discharging, and handling men; to wages offered by competing establishments; to unhealthy or disagreeable shop conditions; unfair systems of computing or paying wages; the *wanderlust* of workers; the unreliability or unsteadiness of employees, the excessive fluctuation of labor demand, and the LABOR SUPPLY. Such turnover seriously decreases national production; wastes and destroys labor power; prevents a large part of our labor force from developing that efficiency which

is possible to it; increases UNEMPLOYMENT and UNDER-EMPLOYMENT; and impairs the quality of the man (and woman) power of the country." It is estimated by the same writer that "fully half our labor passes *through* our industries rather than *into* them." The reduction of labor turnover is perhaps the chief problem that EMPLOYMENT MANAGEMENT has to deal with. (See MOBILITY OF LABOR; JOB ANALYSIS; FORCE REPORT.)

Labor Union. As commonly used today, a generic term denoting any organization of wage-earners. At one time it designated a certain form of association, usually idealistic or humanitarian in its purposes, which included workers in all crafts and occupations in a given locality, employers and professional men being sometimes admitted as well. This type of labor organization was comparatively short lived, although the INDUSTRIAL UNION of today embodies some of its principal characteristics. The present-day FEDERAL LABOR UNION, in the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, is in many respects a small-scale exemplification of this type. (See TRADE UNION.)

Labor Unrest. See INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

Labor's Memorial Day. As fixed by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR in 1911, this is the fourth Sunday in May. It is urged that upon this day "the men and women of labor in every section of the country should meet and by appropriate ceremonies pay tribute to the memory of those who have gone before in the great work for humanity."

Laborer. In general, a manual wage-earner of whatever degree of skill. Among those actually engaged in industry, however, the term is most commonly used in designation of an *unskilled* worker. In certain trades, the unskilled or semi-skilled assistant to a JOURNEYMAN is termed a laborer, although HELPER is the more common designation.

Laborism. Belief in the paramount rights of labor and in the central importance of the LABOR MOVEMENT.

Laborists. Members of working-class organizations, or advocates of the rights of labor.

Laborites. In British politics, members of the BRITISH LABOR PARTY are so called.

Laissez Faire. In its economic sense, this term denotes a policy by which the State refrains from any interference with the

liberty of every individual to dispose of his time and labor in the way and on the terms which he may judge most conducive to his own interest. In its broader sense, it denotes a policy of non-governmental interference with the normal occupations and desires of the people. It does not necessarily imply a negation of all legislative activity, but may be legitimately interpreted in the English sense of maintaining fair play and keeping a clear field for the combatants. *Laissez faire* is founded on the 18th century doctrine of *Jus Naturæ*, or "law of nature"—the natural arrangement and order of things which man was continually spoiling by his artificial interference and regulation. With specific reference to industrial affairs, the *laissez faire* philosophy has been thus stated by Professor Hobhouse: "Maintain external order, suppress violence, assure men in the possession of their property, and enforce the fulfillment of contracts, and the rest will go of itself. Each man will be guided by self-interest, but interest will lead him along the lines of greatest productivity. If all artificial barriers are removed, he will find the occupation which best suits his capacities, and this will be the occupation in which he will be most productive, and therefore, socially, most valuable. He will have to sell his goods to a willing purchaser, therefore he must devote himself to the production of things which others need —things, therefore, of social value. He will, by preference, make that for which he can obtain the highest price, and this will be that for which, at the particular time and place, and in relation to his particular capacities, there is the greatest need. He will, again, find the employer who will pay him best, and that will be the employer to whom he can do the best service. Self-interest, if enlightened and unfettered, will, in short, lead him to conduct coincident with public interest." (See INDIVIDUALISM.)

Land Question. "The denial of access to land and natural resources even when they are unused and unproductive, except at a price and under conditions which are practically prohibitive," was stated in the staff report of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS to be the second principal cause of UNEMPLOYMENT in the United States. In remedy of this condition the following "basic suggestions" were submitted: "(1) Vigorous and unrelenting prosecution to regain all land, water power and mineral rights secured from the Government by fraud. (2) A general revision of our land laws, so as to apply to all future land grants the doctrine of 'superior use,' as in the case of water rights in California, and the provision for forfeiture in case of actual nonuse. In its simplest form the

doctrine of 'superior use' implies merely that at the time of making the lease the purpose for which the land will be used must be taken into consideration, and the use which is of greatest social value shall be given preference. (3) The forcing of all unused land into use by making the tax on nonproductive land the same as on productive land of the same kind, and exempting all improvements." Adherents of the SINGLE TAX doctrine consider the land question, or the private monopolization of land values, to be intimately related not only to unemployment but to nearly all other phases of the LABOR PROBLEM. (See AGRARIANISM.)

Landsorganisation i Sverge. This national federation of Swedish trade unions, formed in 1899, is the leading labor body of Sweden. In 1909 it included twenty-seven national craft federations, with 162,000 members. In June, 1920, the membership had increased to 280,987. From the first there has been a close alliance between the *Landsorganisation* and the *Socialdemokratiska Arbetare-Partiet* (Social Democratic Labor Party), which was formally organized in 1889 and is the majority party in the lower government chamber. Dislike of this alliance led to the beginning of the syndicalist movement, which has continued to be an important phase of Swedish trade unionism. The number of members in the syndicalist organization was 24,000 in 1919. Both the Federation and the other unions suffered severely from the effects of the great general strike of 1909, the membership of the Federation falling as low as 80,000 by 1912. The labor movement in Sweden is confronted with powerful organizations of the employers. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING is highly developed, and wage agreements are usually made on a national scale.

Language Branch or **Language Local.** A type of LOCAL or SUB-LOCAL which is found (or was formerly found) in certain American national or international labor organizations—as for example, the longshoremen's, the carpenters', and the miners' unions, and the INTERNATIONAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD—where the diversity of foreign-born workers makes necessary a grouping of local union members on the basis of the common language spoken.

Lapsed Member. Usually a trade union member who has been suspended for failure to pay membership dues, fines, assessments, or other indebtedness to the union.

Large-Scale Production. The rather indefinite connotations of this term, as used in designation of one of the main characteristics of modern INDUSTRIALISM, are thus summarized in L. C. Marshall's

"Readings in Industrial Society": "Sometimes it means that an individual plant (whether manufacturing, agricultural, or commercial) utilizes a large amount of capital (and perhaps of labor and land). In certain lines of industry, this tendency is so marked that there has been an actual diminution in the number of separate plants, although there has been a tremendous increase in output. . . . Sometimes large-scale production means that the massing of capital (and perhaps labor and land) has occurred in the form of bringing about a single management of several plants of the same kind, each of which may or may not have reached the size of maximum efficiency. Some writers refer to this as 'horizontal combination.' . . . Finally, large-scale production may refer to what is known as 'integration of industry' or 'vertical combination,' which unites under one management consecutive processes which have formerly been conducted in independent establishments."

Lay-Off System. In the labor vernacular, to "lay off" a worker is to dismiss him from employment. Generally, though not always, the term denotes temporary rather than permanent dismissal. In certain industries particularly subject to SEASONAL FLUCTUATIONS, it is not uncommon for a trade union to insist upon a clause in its agreement with the employer providing for a systematic plan of temporarily "laying off" employees, so that UNEMPLOYMENT will be evenly and fairly distributed during the slack season. Such a plan is usually called a "lay-off system."

Lazy Strike. See STRIKING ON THE JOB.

Lead Laws. Legislation, enacted in nearly all European countries and in half a dozen prominent states of this country, governing the use of lead in industrial trades, so as to prevent poisoning or other injury to the worker. Such laws usually require periodic examinations of workers in the more dangerous lead trades. The use of white lead in painting is now partially or wholly prohibited in some European countries.

Leader. See SPEEDING UP.

League of Nations and Labor. See INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION; GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS; INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE; LABOR PLATFORM OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

League of Women Workers. See NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN WORKERS.

Learner. In an industrial sense, one who is learning a trade while working at it, usually under the direction of a JOURNEYMAN, and receiving a small rate of compensation. The term is sometimes applied to an APPRENTICE or an IMPROVER, but it is more often used in those trades where the apprenticeship system does not exist.

Lease System of Convict Labor. Under this system convicts are leased to contractors for specified sums and for fixed periods of time, the lessees usually undertaking to clothe, feed, care for, and maintain proper discipline among the prisoners while they perform such labor as may have been determined by the terms of the lease. The labor is generally performed outside the prison walls, and is rarely employed in manufacturing, but usually in such industries as mining, railroad building, and agricultural pursuits. Some of the worst abuses practiced in connection with convict labor are associated with the "lease system." (See CONVICT LABOR SYSTEMS: PRISON LABOR.)

Leaving Certificate. The English counterpart of the American CLEARANCE LETTER; a written statement given to a departing worker, in which the employer states the reason or reasons why the employee is leaving. The leaving certificate appears in British industrial history at least as early as 1697, when no employing master in the London hatters trade would take on a new journeyman who did not bring with him a satisfactory leaving certificate from his previous employer. Like the clearance letter, the leaving certificate is often used to BLACKLIST an "undesirable" worker. Also variously known as "quittance paper," "character note," and "character."

Left, Left Wing. Terms commonly applied to that group or element in any movement or body of persons which represents the most RADICAL opinion and policies. Thus, the "left-wing socialists" or "socialists of the left" form the revolutionary section of the socialist movement. They advocate DIRECT ACTION in the industrial field, are opposed to PARLIAMENTARISM, and for the most part reject compromise measures. Members of "the left" in any movement or body are often known as "revolutionaries" or "extremists." (See IMPOSSIBILIST; INTRANSIGENTS.)

Legal Aid Benefit. A form of MUTUAL INSURANCE by which a trade union enables its members to secure legal assistance in pressing or defending a court action, or to secure necessary legal advice. This form of BENEFIT seems to exist only in the case of a few large British national unions.

Legal Enactment. The phrase used by Mr. and Mrs. Webb in designation of one of the three distinct levers or instruments with which TRADE UNIONISM seeks to enforce its regulations—the other two being MUTUAL INSURANCE and COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. The method of legal enactment is, briefly, the method of influencing legislative bodies toward the enactment of laws favorable to the interests of the working classes. It is a method that plays a much more important part in the European labor movement than in that of the United States. The advantages and disadvantages of this method are summarized in George O'Brien's "Labor Organization" as follows: "Against it may be pleaded the inevitable slowness with which legislation progresses, especially in a country where the action of the legislature is constantly made dependent on the conversion of public opinion to a certain point of view. On this account remedial legislation at the present day is frequently delayed for many years owing to the unripe state of public opinion. Moreover, the further objection may be urged that legal regulation necessarily lacks precision owing to the fact that an Act of Parliament goes through many stages of amendment at the hands of those who are expert neither in the art of draftsmanship nor in the knowledge of the industrial conditions affected. . . . As against these disadvantages from which the method of legal enactment suffers it enjoys certain advantages. In the first place it secures uniformity, or in other words, that all employers are bound by the same regulations quite irrespective of the strategical strength of the workmen's organizations which stand opposed to them. Moreover, it avoids waste and friction, inasmuch as it is imposed on the trade by an outside authority, and has not to be arrived at as collective agreements frequently have after the waste, extravagance, and suffering of a prolonged strike. Lastly, it has the supreme advantage over the method of collective bargaining that it is equally powerful to protect the weak workmen as well as the strong." (See POLITICAL ACTION; LABOR LEGISLATION; SANITATION AND SAFETY; NORMAL DAY.)

Legislation. See LABOR LEGISLATION.

Legislative Committee. As maintained by some of the more important American NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL UNIONS and by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR this is a committee which endeavors to secure the enactment by Congress of proposed legislation in the interests of labor, and to look after labor interests in connection with other legislation before Congress. This committee may be made up of members of the executive council,

or it may be a special committee elected by the convention at its annual session. In the case of the elected committee one member will be designated as chairman. It will be his duty to be present at the capital during the entire session of the legislature to watch the interests of the laborers in the bills before the session and to call in his associates when needed. A similar function in connection with state and municipal legislative bodies is performed by the STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR and the CITY CENTRALS. (See LABOR LOBBY.)

Leitch Plan. As formulated by John Leitch, an industrial management expert, this is a plan of EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION which provides for the formation in large industrial plants of a system of "government" patterned directly after that of the United States. The executive officers of the industry form the "cabinet," which is primarily an executive body with veto powers. The "senate" is made up of foremen, departmental heads, and under-executives. The "house of representatives" is elected by secret ballot by the whole body of workers. This joint organization holds regular meetings for the discussion of general policy, the formulation of more efficient or economical production methods, the adjustment of workers' grievances, etc. (See INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.)

Lemieux Act. See CANADIAN INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES INVESTIGATION ACT.

Lenin's Twenty-One Conditions. At the second congress of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE, held at Moscow in July, 1920, there was drawn up a list of twenty-one conditions which political labor groups wishing to adhere to the third Internationale must fulfill. These conditions are of the most drastic character, requiring the purging from affiliated organizations of all REFORMIST and "centrist" elements, the changing of party names from "socialist" to "communist," active warfare against all capitalistic institutions, full support of the Soviet Republic, and various other matters of similar uncompromising nature. These conditions are variously known as "Lenin's twenty-one conditions," the "twenty-one articles of faith," the "Moscow conditions," etc.

Lever Act. A piece of war-time legislation enacted by Congress in August, 1917, its avowed purpose being "to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel." Drastic and far-reaching powers to fix prices, take over and operate plants, and otherwise control produc-

tion, distribution, and consumption, were given to the President under this legislation. Notwithstanding repeated assurances that the Act would not be used as an anti-strike weapon in the legitimate efforts of organized labor, it was made the basis for a sweeping Federal INJUNCTION against officers of the United Mine Workers in November, 1919, and the national strike of coal-miners was thus broken. Somewhat more than a year later the Supreme Court held that the Act provided no effectual basis for prosecution of coal OPERATORS and other employers on the charge of war-time profiteering.

Lib-Labs. A popular nickname for those who support a mixture of LIBERAL and labor policies in English politics, or for LABOR MEMBERS in Parliament who lean toward liberalism.

Liberal, Liberalism. From the Latin *liber* and *liberalis*, meaning "free" or "befitting a freeman." In the modern political sense, a liberal is one favorable to democratic reforms and progressive measures that do not involve fundamental change in the existing order of things. "The liberal," according to "The Freeman," "believes that the State is essentially social and is all for improving it by political methods so that it may function according to what he believes to be its original intention. Hence, he is interested in politics, takes them seriously, goes at them hopefully, and believes in them as an instrument of social welfare and progress. He is politically minded, with an incurable interest in reform, putting good men in office, independent administrations, and quite frequently in third party movements." Liberalism is the political philosophy expressive of this attitude or belief. The liberal position is that of middle ground between the CONSERVATIVE; on the one hand, and the RADICAL on the other. (See MANCHESTER SCHOOL; CENTRE; LIB-LABS.)

Lightning Strike. One that is called before there can be any chance for negotiation or discussion over differences, the object being to produce a complete and sudden paralysis of an industry or plant, in the hope of forcing an equally summary capitulation.

Limitation of Apprentices. See APPRENTICESHIP.

Limitation of Numbers. See RESTRICTION OF NUMBERS.

Limitation of Output. "There has always been a strong tendency among labor organizations," says the Report of the FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, "to discourage exertion beyond a certain limit. The tendency does not always express itself in formal rules. On the contrary, it appears chiefly in the silent, or at least informal,

pressure of working-class opinion. It is occasionally embodied in rules which distinctly forbid the accomplishment of more than a fixed amount of work in a given time; but such regulations are always felt by employers, and almost always by other persons who are not of the wage-working class, to be obviously unjust, short-sighted and socially injurious. This adverse public opinion outside the unions themselves has doubtless had some influence in discouraging such applications of the principle. These rules have not by any means, however, absolutely disappeared." A substantially similar limitation may be applied, under the PIECE WORK basis, by limiting the amount which a worker may earn in a day or week. Another form of limitation is to forbid the operation of more than one automatic machine by a single worker. Limitation of output is also accomplished through trade union action by prohibiting piece work and BONUS SYSTEMS; by limiting the number of working hours per day or week, and restricting OVERTIME; and by regulations in regard to the DIVISION OF LABOR. Such forms of limitation of output as CA' CANNY and STRIKING ON THE JOB are without trade union sanction, and are condemned by the great majority of unionists. It is impossible to do more than merely mention here the numerous arguments urged by trade unionists in justification of a deliberately regulated production. Perhaps the argument most frequently advanced is that such a policy constitutes a necessary defense against SPEEDING UP, with its attendant evils of PRICE CUTTING and OVERSTRAIN. It is also conceived to be necessary to prevent a direct lowering of the STANDARD RATE of pay. "The standard rate, whatever terms may be used in stating it, means at bottom so much pay for so much output. To permit individuals to give, for any certain payment, a larger product than the standard current in the trade, is to revert at once to the individual bargain." In a less direct way limitation of output is conceived to affect wages by providing work for the unemployed. "The competition of the unemployed is the great obstacle in the way of raising wages. If work can be found for them, jobs may be made to hunt men instead of men's hunting jobs. If those who are employed work excessively, it is claimed, they selfishly take to themselves work which ought to be left for the less fortunate." Still another economic argument is based upon the idea of OVER-PRODUCTION, and is stated in the entry under that heading. The FOSTER REPORT, based upon an exhaustive investigation of British industry in 1919, found four main factors tending to limitation of output on the workers' part, as follows: "The fear of UNEMPLOYMENT—which naturally inclines the operative to make his work last as long as possible;

(2) disinclination to make unrestricted profit for private employers; (3) lack of interest owing to non-participation in the control of industry; (4) inefficiency, both managerial and operative." While limitation of output has been dealt with above exclusively as a workers' policy, the important fact should not be overlooked that it is even more generally and essentially an employers' policy. "The plain fact, of course," as G. D. H. Cole points out, "is that, while capitalist production for profit and the WAGE SYSTEM continue to exist, 'restriction of output' by both employers and workers will also continue, though it may occur to a greater or less extent. But perhaps a moment's reflection will persuade those who are now so anxious to decry Labor for its restrictive policy that the argument really cuts both ways, and that workmen have at least as much justification for what they do as employers. In a sense, both are victims of a system, and, in a larger sense, the community is still more a victim." (See LUMP OF LABOR THEORY; DARG; STINT.)

List. See PRICE LIST.

List System. See LONDON DOCK SCHEME.

Little Master or **Small Master.** A small-scale employer of labor, particularly in industries where automatic machinery is not largely used. He is usually a contractor, employing hand labor at low wages, long hours, and under insanitary and unwholesome conditions. Also called "garret master" or "garret boss," and "fogger." (See SWEATING SYSTEM; SWEATER; CONTRACT SYSTEM.)

Liverpool Dock Scheme. Like the LONDON DOCK SCHEME, this is a systematic effort toward the DECASUALIZATION of dock labor. As initiated in 1912, every dock worker in Liverpool was registered and given a metal tally bearing his registration number, and it was agreed that for the future no one should be employed without a tally. A joint committee, on which employers and employees were equally represented, was entrusted with the duty of issuing fresh tallies and also of erecting surplus hiring stands at certain intervals along the docks where alone extra workers could be taken on after the regular morning call. A further reform was instituted securing the payment of wages through a central clearing-house, thus making it unnecessary for the employee to travel from one employer to another in collecting his weekly wages. This plan is sometimes referred to as the "tally system." It has proved effective in mitigating the many evils associated with CASUAL LABOR among the dock workers of Liverpool.

Living-In System. The plan, now chiefly met with in DOMESTIC SERVICE but still common in British commercial establishments, under which employees live on the premises where they work, receiving board and lodging in part payment of wages. It is essentially a part of the TRUCK SYSTEM.

Living Levels. See FAMILY BUDGET.

Living Wage. As commonly used, this may denote either (1) the bare minimum necessary to sustain the vital physical functions of the wage-earner and his family, known as a subsistence wage; or, (2) such a minimum plus a small allowance for education, recreation, reading matter, extra clothing, a few table luxuries, etc. While the term is often used in connection with a daily or weekly wage, the hazards and fluctuations of industry are such that it is difficult to say whether a given wage is or is not a "living wage" without reference to the yearly aggregate of the workers' earnings. The increasing popular acceptance of the theory that every worker should be guaranteed a "living wage" is based not so much on altruism or humanity as on the common conviction that "the welfare of the community as a whole requires that no section of workers should be reduced to conditions which are positively inconsistent with industrial or civic efficiency." (See COST OF LIVING; STANDARD OF LIVING; MINIMUM SUBSISTENCE LEVEL; MINIMUM COMFORT LEVEL; FAMILY BUDGET; MINIMUM WAGE.)

Loan Card. In the case of trade unions which permit members to make small emergency loans from the union funds, a member making such a loan is provided with a card showing the date and amount of the loan and the various installment repayments until the transaction is settled. (See COMBINATION CARD.)

Lobby. See LABOR LOBBY.

Lobster Shift. In some industries this term is applied to a special shift which fills the interval between the regular day and night shifts. (See SHIFT SYSTEM.)

Local. A trade union of local character, including only members who live and work in one town or locality, is commonly so called in the United States. Usually the local is a subordinate unit of a NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL UNION. The latter may have but one local in a city, or it may have several. In the latter case, membership is sometimes divided among the several locals in accordance with the different kinds of work or the different kinds of articles

produced in a single industry; sometimes according to sex, color, or nationality; sometimes for purely administrative purposes, without regard to any of the above-mentioned distinctions. In a historical sense, the local is the source and spring of the whole labor movement. "It was by the alliance of existing local unions for mutual encouragement and support that the great national organizations came into existence. Local unions of stone-cutters, of carpenters, of hatters, and of printers existed for many years before organization on a larger scale was seriously attempted. Even nowadays, though labor organizations come more with taking thought than formerly, and less as the spontaneous outgrowth of the internal conditions of their trades, it is seldom attempted to build a national union in any other way than by uniting existing locals. . . But although the local is historically the primary phenomenon, and the national union is secondary, a very large proportion of the local unions which exist today, and a larger proportion of those which from day to day come into existence, are in fact the offspring of national organizations. Some of the stronger national unions maintain paid ORGANIZERS, who devote either the whole or some portion of their time to travelling from place to place, encouraging and strengthening existing locals of their trade, and, where none exist, establishing them. . . The constitutions of national unions usually provide that local unions may be established by not less than five, seven (the commonest number), or ten workers at the particular craft or in the particular industry concerned. It is often added that the local can not be dissolved so long as a given number of members, usually the same number that is required for establishing the local, are willing to retain the charter. In many unions, when a local already exists in a place, its consent must be asked for before a second can be established. If it objects, however, the GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD often has power to overrule its objections. One or two national unions never establish more than one local in a place. . . Each local union, even when subordinate to a national organization, is a self-governing unit. Its theoretical relation to the national body is similar to that of one of our states to the United States. The local body has power to do anything which is not specifically forbidden in the national constitution. Rates of wages are, of necessity, matters of local consideration in a majority of trades. Hours of labor are also fixed locally, in many trades, according to local conditions. Even the unions which have national laws to limit hours can not always enforce them in all places, and they are glad to have hours shortened by their locals beyond the national requirement. The regulation of APPRENTICESHIP is left by

many unions to the locals; and even when national rules are made, the locals often make further restrictions. A few national unions fix INITIATION FEES and MEMBERSHIP DUES, but in most cases the locals fix them, either without any restriction or subject to a maximum or a minimum limit. Locals levy assessments upon their members, and inflict fines and other forms of DISCIPLINE. Hardly any restriction is placed upon the power to collect local assessments, except that in a few cases it is forbidden to raise them to support strikes unauthorized by the national officers. In the matter of discipline there is usually an appeal to the national authorities, and a few unions forbid the imposition of a fine above a certain amount without the approval of the national executive board. In ordinary cases, however, in most organizations, the local unions do what is right in their own eyes." Generally, all the locals of a national union are numbered, and each local is known by its particular number—in connection with the name of the national organization. The locals of some national unions are called LODGES; while in some of the RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS they are known as DIVISIONS. In England the common designation is BRANCH, although "lodge" is frequently used. In relation to the national union, locals are often spoken of as "subordinate unions" (or "subordinate lodges," "subordinate divisions," etc.); in relation to one another, within a single national organization, the term "sister unions" (or "sister lodges") is the usual one. (See FEDERAL LABOR UNION; LOCAL TRADE UNION; INDEPENDENT LOCAL; LANGUAGE BRANCH; SUB-LOCAL; TRADE CLUB; SHOP UNION; TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—LOCAL; CITY CENTRAL; DISTRICT COUNCIL; JOINT COUNCIL; TRADES COUNCIL; BIG SIX.)

Local Autonomy. See AUTONOMY.

Local By-Laws. See BY-LAWS.

Local Central Body. See CENTRAL BODY.

Local Department Councils. See DEPARTMENT COUNCILS.

Local Label Departments. See UNION LABEL LEAGUES.

Local Labor Parties. British organizations which bring together (for effective political work in the interest of labor candidates and measures) local trade unions, trade union BRANCHES, socialist societies, and individuals who have subscribed to the constitution of the BRITISH LABOR PARTY. In some districts the local labor party exists along with the local TRADES COUNCIL, the two gen-

erally working in cooperation. But when one or the other is missing, the existent body usually fulfills some if not all of the functions of the other body. The number of local labor parties has greatly increased since the admission in 1918 of workers "by brain" as well as "by hand" to the British Labor Party; and there are now about one thousand such organizations affiliated with the B. L. P. (See LABOR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEES.)

Local Lodge. See LODGE.

Local Sick Funds. See SICKNESS INSURANCE.

Local Trade Union. While any LOCAL of a national trade union is commonly referred to as a "local union" or "local trade union," within the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR the latter term specifically denotes a directly affiliated body made up of workers in a single town or locality engaged at a single craft or industry which is not organized nationally. In places where there are not enough such workers to organize a local trade union, as many as there are may join a FEDERAL LABOR UNION in their locality. Both local trade unions and federal trade unions, in this specific sense, are chartered by and affiliate directly with the A. F. of L., and this latter organization bears the same relation to them as does a national or international union to its local branches. Local trade unions are designated by the name of their craft and a number—as for example, "Slate Workers, No. 15178." The chief purpose of a local trade union is to recruit and hold the members of a craft or trade in a particular locality until the formation of a national union of workers in such craft or trade becomes possible—in which case the local trade union passes from the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. to that of the national union, becoming a local of the latter. A considerable number of workers in Hawaii, the Philippines, Porto Rico, etc., are organized in local trade unions and federal labor unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Localists. See FREIE ARBEITER-UNION DEUTSCHLANDS.

Localization of Industry. The marked tendency of specific industries to centralize or concentrate within a certain district, or districts, of a country is usually so called. Some of the various advantages which influence the localization of industries may be stated as follows: (1) Nearness to materials; (2) nearness to markets; (3) water-power; (4) a favorable climate; (5) a supply of labor; (6) capital available for investment in manufactures; (7) the mo-

mentum of an early start; (8) the habit of industrial imitation; (9) economic advantages of specialized centres. (See TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF LABOR; SPECIALIZATION; DECENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRY.)

Lockout. The temporary closing down of a factory or an industry in order to force the workers to agree to conditions dictated by the employing interest, or in retaliation for offensive policies or practices on the workers' part. It may be likened to a STRIKE on the part of employers; indeed the only practical difference between a strike and a lockout lies generally in the matter of initiative. If the employees make the first move, it is a strike; if the employer acts first, it is a lockout. The essential point in either case is the matter in dispute. Recognizing this fact, the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor some time ago proposed a new classification on the basis of the party that raised the point about which the issue centres or that first makes the demand for change to which the other party refuses assent. This eliminates the difference between "strike" and "lockout," and so it has been proposed that the terms be dropped. As substitutes this department has suggested the terms "attack strike" and "defense strike." An attack strike is one in which "cessation of employment results from a movement begun in the first instance by the employees"; a defense strike is one in which "cessation of employment results from the initiative taken by the employer in making some change in the conditions of employment." This distinction is reinforced by certain definitions of "lockout" found in some trade union constitutions. Thus the metal core makers declare that the requirement by an employer "to sign contracts, or to work for store pay, or to quit the union or the shop, shall constitute a lockout if endorsed in accordance with law"; while the piano and organ workers state that "a declaration on the part of an employer or combination of employers to the effect that their employees must cease their connection with the union or cease to work, or any combination entered into by any number of employers for the purpose of throwing their employees out of employment without any cause or action on their part, shall be deemed a lockout." These and other unions do not consider that a reduction of wages constitutes a lockout.

Lockwood Committee. The Joint Legislative Housing Committee, created in 1920 by the New York state legislature, was so called because of the fact that State Senator Charles C. Lockwood was its chairman. The purpose of the Committee was to investigate the reasons for the high cost of building in New York City,

Sittings were begun on October 20, and under the leadership of Samuel Untermyer, who volunteered his services as chief counsel, many spectacular discoveries were made. It was found that the building-trades employers and the building-trades unions had established a compact to eliminate competition on both sides. It was shown that Robert P. Brindell, president of the New York Building Trades Council, had received huge sums from contractors and others, for ulterior purposes. It was also discovered that both contractors and building-material firms had illegally combined to fix prices on an exorbitant basis. In addition to these findings the Lockwood Committee exposed the means by which the OPEN SHOP policy of the steel companies and of the National Erectors' Association had handicapped building operations in New York City. Several criminal prosecutions and convictions of trade union officials (notably that of Brindell) have already been based on the committee's revelations.

Lodge. In some national labor organizations of the United States and Great Britain which are patterned on masonic or other fraternal orders, the central executive body is known as the "grand lodge," while the minor units are called "local lodges," "sub-lodges," or "subordinate lodges" (in relation to the central body) and "sister lodges" (in relation to one another). Subordinate lodges usually correspond to LOCALS in other national unions; but in the case of some of the American RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS, they do not embrace the workers in a certain locality but those employed on a particular unit of a railway system. The "district lodge" corresponds to the usual DISTRICT UNION or DISTRICT COUNCIL in national unions which have this form of organization.

Log. See PRICE LIST.

Log System of Rate-Making. As followed in the garment-making trades, the "log system" is a plan of fixing PIECE WORK rates which involves the subdivision of the garment into parts for rate-making purposes and the setting of a rate on each specific part. The rate, as far as practicable, is based upon the number of labor hours consumed in the making of the specific part. The final piece rate paid is the equivalent of the number of labor hours multiplied by the standard hourly rate of pay for the particular kind of work. The advantage of the log system consists in the fact that changes in style (which very frequently amount only to changes in details) do not involve a reappraisal of the entire garment, but only of certain parts of it.

London Dock Scheme. An attempt toward the DECASUALIZATION of dock labor, sometimes called the "list system." Under this plan, every dock worker is classified in one of four groups, as follows: (1) Permanent laborers, with a guaranteed weekly wage; (2) registered or "A" men, also with a guaranteed weekly wage; (3) preference or "B" men, with a guaranteed hourly wage; (4) second preference, or "C" men (the "casuals"), at the same rate as the "B" men. The upper classes are recruited from the best of the classes below. For the purposes of employment the entire dock system is divided into five "controls," which are subdivided into forty-five departments. A certain number of "B" men are assigned to each department. Daily reports of men available or required in each class are made by the head of each department to the superintendent of the dock, and on the basis of these reports the labor supply is distributed for the following day. (See LIVERPOOL DOCK SCHEME.)

Long Turn. It has for many years been customary for large numbers of workers in the American steel industry to work twelve hours a day, often for seven days a week. This makes it possible to carry on continuous operations with only two shifts of workers. When the shifts are changed or "rotated"—that is to say, when the day workers go on night duty, and vice versa—one of the groups or shifts is required to put in what is called the "long turn" of twenty-four hours' continuous duty. For example, if the shifts are changed on Sunday night, those who have been on the day shift work all day Sunday and all Sunday night, and the former night shift then starts in Monday morning on the day shift. In some plants the odd twelve hours to be filled in when shifts are changed is divided among the two shifts, so that each group works eighteen hours instead of one group working twenty-four. However, the net gain to the man who puts in eighteen hours of consecutive work once a week, instead of twenty-four hours once every two weeks, is not readily apparent. The "long turn," like all other barbaric survivals in industry, can of course only be forced upon workers who are wholly or largely unorganized—as is the case with the steel workers. (See SHIFT SYSTEM.)

Longshoremen. While this term properly refers to all classes of dock or wharf labor, including skilled mechanics and engineers, it more commonly denotes the unskilled workers engaged in loading and unloading vessels—the class usually known in England as DOCKERS. (See STEVEDORE SYSTEM; DOCK WOLLOPERS; SHENANGOES; SHAPE.)

Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen. The origin and nature of this organization are explained in the 1920 report of the NATURALIZATION BUREAU as follows: "During the war great difficulty was experienced in getting out spruce from the northwest woods for use in aeroplane production. So much opposition was encountered from those who endeavored to obstruct the Government in its successful prosecution of the war that it became necessary to organize patriotic employers and employees of the logging and lumbering industry to combat this menace. Thus, with the cooperation of the War Department, the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen came into being [in the summer of 1917]. Primarily established to promote unity of interest and efficiency in the rapidity of output to help win the war, the organization was found to be of such great value to both employer and employee that it was continued as mutually beneficial after hostilities ceased. The 'Four-L's' organization, as it is commonly called, requires all its members to be American citizens or to have declared their intention to become such. Its territory includes the States of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana, throughout which approximately 500 locals have been organized." Made up as it is of both employers and workers, the "Four-L's" is not a labor organization in the usual sense of that term. Its most obvious purpose is to serve as a back-fire to the I. W. W. movement.

Luddites. Riotous bands of manual workers in England who, in 1811–16, under some sort of organization, went about destroying textile machinery and sometimes wrecking factories. The centre of the Luddite movement was at Nottingham, though it extended in varying degree throughout most of the country.

Lumberjack. Nickname for a laborer employed in large-scale lumbering operations.

Lump of Labor Theory. A kind of antithesis to the WAGE FUND THEORY, which trade unionists sometimes urge in defending the policy of LIMITATION OF OUTPUT. Roughly speaking, from the worker's point of view, there is a fairly definite amount of labor to be performed at any given time, irrespective of the cost of production or the selling price of the product. If the pace of production is voluntarily slackened, a larger number of workers will be required. Thus, SOLDIERING or working below the normal standard of efficiency is justified on the ground that the total volume of employment is thereby increased, with resulting advantage to the labor group as a whole. This is sometimes called the "work fund theory"; while a

more detailed and "scientific" elaboration of the same idea is known as the "fixed group demand theory."

Lumper, Lumping, Lump-Work. In certain trades, particularly the various building industries, the term "lumper" is applied to a sub-contractor who takes over a part of the work from the regular contractor, and agrees to do this work for a specified lump sum within a specified time. This process is known as "lumping," and the work thus taken over is called "lump-work" or "estimate work." "The sub-contractors are likely to be small employers of little standing in the trade, or a group of JOURNEYMEN who have formed a permanent or temporary partnership, and who intend to work the job themselves, and hope to make an added profit by the violation of union rules." Trade union hostility is rapidly causing the "lump-work" system to disappear. (See SUB-CONTRACTING.)

Lusket, Lusking. Slang terms derived from the name of C. R. Lusk, a state senator of New York who in 1919–20 headed a state legislative committee for investigating socialist and radical activities. In socialistic parlance, "lusking" is the pursuance of inquisitorial and terroristic methods in dealing with social reform movements; and a "lusker" is any public official who pursues such methods.

Luxemburg Trade Union Commission. See COMMISSION SYNDICALE DE LUXEMBOURG.

Lying-in-Benefits. See MATERNITY INSURANCE.

M

Machine Question. In industry, the adoption of machinery which supersedes hand production, or of improved machinery or improved technical processes which supersede old methods, invariably opens up many sources of conflict not only between the workers and their employer but between one union and another. A new DIVISION OF LABOR is usually involved; new wage scales must be formulated; many skilled workers may find their occupation gone; questions over the right of different unions to JURISDICTION over the new process or operation generally arise. With specific reference to the relations between employers and workers, the introduction of new machinery or processes makes necessary the formulation of a new policy on the part of the trade union involved, and this policy must be harmonized with the employer's plans. "Thus it must be decided whether or not the union shall oppose the new process. If unopposed, shall the union maintain control over it, and to what extent, if any, shall the union profit by it? Shall the men receive all of the benefit resulting from economies in the new process; or shall they receive a part, and if so, what part; or, shall all of the benefit go to the employer; or, where the new process results in the lessening of the skill required by the workmen, shall the latter submit to an actual reduction in wages?" While these questions are often amicably settled by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, they occasionally lead to long and bitter struggles. "It is probably not far wrong to say that trade unionists universally regard the introduction of new machinery as a misfortune. With the possible exception of a very few industries, like cotton manufacture, in which machine production has already been long and highly developed, a new machine always appears to the workingman as a displacer of men, a creator of UNEMPLOYMENT, a depresser of wages. Trade union leaders, even when they express their acceptance of the advance of machine production as a necessary feature of social progress, usually manifest the feeling that, if it is not inevitably at the expense of the workingman, it at least increases the difficulty of maintaining his economic position. It is doubtful whether any union which felt strong enough to keep

machinery out of its trade ever submitted without a contest to the introduction of it." But organized labor has learned by costly experience the futility of fighting against the machine as such; and such difficulties as now arise belong for the most part in the realm of wage adjustments, the division of labor, and trade union jurisdiction. The unions that have fared best in their dealings with machinery are those that have frankly and promptly recognized the inevitableness of it, and have devoted their energies, not to the hopeless task of preventing the use of it, but to regulating the manner of use. (See DILUTION OF LABOR; TWO-MACHINE SYSTEM; INTRODUCTION OF NEW PROCESSES.)

McNamara Case. An historic episode in American labor annals. In 1911 J. J. McNamara, Secretary of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and his brother, J. B. McNamara, were indicted and tried on a charge of dynamiting the Los Angeles "Times" building, which resulted in a heavy loss of life. Under the impression that the case was a "frame-up," wide interest was aroused in labor circles and a large fund was collected to support the defendants. Conservative labor leaders who had rallied to the McNamaras' cause were thrown into confusion by the defendants' confession of guilt, which led to a life sentence for one brother and a long term imprisonment for the other. (See VIOLENCE IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Madras Labor Union. See INDIA, LABOR ORGANIZATION IN.

Magna Charta of Labor. See LABOR PLATFORM OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Maisons des Ouvriers. As found in some of the larger French industrial centres, these are buildings which serve as headquarters for all local or regional trade union activities. They are usually built and maintained by the local BOURSES DU TRAVAIL.

Maisons du Peuple. In Belgium and France, cooperative bakeries and distributive societies, including thousands of workmen of every calling. A part of their profits is returned to the individual consumers in the form of checks exchangeable for bread or other articles, part is reserved for educational, propagandist, and political purposes; and part is returned to employees as a dividend on wages.

Malingering or **Malingery.** In an industrial sense, the feigning of illness or disability by an individual worker, in order

to secure the advantage of sick BENEFITS, accident compensation, etc., or in order to shirk a required task while on duty. One who thus feigns or shams illness is a "malingerer." All trade unions that pay sick or disability benefits have more or less stringent methods for the detection of malingering. Thus, the constitution of the Iron Molders' Union provides that sick members must be visited each week by a "sick committee" of at least two persons, and the findings of the committee must be reported at the regular meeting of the union. A local union may also provide in its BY-LAWS that a physician's certificate shall be furnished before sick benefits are paid. (See WAITING PERIOD.)

Mals. Members of amalgamated societies or associations are often thus nicknamed in England.

Malthusianism. The doctrine set forth by T. R. Malthus in his "Essay on the Principle of Population" (1798), to the effect that population tends to outstrip the available food supply in the absence of such positive checks as war, famine, poverty, and dis se, or such negative checks as celibacy and moral restraint. The so-called IRON LAW OF WAGES was largely based upon this the and in conjunction with the WAGE FUND THEORY it was once a favorite argument directed toward exposing the futility of working-class efforts to raise wages through organization and combination. Opponents of trade unions, say Mr. and Mrs. Webb, long delighted in pointing out that "if combination were for a time to raise wages, the growth of the wage-fund would be unnaturally retarded, whilst a fictitious stimulus would be given to population by the momentary enrichment of the laboring class. A diminished demand for labor would coincide with an increased supply. The laborer's wages would be forced down to starvation-point; and his last state would be worse than his first." Malthusianism, or the "population principle" as it is sometimes called, now occupies a prominent place in the economic "discard."

Management Sharing. See EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION.

Manchester Building Guild. A recently formed federation of the organized building trades of Manchester, England, which has concluded arrangements to erect a number of houses for that municipality. The guild will give a definite estimate of the cost for each type of house to be built, which must be approved by the local authority and the national Ministry of Health. The guild will receive a lump sum of £40 ($195, par) per house, plus six per cent

of the "prime cost" of the house. The Cooperative Wholesale Society is to supply the materials, and the Cooperative Insurance Society is guaranteeing the ability of the Manchester Guild to complete its contracts. A guild similar to the Manchester Guild is being formed in the London building trades.

Mandatory Injunction. As occasionally issued in labor disputes, this is a form of INJUNCTION which seeks to compel the performance of certain acts or services. In several cases the Federal courts have issued injunctions commanding employees of railways to perform their customary duties as long as they remained in employment. Such injunctions have usually been issued in cases where the RAILWAY BOYCOTT was resorted to.

Manual Labor. A rough designation for any form of work which is wholly or chiefly of a physical character. Also a collective designation for those whose daily work is of this nature. According to the recent report of a British social research society, "the male manual workers are that race of beings who soil their hands and their clothing by handling tools, manufacturing machinery, fetching and carrying materials; they use the muscles of the hands, the arms, the legs, and the body; their work, as a rule, is routine drudgery making little demand upon mind or heart. With these male manual workers we include their womenfolk in the homes, and also those women who are doing work similar to that of the men." Other collective designations for the workers of this class are "toilers," "masses," "common people," "poor," "lower classes," "PROLETARIAT," "labor," etc.

Manual Training. See INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

Margin of Idleness. See FRINGE OF UNEMPLOYED.

Market Boards. In the American clothing trade, these are bodies representative of the organized employers and the organized workers which meet in each of the great clothing-making centres—Chicago, New York, Rochester, and Baltimore—to discuss and settle problems concerning joint interests which affect the entire local market.

Marque Syndicale. The French equivalent for UNION LABEL. The *marque syndicale* is extensively used in some industries, notably the printing trades; and denotes that the work upon which it is placed was performed either by trade unionists or under trade union conditions.

Marriage Benefits. A unique form of trade union BENEFIT paid by the NATIONAL FEDERATION OF WOMAN WORKERS, a British organization. The provision in the constitution of the Federation reads thus: "In the event of the marriage of a member, if she has been a full member for two years, and has not received out-of-employment or sick benefit during the period of her membership, the central council shall refund 50 per cent of the amount of her contributions, providing she is leaving her trade and terminating her membership."

Marshalmen. See STEWARD.

Marxian Industrial Unionism. This phrase is used in the British labor movement in designation of what is more commonly known in the United States as REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM. The Marxian industrial unionist "starts from the standpoint of ECONOMIC DETERMINISM. He would accomplish the overthrow of the present capitalistic system by organization of the workers into a strong coherent body. His revolution is economic, his instrument the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. His thoughts are upon industry only as industry is the instrument of this revolution."

Marxian Socialism or Marxianism. See SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

Mass Strike. See GENERAL STRIKE.

Mass Unionism. A term sometimes applied to the plan of organizing all the workers of a community, without regard to craft, industrial, or any other distinctions. Some elements within the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD favor this form of organization, as against the plan of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, and at least one of the early I. W. W. locals was organized on this basis—the local at Goldfield, Nevada, which was the scene of bitter labor troubles during 1906–7.

Massachusetts Savings Banks Insurance and Pension System. This plan, characterized by one authority as "the first significant step towards SOCIAL INSURANCE in the United States," was originated by Louis D. Brandeis (now associate justice of the Supreme Court) and embodied in a state legislative act passed in June, 1907. The purposes of the act are to furnish secure life insurance and old-age annuities to the wage-workers of Massachusetts at the lowest possible cost, as a substitute for the expensive so-called "industrial life insurance," through the medium of duly authorized savings banks, acting under somewhat elaborate state supervision.

Master. In England, any employer of labor is generally so called. (See LITTLE MASTER.)

Master's Man. See COMPANY MAN.

Master and Servant Acts. Various British Parliamentary enactments defining and regulating the relations between employers and employees. Under the early Master and Servant Acts, passed during the middle years of the 19th century, an employer who broke a contract of service was merely liable to pay damages. The workman's penalty for breach of contract (*i.e.*, for a simple refusal to work) was three months' imprisonment, without the option of a fine. Even his trial was often a farce; he could be arrested summarily and sentenced by a single justice of the peace, from whose judgment there was no appeal. This scandalous situation was only ended, after a long struggle, by the passing of a reformed Master and Servant Act in 1867. (See EMPLOYERS AND WORKMEN ACT.)

Material Trade Union. The name sometimes given to a structural type of trade union organization which (according to G. D. H. Cole) "follows the line not of the precise craft followed by the worker concerned, but of the material on which he or she may happen to be working. Thus, there are many who advocate that the various unions of skilled wood-workers (carpenters, cabinet-makers, and joiners, furnishing trades, wood-cutting machinists, packing-case makers, etc.) should amalgamate into a single union, not on industrial lines, but on the lines of the material on which all these crafts in common work; and it is interesting to note that this is actually the form of organization adopted by the largest Trade Union in Germany—the German Metal-workers' Union. This Union, however, goes further, and includes skilled and unskilled workers alike. . . . Material Unionism is not necessarily allied with CRAFT UNIONISM. Indeed, in Germany, the Metal-workers' Union is far more nearly akin to an Industrial than to a Craft Union." (See GERMAN TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION.)

Material Unionism. See MATERIAL TRADE UNION.

Materialistic Conception of History. See ECONOMIC DETERMINISM.

Maternity Insurance. A form of SOCIAL INSURANCE which partially indemnifies wage-earning women for loss of wages due to absence from work immediately before and after child-birth. Such indemnification usually takes the form of weekly payments, commonly

known as "lying-in benefits"; but it often includes medical care as well. In twelve European countries maternity insurance is provided as part of the compulsory health insurance systems; five countries provide State aid for this purpose to voluntary insurance funds; and three others make direct grants to mothers upon the birth of living children. (See SOCIAL INSURANCE IN RUSSIA.)

Meantime Workers. A phrase sometimes used in designation of young women who take up industrial work merely to fill the interval until marriage.

Mechanics' Lien. In law, the prior claim of a workman upon buildings or land to the amount of his wages for labor performed upon such buildings or land or for material furnished, regardless of whether he was engaged by the owner or by another person. Laws fixing such prior claim exist in all the states of this country. Their provisions are lengthy and elaborate, but in general they undertake to give all classes of mechanics, or material men, liens either on the building and land covered by the lien, or upon the building and a certain amount of land surrounding it; and in some states such liens even take precedence of the prior mortgage.

Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations. The first labor organization involving more than a single trade to be formed in America—or, according to some authorities, in any country. It grew out of a strike of the carpenters of Philadelphia in 1827; other trades came to the support of the carpenters, and an organization was effected. Some fifteen societies were later included. Through its efforts what is probably the first wage-earners' paper ever published, "The Mechanics' Free Press," was started in 1828. The organization took an active part in politics, but disappeared soon after the election of 1831.

Mediation. In connection with industrial disputes, the intervention of some "outside" impartial person or body, with a view to promoting the settlement of a dispute by mutual agreement between the contending parties. There is a great deal of confusion in the current use of the terms "mediation" and CONCILIATION. Some writers and labor officials make little if any distinction between the two, while they are often used by different authorities in directly contrary senses. But it should be noted that, as the word itself implies, mediation always involves the introduction of an intermediary or "middle" agency in an industrial dispute; while conciliation does not necessarily involve anything of the sort—although,

as a matter of fact, such an agency is in most cases the determining factor. Mediation, in fact, refers simply to that form of conciliation in which an outside agency is utilized as a go-between by the two contending parties—an agency which endeavors in all possible ways to help the disputants to arrive at a mutually acceptable settlement. In ARBITRATION, on the other hand, the dispute is taken out of the control of the contending parties, and settled by a third party, who acts as a judge on the merits of the case. The practice of mediation is applicable both to disputes regarding general conditions of labor and to those regarding interpretation of existing agreements. It is obvious, however, that mediation is likely to occur only in regard to disputes which have become conspicuous before the general public, and which involve the public interests as well as those of the disputants. In other words, the intervention of outside parties to bring about a settlement usually takes place only in case of open rupture between employers and employees, and usually only after a prolonged strike or lockout. (See MEDIATOR; and all cross references under CONCILIATION.)

Mediator. A public official or an impartial "outsider" who intervenes in an industrial dispute, with the object of bringing the two parties together in a voluntary settlement of their differences. Unlike an ARBITRATOR, the mediator has no power or authority to decide the merits of the case on his own account. If such power is given him by the disputants or by outside authority, he ceases to be a mediator and becomes an arbitrator. The function of the mediator is to act as a go-between in the negotiations, "to promote calm discussion, to draw forth frank explanations, or to suggest possible terms of compromise." The resulting settlement may indeed be largely or wholly of his own framing, but he will seldom let it appear so, his purpose being simply that the disputants shall come to an agreement between themselves. The terms "mediator," "arbitrator," and "conciliator" are often used indiscriminately, with great resulting confusion in the public mind. The distinction between "mediator" and "arbitrator" is sufficiently indicated above. As to "conciliator," there seems no real need for using the word at all. If a mediator has been successful in conciliating the two parties to a dispute, he may of course be termed a conciliator; but there is no practical value in such a distinction. In common indiscriminate usage, what is called a conciliator may be in fact either a mediator or an arbitrator. (See MEDIATION.)

Medical Benefits. See BENEFITS.

Members at Large. Among American national and international unions there are two principal methods or devices of attaching isolated JOURNEYMEN in towns or regions where no LOCAL of the national organization exists. In some cases, such journeymen become direct members of the national union, pay dues directly to the central headquarters, and are entitled to all BENEFITS and privileges accorded to other members of the union. They are usually known as "members at large," although other designations (*e.g.*, "conditional members," "provisional members," and "general members") are sometimes used. In other unions, such isolated journeymen become members of the nearest neighboring LOCAL to their place of residence, and are known as "jurisdiction members." These two methods are adopted to extend "the outposts of unionism, as well as to retain those members in good standing of disbanded local unions, and to acquire control of workers immediately beyond the jurisdiction of a local union who would be of service in counteracting the efforts of employers to secure non-unionists."

Members in Good Standing. In any labor organization, the phrase "members in good standing" denotes only those members whose MEMBERSHIP DUES are paid to some definite time. The number of members in good standing at any moment is smaller than the actual number of members who contribute their force and their money to the organization. In the case of a national organization it is necessary to the maintenance of a member's standing, not only that he pay his dues to his local union, but that the officers of the local union remit promptly to the national office. Local officers are frequently remiss, and it results that the number of members in good standing, as shown by the books of the national union, is even smaller than the number of members who have actually made their payments. (See TAX DODGING.)

Membership Committee. See ADMITTANCE TO THE TRADE UNION; TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—LOCAL.

Membership Dues. Each member of a local labor organization is required to make a small monthly or weekly payment in support of the organization. The amount of this payment is practically always fixed by the local union; although a minimum sum is sometimes specified in the constitution of the national union, in order to insure adequate funds for the local treasuries. Maximum dues also are sometimes thus fixed, although rarely. The local dues vary widely in amount, partly with the average earnings of the trade, but more with the degree of organization of the union and the num-

ber and amount of the BENEFITS it pays. If women are admitted to the union, the dues are often made lower for them than for men. In other cases, where men of different earning powers are admitted, the dues may be graded. Thus, in a union of steam fitters which admitted HELPERS also, the dues of the latter would be considerably less than for the JOURNEYMEN. (See STAMP RECEIPT SYSTEM; CHECK-OFF SYSTEM; MEMBERS IN GOOD STANDING.)

Menial Labor. See DOMESTIC SERVICE.

Mensheviki. See BOLSHEVISM.

Metal Trades Councils. Local, district, and state bodies, of a delegate character, representative of trade unions in the metal industries affiliated with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. Such councils are chartered directly by the METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT of the A. F. of L. The local councils consist of six representatives from each craft within the jurisdiction of the council, regardless of the number of locals in the jurisdiction. Each delegate has a single vote. The usual officers and executive board are elected. The functions of the councils are to promote the common interests of the allied trades which they represent, to further joint action, to carry on organization work among unorganized sections of the trades, and to prepare and issue a joint UNION LABEL, known as the "metal trades label." Three or more local councils may federate in a district or state council, for common effort and joint action in these larger areas. (See TRADES COUNCIL—AMERICAN.)

Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Organized 1908, and consisting of such national and international unions of metal trades workers (blacksmiths, boilermakers, stationary engineers and firemen, machinists, moulders, plumbers, electrical workers, iron shipbuilders, pattern makers, steam and gas fitters, etc.) as are affiliated with and chartered by the A. F. of L. The objects of the Department, according to its constitution, are "the encouragement and formation of local METAL TRADES COUNCILS, and the conferring of such power and authority upon the several local organizations of this Department as may advance the interests and welfare of the metal trades industry; to adjust trade disputes along practical lines as they arise, and to establish more harmonious relations between employer and employee; to issue charters to local metal trades councils." (See DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.)

Metal Trades Label. See METAL TRADES COUNCILS.

Métayage or **Métayer System.** A plan of AGRICULTURAL LABOR or cultivation which prevails in central and southern France, in Italy, and in the southern United States. Under this method the tenant, instead of paying a fixed money rent for the land, agrees to pay the landlord a certain proportion of the crop produced, usually one half. (See SHARE CROPPERS.)

Mexican Labor Party. See PARTIDO LABORISTA MEXICANO.

Mexican Regional Confederation of Labor. See CONFEDERACIÓN REGIONAL OBRERA MEXICANA.

Mezzadri. See CONFEDERAZIONE ITALIANA DEI LAVORATORI.

Middle Class. In ordinary usage, a collective designation for those persons (clerks, professional workers, small merchants, teachers, technicians, etc.) whose social and economic status is above that of the "common" laboring class and below that of the aristocratic or wealthy class. The term, however, is more and more becoming a description of character rather than an indication of social rank or economic status. Thus, one writer defines the middle class as "that portion of the community to which money is the primary condition and the primary instrument of life." As used by socialists, the term denotes those persons who derive their incomes in part from their own labor and in part from invested capital or the labor of others, occupying an economic position midway between the BOURGEOISIE and the PROLETARIAT. (See BLACKCOATS; WHITE COLLARS; SALARIAT; INTELLECTUAL PROLETARIAT; MIDDLE CLASS UNIONS.)

Middle Class Unions. The various organizations of MIDDLE-CLASS salaried workers—clerks, teachers, government employees, technicians, etc.—are often so called. The term is also used in designation of various organizations (mostly of recent origin) which are intended, or at least ostensibly intended, to protect the so-called middle class from the "ever-increasing encroachments of labor and capital." Some of these organizations openly avow STRIKEBREAKING as the chief of their activities; others, though more cautious in their avowals, are essentially strikebreaking organizations; while still others are legitimate associations for the protection and advancement of a hitherto unorganized section of the general public. (See BLACKCOATS; WHITE COLLARS; ANGESTELLTEN.)

Midlertidig lov om Arbeiderutvalg. See NORWEGIAN WORKS COUNCIL LAW.

Migratory Labor. Those workers, mainly of the unskilled or COMMON LABOR class, who have lost touch with any permanent home, but drift about from one town to another, securing or retaining employment for comparatively short periods only. They are to be found in largest numbers in the Western states, doing the roughest and hardest work in mine and lumber camp, or carrying on such brief SEASONAL OCCUPATIONS as wheat-harvesting and fruit-picking. They are the pariahs of our modern industrial system—"homeless, womanless, jobless, voteless men" who are utilized and exploited when they can be, and then often driven out, living always on the most brutalizing social level. According to Carleton Parker, who has studied this class more intimately than any other authority, "the migratory laborers are nothing more nor less than the finished products of their environment. They should therefore never be studied as isolated revolutionaries, but rather as, on the whole, tragic symptoms of a sick social order. Fortunately the psychologists have made it unnecessary to explain that there is nothing willful or personally reprehensible in the vagrancy of these vagrants. Their histories show that, starting with the long hours and dreary winters of farms they ran away from, through their character-debasing experience with irregular industrial labor, on to the vicious economic life of the winter unemployed, their training predetermined but one outcome." Migratory workers are known by various nicknames—"hoboes," "floaters," "rovers," "roustabouts," "yeggs," "boomers," "ten-day workers," etc. (See CASUAL LABOR; UNDER-EMPLOYMENT; STIFF; TIMBER WOLF; FRUIT TRAMP; INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.)

Mine Boss. See MINE MANAGER.

Mine Committee. See PIT COMMITTEE.

Mine Foreman. See MINE MANAGER.

Mine Inspection. In nearly all countries mining furnishes a higher fatal accident rate than any of the other main groups of industry. Metal-mining has a higher death-rate than coal-mining, and employment in anthracite coal mines is more dangerous than in bituminous mines, since the former are deeper and more subject to accumulations of noxious and explosive gases. Coal-mining appears to be more dangerous in America than in any other country. Recognition of the insanitary and dangerous conditions which are likely to prevail in mines has led nearly all states in which coal mines are found to make regulations regarding them and to provide for their inspec-

tion. Such laws usually aim not only to protect the employees against accident and unhealthy conditions, but, unlike the factory laws, they also protect the property of the mine owners. They provide for the appointment and removal of inspectors, usually upon the basis of a civil service examination conducted by a board of examiners who are acquainted with the mining industry, including representatives of the employers and the employees, with a mining engineer as a third member. These inspectors are required regularly to visit the mines and call upon the OPERATORS for the necessary facilities for inspection, and to call upon the courts to issue orders commanding recalcitrant owners or operators to grant admission to their mines. (See MINE MANAGER.)

Mine Manager. The laws of nearly all American bituminous coal-mining states require the owner or OPERATOR of every mine to appoint some competent person for the general direction of the underground work, or both the underground and the outside work. This person (variously known as the "mine manager," "mine foreman," or "mine boss") is often required to pass a special state examination in test of his competency. He must make frequent (sometimes daily) inspections of all apparatus and conditions in the mine, with special reference to the safety of the miners, see that necessary changes are made, and (usually) send periodic reports to the state officials. In mines which generate explosive gases, a separate official called the "fire boss" is sometimes required, who must be a technical expert in his field and who has special powers in connection with the dangers from explosions. (See MINE INSPECTION.)

Mine-Run System. See SCREENING SYSTEM.

Mine Safety. See MINE INSPECTION.

Miners' Agent. Among British coal-miners, a trade union official who has charge of a district organization representative of all the branch units or "lodges" of the national union within a given district.

"Miners' Next Step." The title of a famous pamphlet issued in 1912 by the syndicalist section of South Wales miners. It proposed the GENERAL STRIKE as a means of securing control over the whole coal-field of South Wales by the workers themselves, acting through a delegate body meeting monthly. An organization known as the Industrial Democracy League was formed soon after the appearance of "The Miners' Next Step," for the purpose of putting the pamphlet's principles into practice.

Minimum Comfort Level. The lowest amount of yearly income upon which a family—usually reckoned as consisting of a man and wife and three small children—can live at a minimum of health and comfort. Unlike the MINIMUM SUBSISTENCE LEVEL, this calculation includes a small allowance for education, recreation, reading matter, insurance, and similar items. (See FAMILY BUDGET; LIVING WAGE; MINIMUM WAGE; AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING.)

Minimum Scale. See SCALE.

Minimum Subsistence Level. The lowest amount of income upon which a "standard" family (five persons) may sustain the vital physical functions. Unlike the MINIMUM COMFORT LEVEL, it includes no allowance for those small advantages or comforts which are essential to any decent STANDARD OF LIVING. Sometimes called the "existence minimum"—or, in the ironic phrase of trade unionists, the "fodder basis." (See LIVING WAGE; FAMILY BUDGET; MINIMUM WAGE; IRON LAW OF WAGES.)

Minimum Wage. As most commonly used, this term denotes a specified standard or standards, fixed by public legislation, below which wages may not legally be depressed. Such standard or standards may be applicable to all workers in all industries within the legislative jurisdiction involved, or to all workers in certain selected industries, or only to women and children in all or particular industries. The minimum wage is generally calculated on what is called the MINIMUM SUBSISTENCE LEVEL, but it may be and often is an arbitrary amount unrelated to current living costs or standards. In England, where no fixed wage standard is set by the law itself, the general practice is "to level the wage for the whole trade in each district up to the standard of the best employer in that district." In the badly sweated trades this means a considerable increase for most of the workers, but it does not necessarily give them a LIVING WAGE. For a long time the minimum wage principle was strongly opposed by economists, who believed that such an arbitrary interference with economic "laws" could result only in disaster; by employers, who frequently asserted that the principle spelt ultimate "industrial ruin"; and by certain trade union officials, who feared that it would hinder the trade union movement by enabling the workers to secure wage gains without the aid of organization. But whatever may be said against the minimum wage idea, it has as yet failed to justify any of these particular fears. On the asset side, as George O'Brien points out, "the minimum wage possesses at least one car-

dinal advantage, namely, that it forces the State to face the problem of the maintenance of those who are unable through physical or mental infirmity to work sufficiently to earn the minimum. At present there is a danger that the labor of such incapables may be resorted to, in order to lower the standard rate of wages; but under a universal insistence on the minimum wage they would be bound to be maintained by public benevolence or provided with lighter and more suitable employment. The danger to which the acceptance of the principle of the minimum wage gives rise is that wages may come to be fixed without sufficient regard to the productive capacity of the workman, or the nature of his output." The term "minimum wage" is occasionally applied to the minimum rate of wages fixed, not by legislative action, but by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING or the WORKING RULES of a trade union. (See MINIMUM WAGE LAWS; STANDARD RATE; COST OF LIVING; FAMILY BUDGET; COMMON RULE; COMMONWEALTH COURT OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.)

Minimum Wage Commissions. See MINIMUM WAGE LAWS.

Minimum Wage Laws. Beginning with the action of Massachusetts in 1912, thirteen states in this country, besides the District of Columbia and the island possession of Porto Rico, have enacted MINIMUM WAGE laws. A few of these statutes are of the "flat rate" sort, in which a minimum rate of wages is specified in the law. Most of them, however, are of the class known as "wage board" laws, delegating to a board or commission the duty of investigating particular industries and determining a suitable rate, either independently or after investigation and recommendation by advisory bodies known as wage boards or conferences. In all but one state, penalties are provided for non-compliance. The law is in all cases restricted to females, as far as adult labor is concerned, though in a majority of the states minors are also included. In a few states certain specified occupations are exempted from the workings of the act. In nearly every case the law is based on the necessary COST OF LIVING adequate to maintain health and welfare, or "to supply the necessary comforts of a reasonable life." In some states wages of minors need not be adequate for their maintenance, but must be "suitable" or "not unreasonably low." Rates lower than the minimum for experienced workers may be fixed for LEARNERS and for women of substandard capacity, either physically or mentally. Minimum wage laws, of varied scope, have been enacted by Great Britain, Australia, Norway,

France, and four Canadian provinces. (See TRADE BOARDS; WAGE BOARDS; COAL MINE ACT; CORN PRODUCTION ACT.)

Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor. Organized 1912, and composed of such international or national unions in mining, oil, and kindred industries as are affiliated with the A. F. of L.—chiefly the United Mine Workers of America. The object of the Department is "the greater unity" of the workers whom it represents, and "the furtherance of the principle that 'an injury to one is the concern of all.'" According to its constitution, "the President may, where he considers it advisable, establish local councils of the Mining Department." (See DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.)

Mining Institutes. Local and district organizations, for educational and social purposes, of workers in the coal-mining regions of Pennsylvania. At first fostered by the state Y. M. C. A., they are now for the most part independent and self-sustaining. Meetings are usually held monthly.

Ministero per il Lavoro e la Previdenza Sociale (Ministry of Labor and Social Thrift). By a decree of June 3, 1920, this department of the Italian government has been established, to take over certain functions hitherto performed by the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, and Labor (hereafter to be known as the Ministry of Industry and Commerce). The services thus taken over include those whose activities are concerned with SOCIAL INSURANCE, CO-OPERATION, the inspection of factories, workshops, and mines, AGRICULTURAL LABOR and agricultural cooperative societies, FRIENDLY SOCIETIES and other thrift bodies. All services relating to assistance to workers have also been taken over, and the ministry will exercise supervision over the two national funds for soldiers and sailors, established in 1917 and 1919 respectively, as well as over all other institutions with analogous objects. The office of labor statistics, the national employment department, and the central statistical office have been transferred to the new ministry. In the future, legislation relating to emigration and treaties affecting labor and emigration will be prepared jointly by the Minister of Labor and the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mixed Local. The type of LOCAL which predominates in the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. It was originally intended as a recruiting branch only, "to include workers in various industries, but only so to include them temporarily; it being understood that

so soon as a sufficient number of the workers in any particular industry came into the locality to warrant their organization into a union all members of the mixed local who belonged to that industry should immediately withdraw from the 'mixed' and join the 'pure' INDUSTRIAL UNION. It was, of course, assumed that no one should join a mixed local or remain in a mixed local when a union of his industry existed in that locality." (See FEDERAL LABOR UNION.)

Mixed Shop. One in which both union and non-union workers are employed, either under a definite OPEN SHOP agreement or in the absence of such an agreement.

Mixed Union. No very fixed or definite meaning attaches to this term. In the United States, it generally denotes a trade union organized on neither craft nor industrial lines, but which admits workers in any craft or industry—as for example, a FEDERAL LABOR UNION. In England, trade unions made up of both men and women workers are usually called "mixed unions,"—and in America also the term is sometimes used in that sense. In France, the SYNDICATS MIXTES are more in the nature of benefit societies than of trade unions. (See MIXED LOCAL.)

Mobility of Labor. While this term is sometimes used with reference to the movement of labor from one industry or locality to another, in the BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS terminology it refers specifically to the movement of workers into and out of industrial establishments—the movement of which LABOR TURNOVER or replacement is one phase. Those workers who are hired are referred to as "accessions." Those leaving service, under whatever circumstances, are referred to as "separations." Whichever one of these two items—accessions or separations—is the smaller may conveniently be taken as measuring the number of replacements. The total number of labor changes—that is to say, the sum of all the accessions and separations—is the "labor flux." The amount by which the accessions in an expanding business are in excess of the separations is the amount of "labor increase." The amount by which the separations in a plant exceed the accessions is the amount of "labor decrease."

Moderates. See RIGHT, RIGHT WING.

Molly Maguires. A name given to certain leaders of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, who were held responsible for murders and other crimes in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania, during a protracted strike in 1874–5. Ten of these leaders were executed, and fourteen were sent to prison.

Money Steward. See STEWARD.

Monopoly Policy of Trade Unionism. Two sorts of trade union monopoly should be carefully distinguished. The first consists in so complete an inclusion of all the workers at a particular trade that the union is able to take, in relation to employers, the position of the sole seller of that kind of labor which its members offer. The second sort consists in the exclusion of candidates for membership in the union, or the placing of difficulties in the way of joining it, coupled with control of employment at the trade. In the first case a monopoly exists only so far as the relation of the union to the employers is concerned. In the second case, a monopoly is maintained by the actual members against their fellow-workmen. Complaints are sometimes made that certain unions are close corporations, and that men who desire admission to them are without good cause rejected. This complaint is often justified—particularly in the building trades. In other cases the money cost of joining is made high. "The same spirit which leads to the exclusion of men from the union, and thereby from employment, appears in the restriction of number of APPRENTICES. . . Something of the same spirit, applied to foreigners, appears both in the advocacy of measures to restrict IMMIGRATION by law, and in the placing of especially high INITIATION FEES on foreigners. The monopoly against fellow-workmen is in some degree inconsistent with the monopoly against employers. That against employers is founded on universal inclusion; that against fellow-workmen on exclusion. The attempt to establish a monopoly of the second sort makes it impossible permanently to maintain one of the first. If workers are not permitted to join the union they will still be able in most occupations to make themselves felt as competitors, and their competition will be severer and more injurious than it would be if they were admitted to the union." (See CLOSED UNION; CLOSED SHOP; EXCLUSIVE AGREEMENT; EXCLUSION POLICY OF TRADE UNIONISM; RESTRICTION OF NUMBERS.)

Monthly Working Button. See WORKING BUTTON.

Mooney Case. During a "preparedness parade" in San Francisco on July 22, 1916, ten persons were killed by a bomb thrown into the crowd. A prominent labor ORGANIZER, Thomas J. Mooney, with his wife and several associates, was held on the charge of having committed the crime. After a trial in which Mooney was convicted and sentenced to death, one of the chief witnesses for the prosecution

fell under grave suspicion. As a result of national indignation among the laboring classes, the PRESIDENT'S MEDIATION COMMISSION was asked to investigate the case. This body reported that Mooney had been convicted on indisputably perjured evidence. Both the presiding judge and the prosecuting attorney at Mooney's trial have since expressed their doubt of his guilt, while a member of the San Francisco police force has confessed that witnesses were coached for weeks before the trial in building up a case against the defendants. Under subsequent pressure from President Wilson, Mooney's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, but a new trial has been persistently denied. The case has achieved international fame in labor circles.

Morale in Industry. Defined as the "involuntary organization of mind," and partially expressed in such commoner terms as "loyalty," "good will," *esprit de corps*, "efficiency," etc., morale is a most important factor in any large industrial undertaking. Although it may be difficult to trace its concrete expression, it exerts a profound influence on the work of every human unit in the organization. (See PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION; INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT.)

Mortuary Benefit. See DEATH BENEFIT.

Moscow Conditions. See LENIN'S TWENTY-ONE CONDITIONS.

Moscow Internationale. See INTERNATIONALE; COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE.

Moscow Internationale Communist Manifesto. A document setting forth the principles of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE, formed at Moscow in March, 1919. The manifesto condemns the imperialism which caused the World War and which, as it asserts, is perpetuated by the League of Nations, and declares that only a victorious PROLETARIAT throughout the world will guarantee democracy and self-determination to Europe and freedom from exploitation to the oppressed colonies of Asia and Africa. It maintains that a DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT will be necessary wherever the BOURGEOISIE resists the SOCIALIZATION of industry. The conference declared that the second Internationale had been destroyed by the war, and that the third Internationale is the genuine successor of the first Internationale founded by Marx and Engels in 1864. (See COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.)

Moscow Trade Union Internationale. See INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

Mothers' Pensions. A form of SOCIAL INSURANCE, closely allied to WIDOWS' AND ORPHANS' INSURANCE, which has made particular headway in the United States. Most of the state legislative acts in this country, notwithstanding their general title of "mothers' pensions acts," really provide pensions for dependent children, to be paid to widows or wives of deceased, deserting, disabled, or imprisoned husbands.

Motion Study. A method or process which, along with its companion process TIME STUDY, is inherent in any scheme of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT. The object of this method, according to G. D. H. Cole, "is so to study the motions of a workman engaged upon a particular job as to know what motions are of a wasteful character, and can be eliminated with advantage. Where this method is adopted, once again the job is studied by experts who stand over the workman while he is doing it. The motions employed are carefully observed, and thereafter suggestions are made with regard to the motions that ought to be used in doing the job, the tools with which the job can be done with least effort, the adjustments proper for these tools, etc. When the job is issued with the price upon it, instructions covering these points are issued with it, and the price placed upon it is such that it is only by following instructions and eliminating waste motions that an adequate percentage over the day-work rate can be earned." More briefly put, the object of motion study is "to determine the most effective motion to accomplish a desired result; and one of the elements in the determination of its effectiveness is the time it takes to execute it. Time study and motion study, therefore, go hand in hand, but it is not impossible to make an effective and profitable motion study without the use of any timing device." (See TIME AND MOTION STUDY.)

Move. In the flint glass trade, where workers are commonly paid on a PIECE WORK basis, the wage payment for each kind of article manufactured is based upon a so-called "move," consisting of a certain number of pieces which a group of workers (called in the glass trade a "shop") is supposed to be able to make in a shift or "turn" of a specified time. The "move" was formerly the maximum number of articles which the group or "shop" were permitted to make in the allotted time, but the limitation has now been removed.

Mucker. In mining operations, this nickname is commonly applied to a laborer who performs the lowest grades of unskilled work in and about the mine—such work, for example, as shovelling ore, loading and unloading mine cars, etc.

Multiple-Branch Union. In the British labor movement, a trade union embracing all or most of the workers throughout the country engaged in a single craft or industry, the members being organized locally in BRANCHES of the parent society. Thus, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers consists of upwards of 1000 branches, of which more than 300 are in the Colonies. The 700 home branches are grouped in a series of DISTRICT COMMITTEES of widely different importance. Thus the London District Committee includes seventy-two branches, Glasgow sixty branches, Manchester forty-nine, Birmingham thirty-two, and others, such as Norwich, only two. Many districts, moreover, possess only a single branch, and, in such cases, this branch has the same function and powers as the district committees in the larger centres. (See BRITISH TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION.)

Multiplied Strike. See SYMPATHETIC STRIKE.

Municipal Socialism. A term rather loosely applied to any scheme for town or city ownership or control of such public utilities as water-supply, lighting and heating plants, street-car service, markets, hospitals, amusement enterprises, and other necessities or conveniences of general use. Also called "municipal trading." (See SOCIALIZATION.)

Municipal Trading. See MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.

Mutual Aid. The instinct for solidarity and self-preservation which prompts man to give and receive help from his fellow-men. In his classic book on this subject, Kropotkin claims that mutual aid has been as important a factor in the preservation of the species as the struggle for existence. He records a large number of suggestive instances of cooperation among both higher and lower animals, and draws interesting analogies between human society and such highly developed societies as those of ants and bees. ANARCHISM relies upon the instinct for mutual aid to render the unrestrained freedom of the individual compatible with an orderly and productive social existence. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; MUTUALISM.)

Mutual Aid Societies. A generic term for various voluntary associations of industrial workers in nearly all countries, formed to assist the needy ones among themselves and to provide certain forms of insurance at low cost, sick BENEFITS being their most conspicuous and commonest feature. Sometimes they combine educational activities with financial aid. Such organizations are generally known as "benevolent societies" or "benevolent associations" in

the United States, as FRIENDLY SOCIETIES in Great Britain, *sociétés de secours mutuels* in France and Belgium, *Krankenkassen* in the Germanic countries, *società di mutuo soccorso* in Italy, *Sygekassen* in Denmark, etc. Their revenues are derived from either membership dues or special assessments on members; in some European countries these revenues are supplemented by a State subsidy. (See FRATERNAL ORDERS; INDUSTRIAL BENEFIT SOCIETIES.)

Mutual Insurance. As a main method or function of trade unionism, this is defined by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb as "the provision of a fund by common subscription to insure against casualties; to provide maintenance, that is to say, in cases in which a member is deprived of his livelihood by causes over which neither he nor the union has any control." Other writers, however, extend the definition to include also insurance against risks deliberately incurred in the struggle of the workers to protect or improve their standard of life, thus covering union payments to members on strike; and it is in this extended meaning that the term is perhaps most commonly understood. The provision of insurance against various contingencies has always been an important feature of trade union policy. It is strictly subordinate, however, to the primary purpose of affecting the terms and conditions of employment. In some cases, as that of insurance against UNEMPLOYMENT, it has a direct bearing upon the primary purpose of unionism. The man who has no resource but his labor must of necessity sell his labor to the first bidder at whatever price is offered, in order to keep himself and those dependent upon him from starvation. If the union furnishes subsistence to those who are for the time being unable to obtain employment on such terms as it considers just, it enables them to stand out for the union wages. Other forms of insurance, like those against death and sickness, do not have so direct and evident a bearing upon trade conditions. Though the provision of insurance is only a secondary purpose of a union, it is yet one of no slight importance in attracting new members, and of yet greater importance in holding old ones. One who has for years contributed to the union treasury, and has acquired and maintained a right to certain BENEFITS in case of sickness or death, will be much slower to drop out for any slight cause than if the insurance system did not exist. The bond is particularly strong if the amount of benefit payable to each member increases with the length of his continuous membership. This increase of loyalty and of permanence is, perhaps, the chief gain which the union, as an organization, derives from the insurance system. The possi-

bility of ejecting a member from the union, and so ending his claim for benefit, constitutes another advantage to the organization, in that it furnishes an additional means of DISCIPLINE. There are considerable differences of system between British and American unions in respect to their benefit payments, possibly due in part to the more recent development of trade unionism here, but partly due to characteristic differences of organization. In Great Britain, when the local unions began to coalesce into broader organizations, the local treasuries were regularly treated as common property, and all the funds were subjected to a common authority. In the United States the treasury of each national union is, as a rule, distinct from the local treasuries, and is supported by a specific tax upon the local unions. The local unions, in many cases, maintain insurance systems of their own, supplemental to any insurance which the national organizations may furnish. Thus, a large proportion of the insurance benefits paid by American unions do not pass through the treasuries of the national organizations. They are paid by the local unions under local regulations. Mutual insurance as a trade union function has made the greatest headway in Great Britain and Germany, and it has been an important factor in the tremendous growth of trade unionism in those countries. It is weakest, probably, in France. (See SOCIAL INSURANCE; MUTUALITÉ.)

Mutual Interest Department. See INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT.

Mutualism. Some writers have preferred this term as a more desirable designation than SOCIALISM for the underlying basis of the future COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. One such writer, Professor Frank Parsons, speaks of it as follows: "The term mutualism is used to denote a condition of society in which the governing principle is mutual help. When two persons work together in partnership or live together in harmonious family life we have mutualism in miniature. When the principle of partnership or union of ownership, effort and control for the common benefit, shall be extended to the whole social life of city, State, and nation, we shall have a mutualism complete upon the plane of justice. And when love and brotherhood become the animating principle of the partnership, and each member of society not merely cooperates with the rest, but devotes himself to the welfare of the rest, we shall have a mutualism of the loftiest type. The earlier outward steps toward mutualism are the public ownership of monopolies and the growth of cooperative enterprises, which processes, meeting each other halfway, will bring

about a common ownership of the means of production and distribution, industrial self-government or democracy, economic equality, and a cooperative character."

Mutualité. "Friendly" or MUTUAL INSURANCE activities on the part of organized labor are so called in France. Such activities are decidedly limited, owing partly to the reluctance of French workers to pay high union contributions, and partly to the fact that the SYNDICAT (trade union) generally regards itself as a fighting organization and is prepared to fight without funds. Sickness and OUT-OF-WORK PAY are exceptional, and even STRIKE PAY is seldom given regularly. This latter deficiency is often supplied by other means, however; voluntary contributions are sent to the strikers from workers in other trades and districts, food is often supplied by the local BOURSE DU TRAVAIL, and the children of strikers are boarded out free in other neighborhoods. Mutual aid activities are more commonly found in the REFORMIST than in the revolutionary *syndicats*. (See SOU DU SOLDAT; CAISSE DE SECOURS MUTUEL; UNION DÉPARTMENTALE; MUTUELLISME SYNDICAL.)

Mutuality. In certain British skilled trades where PIECE WORK prices are not standardized in a written or printed PRICE LIST, this is the method whereby the fixing of the piece price for an individual job is accomplished by mutual agreement between the employer, acting through his representative, and the workman or workmen who perform the job. "Where this occurs, individual mutuality has often a measure of collective backing; for the men in the shop naturally act together in the adjustment of piece prices, either through an organized committee or by unorganized cooperation. Thus piece-work prices become to some extent fixed by workshop custom; but even so, there is usually no approach to the fixity and almost automatic operation of the standard price list."

Mutuellisme Syndical. In France, the theory of trade unionism as primarily or largely devoted to benevolent or MUTUAL INSURANCE activities—a theory which is for the most part rejected. (See MUTUALITÉ.)

N

N. P. L. See NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE.

National Adjustment Board. A body formed by authority of the United States Railroad Administration to adjudicate disputes between railway employees and railway managements arising in connection with the so-called NATIONAL AGREEMENTS IN THE RAILWAY INDUSTRY, adopted during 1919–1920.

National Adjustment Commission. A war-time agency for the settlement of industrial disputes and the determination of wages and working conditions in connection with the loading and unloading of American shipping. As reconstituted on a peace-time basis in September, 1919, the Commission was made up of five active members —a neutral chairman, named by the United States Shipping Board; two members representing private ship-owning interests; and two members representing the International Longshoremen's Association. Advisory representation was accorded the Departments of War, Navy, Commerce, and Labor. The United States Shipping Board withdrew from the Commission in October, 1920, thus practically scuttling the entire arrangement.

National Agreement. A TRADE AGREEMENT which is applicable to a specific industry throughout the entire country is commonly so called—in contradistinction to any form of local or district agreement. (See NATIONAL AGREEMENTS IN THE RAILWAY INDUSTRY.)

National Agreements in the Railway Industry. A series of TRADE AGREEMENTS made late in 1919 and early in 1920 between the United States Railroad Administration and representatives of the organized railway employees. They are not wage scales, but mainly WORKING RULES covering CLASSIFICATION, OVERTIME, and similar matters. When the railroads were handed back to private ownership, the "national agreements" remained in force, and it has been customary to decide disputes between employers and em-

ployees according to them, though the war emergency is a thing of the past. In response to pressure from the railway executives, the RAILROAD LABOR BOARD announced in April, 1921, that the national agreements would be abrogated on July 1 following. By that date, however, the roads and their employees must have negotiated new contracts, which must conform to sixteen basic general principles specified by the Board.

National Autonomy. See AUTONOMY.

National Board for Jurisdictional Awards in the Building Industry. At its annual convention in 1919 the BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR adopted a plan to settle disputes over work that is claimed by more than one building trade. This is effected through a body known as the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards in the Building Industry, "to hear claims for JURISDICTION over work performed by building trades, and to determine by which trade the work in contention shall be performed and to make an award in conformity with the facts submitted by the contendents." No SYMPATHETIC STRIKE because of a jurisdictional claim is permitted. The board consists of eight members, three selected by the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., and one each by the American Institute of Architects, the Engineering Council, the Associated General Contractors of America, the National Association of Builders' Exchanges, and the National Building Trades Employers' Association. The headquarters of the board are in Washington, D. C.

National Catholic Union of Canada. See CANADIAN LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

National Child Labor Committee. See LABOR LEGISLATION.

National Civic Federation. A private association of prominent American business men, financiers, and professional persons, organized in 1901 for "the promotion of industrial peace by developing direct relations between employers, the workers, and the general public," these three classes being represented on the executive committee of the organization. It opposes all radical labor tendencies, and thus receives the support of only the most conservative elements in the labor movement. It has worked in close cooperation with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and has been a considerable factor in the success of that organization. The National Civic Federation maintains a "Woman's Department," the purpose

of which is "to secure needed improvements in the working and living conditions of women wage earners in the various industries and governmental institutions, to do practical work in each emergency as it arises, and to cooperate in the general work of the Federation."

National Clearing House for Labor. Owing to lack of funds, the UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE has recently been obliged to transfer or abandon practically all of its independent field activities, and to concentrate upon the task of coordinating the efforts of state and municipal authorities in employment work. The Federal government now conducts no field work, and operates no EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS. All PLACEMENT WORK, all intrastate clearance, all the work of collecting information relating to employment and industrial conditions is carried on by the states, or by municipalities responsible to and acting in behalf of the states in which they are situated. The states report to the Federal office on the employment activities of its several offices, on the industrial situation from week to week, on the LABOR SURPLUS or deficit from day to day, and on their shipments of labor to other states. The Federal office receives and analyzes the stream of information which is thus poured in and directs it into channels of usefulness for the benefit of the states from which it was derived and of the nation as a whole. (For a more detailed account of the general plan by which the Employment Service will function as a "national clearing house for labor" see ZONE CLEARANCE SYSTEM and INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT SURVEY.)

National Consumers' League. See CONSUMERS' LEAGUES.

National Convention. In many American national and international unions, the annual or biennial convention of delegates from the various local unions is perhaps the most important feature in the national administrative machinery. It is often the highest authority of the national union, exercising executive and judicial as well as legislative functions. In its legislative capacity it may have equal authority to pass every kind of rule. "At one moment, therefore, the convention may be remodeling the entire machinery of government, or transferring important functions from the local unions to the international union; at another, it may be passing an unimportant rule to the effect that the UNION LABEL shall be printed on red instead of blue paper." Acting as a judicial tribunal, the convention considers grievances brought by national officers, local unions, or members, and these grievances may involve violations of

the rules of local unions as well as those of the national union. As an executive body, it fixes the amount of dues and assessments; it controls disbursements; it orders strikes against employers. The convention has the final power in making agreements. Even when COLLECTIVE BARGAINING is conducted by the local unions, the national union frequently fixes rules of APPRENTICESHIP, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment which the subordinate locals must demand from employers. The convention performs many other functions. It elects officers, and audits their accounts. Through its committees it performs at times a wide variety of detailed administrative duties which in a political government are usually delegated to the executive officers. Representation in the convention is sometimes on an equal basis, with one delegate for each local regardless of its size, sometimes on a proportional basis. In some national unions, the expense of sending delegates to the convention is borne by the national body; in others the local or district bodies bear the expense; while in still others the expense is divided between the national organization and the local or district bodies. (See TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—NATIONAL; BLOCK VOTE; FRATERNAL DELEGATES; INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.)

National Deputy. See DEPUTY SYSTEM.

National Economy. In an historical sense the third, and what is commonly considered the present, stage of economic organization. The social basis of industry is now nationality—instead of blood-relationship as under HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY, or contiguity as under TOWN ECONOMY. Community in production and community in consumption become distinct and separate. Commodities are no longer mainly consumption goods as in household economy, or mainly articles of exchange as in town economy, but commercial wares. The consumer no longer stands in any direct relation to the laborer, but purchases his goods from the ENTREPRENEUR or merchant, by whom the laborer is paid. Money becomes a medium of exchange and of profit-making as well. Capital becomes predominant; credit spreads to every sphere of industrial life; the FACTORY SYSTEM, LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION, and minute DIVISION OF LABOR become universal. While national economy has already been succeeded, in considerable part, by international or world economy, the latter is as yet not sufficiently organized to be considered an established successor to national economy. (See WAGE SYSTEM; GREAT INDUSTRY.)

National Executive. See CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.

National Federation of General Workers. A British organization, formed in May, 1917, which includes eleven important national unions of GENERAL WORKERS, known as GENERAL LABOR UNIONS, with an aggregate membership of over 800,000. It is a development of the earlier General Laborers' National Council (formed in 1908), a consultative body having for its principal function the prevention of OVERLAPPING and conflict among the different unions of general workers. The Federation took a significant step towards unification in November, 1919, in appointing ten District Committees, consisting of two representatives of each of the affiliated societies, charged to consult with regard to any local trade dispute involving more than one society.

National Federation of German Trade Unions. See NATIONALVERBAND DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTEN.

National Federation of Women Workers. The largest separate organization for women workers in Great Britain. This body works in close alliance with the Women's Trade Union League, a federal propagandist body to which many of the MIXED UNIONS are affiliated. The policy of both the League and the Federation is to get women into mixed unions wherever such unions exist, and the Federation acts rather as a clearing-house, and as an organization for women workers for whom no special provision exists, than as a general association for all women workers. (See MARRIAGE BENEFITS.)

National Guilds Movement. See GUILD SOCIALISM.

National Guildsmen. Advocates of GUILD SOCIALISM thus designate themselves.

National Industrial Councils. As formulated in the WHITLEY PLAN, a national industrial council is a voluntary body representative of the national trade unions and employers' associations for an entire industry in England. It is closely linked with the two classes of sub-bodies, the DISTRICT COUNCILS and the WORKS COMMITTEES, in the same industry, and deals only with larger questions (such as wages and hours) affecting the industry as a whole. The British government recognizes the Councils "as the official standing consultative committees to the government affecting the industries which they represent, and the normal channel through which the opinion and experience of an industry will be sought on all questions in which the industry is concerned." National councils have been

established in some twenty leading English industries. In a more general sense, the term "national industrial council" is often used in designation of any joint body representative of employers and workers in a single industry throughout the country—as for example, the PRINTING TRADES INTERNATIONAL JOINT CONFERENCE COUNCIL.

National Insurance Act. A British Parliamentary enactment of 1911, described in its title as "an Act to provide for insurance against loss of health and for the prevention and cure of sickness." The Act was amended, mainly in the direction of simplification, in 1918. With certain exceptions, all employed persons in the United Kingdom between the ages of sixteen and seventy, unless employed otherwise than by manual labor at a rate of remuneration exceeding £250 a year, are required to be insured. Both the employed person and his employer must make small weekly payments in support of the scheme, and these payments are supplemented by a State subsidy. The BENEFITS provided under the Act are medical, sanitorium (for tubercular persons), sickness, maternity, and disablement benefits. The national health insurance system which the Act embodies may be said to be built on the work of the great British FRIENDLY SOCIETIES; by the side of these large organizations, other societies such as trade unions, SICK CLUBS, ESTABLISHMENT FUNDS, and similar voluntary associations had for many years provided insurance or relief from distress due to sickness, injury, unemployment, death, etc. When the State insurance system was planned, it was decided to use these voluntary organizations as carriers of the system as far as the pecuniary benefits were concerned. These societies, if they meet with the requirements of the law, are designated as "approved societies"; the approval is given by the authorities on submission of proof showing that they are not conducted for profit, that they are controlled by the members, and that they are in a position to carry out the requirements of the law. (See UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT, 1920; INVALIDITY INSURANCE.)

National Labor Party. Organized at Chicago in November, 1919, by labor, farmer, and cooperative groups throughout the United States. The labor element consisted largely of those members of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR who opposed the Federation's policy of non-political activities. The party declared for the NATIONALIZATION of all unused land, public utilities, and basic industries; demanded free speech press, and assembly; and included various other planks in its platform similar to those of the Socialist Party. In July, 1920, the Party merged into the FARMER-LABOR

PARTY formed at that time, and of which it constitutes the largest element. Although generally known as the National Labor Party, its official title was the Labor Party of the United States.

National Labor Union. An American organization which flourished for several years after the Civil War. It was a delegate body, consisting of representatives of local, state, and national trade associations the membership of which at one time was reported to be 640,000. Seven annual conventions were held, beginning in 1866. During its brief existence the National Labor Union gave a considerable impetus to the EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT, and to the movement for public bureaus of labor statistics. It took an active interest in politics (in particular, GREENBACKISM) and COOPERATION.

National League of Women Workers. Organized 1897, to promote the interests of American working girls and women through clubs which offer social and educational opportunities. All clubs are self-governing, non-sectarian, and either partially or wholly self-supporting. The League numbers 124 clubs, with an approximate membership of 18,000. Individual clubs are federated into State Leagues, which in turn are members of the National League.

National Minimum. A phrase brought into currency by Sidney Webb to characterize the proposal for establishing national standards of education, sanitation, health, labor, and so forth, below which no member of an industrial community must be permitted to sink. This phrase is sometimes applied specifically to wages and hours.

National Officers. In the central organization of nearly all American NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL UNIONS there are found at least two permanent salaried officials—a president and a secretary or secretary-treasurer. "The president acts as chairman at meetings of the NATIONAL CONVENTION and of the GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD. He has supervision over the administrative affairs of the organization. He is a policeman enforcing the rules, and is frequently also a judge. He travels often to various parts of the country to organize new local unions, to encourage the weak ones, and to adjust disputes between the workmen and their employers. The secretary or secretary-treasurer acts as secretary at meetings of the convention and of the general executive board. He serves as a medium of communication between the local societies and the central union. He edits the TRADE ORGAN, save in a few organizations which have created a special official for this purpose or which

entrust the president with this duty. He keeps the financial accounts, and in a large majority of unions also has charge of the funds." In some of the larger unions, however, the funds are in charge of a separate officer, the treasurer; and the secretary is further relieved by several subordinate paid officials, each handling a specialized branch of secretarial work. The president, also, is assisted by various travelling officials—STRIKE DEPUTIES, ORGANIZERS, LABEL AGITATORS, etc. There may be, in addition, one or more vice-presidents, who in some cases attend to the field work of the organization. The national officers are elected sometimes by popular vote, sometimes by the national convention, and they are usually subject to the authority of the convention in other than routine matters. Their powers are also limited, as a rule, by the general executive board. (See TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—NATIONAL; DEPUTY SYSTEM; STATISTICIANS.)

National or International Union. In the American labor movement the national and international unions represent practically a single type. The typical national union aspires to control all the workers of a single craft or trade, or of all crafts or trades in a single industry, in the United States. The international union aspires to similar control, but includes also workers in Canada and (in a few cases) Mexico. It sometimes happens that unions which are called "national" do not in fact have members outside of a limited territory—as for example, certain unions in the cotton trade, whose membership is practically confined to New England. National and international unions are made up of local unions, which possess more or less complete autonomy, and which join in one way or another in the government of the general body. The latter's functions are thus stated in Hoxie's "Trade Unionism in the United States": "Through its officers, ORGANIZERS, and charters, it creates LOCALS and intermediate subordinate organizations. Through charters and constitutional provisions it determines membership, and membership conditions and privileges; the functional character of locals; their officers and duties; DISCIPLINE of members and general conduct of the affairs of the local. Through the constitution it determines the general economic policy and methods of the local—formulates the general WORKING RULES; sanctions or rejects local demands upon employers; determines the rules for negotiating agreements and for the calling and conduct of strikes. Through the constitution and officers it controls and administers the general finances and insurance funds of the union. It publishes the TRADE ORGAN and

is the general source of the trade propaganda material and publicity." Generally the structural units of a national union are the central organization and its various locals; but some unions have certain intermediary bodies, such as local, district, and state councils, or other delegate organizations representative usually of the locals. The great majority of national or international unions are affiliated in the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. Of the titles assumed by the type of labor organization dealt with in this paragraph, the commonest are "union," "association," "brotherhood," "society," "alliance," "order," "league," etc. These names are used with various descriptive or impressive adjectives. In some cases the organization is known by such a title as "United Mine Workers of America" or "International Jewelry Workers." (See TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT—NATIONAL; MEMBERS AT LARGE; RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS; INTERNATIONAL.)

National Safety Code Committee. See SAFETY CODES.

National Socialist Party (British). See SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

National Trades' Union. The pioneer national organization of wage-earners in the United States; formed at New York City in 1834, as a federation of local unions and of the central trades unions in different cities. It began merely as an advisory body with no disciplinary powers; but its constitution was altered in 1836 to allow it to exercise certain authority over its constituent bodies. It disappeared after the panic of 1837.

National War Labor Board. A Federal board of ARBITRATION formed in 1918, under the supervision of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, to adjust industrial disputes in plants engaged in work essential to the war. It was composed of an equal number of members nominated respectively by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and the National Industrial Conference Board, and had two chairmen, one representing each side. The principles which it adopted as a basis of procedure, and its subsequent awards, set up many precedents in labor adjustment. It was dissolved at the end of June, 1919.

National Women's Trade Union League of America. Formed in 1905, to secure the organization of all women workers of the United States into trade unions, with EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK, the EIGHT-HOUR DAY, a LIVING WAGE, and full citizenship

for women. The League admits to membership all working women, whether trade unionists or not, and women who, though not of the "working class," are interested in the League's purposes. Several city leagues subordinate to the national body have since been formed. The League holds biennial conventions, keeps several women ORGANIZERS in the field, maintains a school at Chicago in which women are trained for work as organizers, and through both national and local bodies takes an active part in various labor activities. (See INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WORKING WOMEN.)

Nationalization. As ordinarily used, this phrase summarizes the demand, voiced by a considerable section of the labor movement in every large country, that the existing machinery of industrial production and distribution, in particular such fundamental social assets as land, mines, railways, etc., be transferred from private capitalistic to public governmental ownership, and conducted on a non-competitive basis for the benefit of the nation as a whole. Nationalization means simply the transfer from private to communal ownership of any or all of the means of production or distribution. Such transfer could be effected either by government purchase or by government expropriation in the public interest. "Nationalization" has been called an unfortunate term in that it covers in a single ambiguous word two separate and distinct functions—ownership and administration. Public ownership is not an end, but a means to an end; and when the question of ownership has been settled, that of administration remains for separate solution. This latter may take any one of half a dozen forms—some centralized and some decentralized. Nationalization on a comprehensive scale is the central item in the creed of SOCIALISM in general, and of STATE SOCIALISM in particular. (See SOCIALIZATION; INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONALIZATION; NATIONALIZATION IN RUSSIA; PLUMB PLAN; SANKEY COMMISSION; REICHSKOHLENRAT; NATIONALIZERS.)

Nationalization in Russia. According to the report of the British labor delegation, issued in July, 1920, practically all of the large industries of Russia—the coal, iron, gold, and platinum mines, the oil wells, locomotive and machine works, metal industries, textile industries, railways and shipping—together with certain smaller industries such as salt and cement making, have been taken over by the national government. The retail shops have also been nationalized, and so has banking. In the case of the shops, this has led in practice to their closing, but not to the stoppage of retail trade. Banking, on the other hand, is being converted into a central

bookkeeping department of the State. There are 5000 nationalized enterprises, of which 2500 are grouped into 179 "trusts" and are directed by the SUPREME COUNCIL OF PUBLIC ECONOMY; the remaining 2500 are managed by REGIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCILS forming part of the provincial organization but directly responsible to the Supreme Council. At the head of each of the large nationalized factories is a "college of management," consisting usually of one or two persons nominated by the workers, one or two by the technical staff, and one by the regional economic council. The minor details of internal management are handled directly by the workers, functioning through their WORKS COMMITTEES and SHOP COMMITTEES. (See INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION IN RUSSIA.)

Nationalizers. Advocates of NATIONALIZATION among British trade unionists are often so called.

Nationalverband Deutscher Gewerkschaften (National Federation of German Trade Unions). A federation of many of the so-called YELLOW UNIONS or "peaceful unions" of Germany—those initiated or controlled mainly by large industrial concerns. The *Nationalverband* is of recent formation; its avowed object is said to be that of "obtaining the strongest possible representation in the WORKS COUNCILS, and of making these the organs of increased production instead of organs for the bolshevisation of German life."

Native Labor. The problem of native labor in so-called "backward" countries, both tropical and non-tropical, is one of immense extent and gravity. As summarized in the "Labor International Handbook," this problem "falls quite easily into a twofold category: (a) colored labor in the non-colonisable areas of the world; and (b) labor in the colonisable parts of the world. The difference in these two territories is that in the colonisable areas the white man can engage in manual labor; he can take to these countries his wife and family; there they can be educated and enjoy practically all the social amenities of the more temperate zones. White labor thus comes into definite competition with native labor. In the non-colonisable areas—roughly speaking, thirty degrees either side of the equator—it would seem that for all time the white man will be incapable of manual effort, although he may, with the advance of science, live for longer periods in these territories than is at present possible. There is a further division of quite a different order between the colonisable and non-colonisable areas. In the former the main product is mineral, in the latter vegetable. . . . The prevailing forms of native labor in all these territories are the following: (a)

Forced labor; (b) CONTRACT LABOR; (c) PEONAGE." Forced labor is of three kinds: (1) The indigenous or native form, consisting mainly of common community services required by the native rulers; (2) that demanded by the exploiting or "colonizing" government for porterage, bridge-building, railroad construction, etc.; (3) that used for private purposes, differing in no essential respect from SLAVERY. Under contract labor, the natives engage for periods of from six months to three years at an insignificant wage "and found" —the latter including housing, food, clothing, medical attendance, etc. The worst feature of this form of native labor is that, although the contract is a purely civil instrument, breaches of contract are treated as criminal offenses and often outrageously punished. The third form, peonage, is separately dealt with under that heading in the present volume.

Natural Selection. See SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

Natural Taxation. See SINGLE TAX.

Naturalization Bureau. Originally a part of the "Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization," functioning under the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce and Labor, this Bureau was separately organized and made a part of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR when that Department was created in March, 1913. The Bureau has control and supervision over all matters relating to the induction into fully qualified citizenship of foreign-born residents in the United States.

Navvy. A common laborer employed in excavation work of any kind is so nicknamed in England. The term is an abbreviation of "navigation," and originally had specific reference to a laborer engaged at canal-digging.

Nederlandsch Arbeids Secretariat (Dutch Labor Secretariat). See DUTCH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakvereenigingen (Dutch Federation of Trade Unions). See DUTCH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Nederlandsch Verbond voor Neutrale Vakvereenigingen (Dutch Federation of Neutral Trade Unions). See DUTCH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Needle Trades. The various trades concerned in the manufacture of clothing, cloaks, suits, dresses, waists, skirts, kimonos,

undergarments, waterproof garments, millinery, lace, embroidery, cloth hats and caps, etc., are generally so called.

Negative Boycott. See BOYCOTT.

Negro Economics Division. Organized in 1917, as a section of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, to formulate plans for increasing the efficiency and opportunities of negro wage-earners and for improving their relations with white workmen and white employers, and to advise the SECRETARY OF LABOR regarding labor conditions and problems in which the interests of the ten million colored American citizens might be involved. With the cooperation of a large field organization, the Division did efficient service for two years, and clearly demonstrated its necessity as a permanent agency of public welfare. But owing to the withdrawal of financial support on the part of Congress, it has now largely ceased to function.

Negro Labor. It has been estimated that one-seventh of the total industrial work of the United States is performed by negro laborers. The negro in the South supplies most of the unskilled labor. The average colored family lives on much less than the white family in the same locality; and the unskilled white rural laborer, in localities where negroes constitute the major proportion of the labor supply, is thereby excluded from selling his labor in that market. In agricultural work, particularly, unskilled negro labor predominates in nearly all of the southern states. During the recent war, negro workers in large numbers migrated to the north, the movement being largely induced by northern employers, chiefly railway corporations, whose labor supply had fallen off enormously as a result of the war. This exodus has continued to a considerable extent since the war, creating altogether some serious problems in connection with both southern agriculture and northern industry. The number of negro women and children gainfully employed in the United States is unusually large in proportion to the number of white workers. (See COLOR LINE IN TRADE UNIONISM; NEGRO ECONOMICS DIVISION; AGRICULTURAL LABOR.)

Neo-Marxians. Those followers of Karl Marx who have made critical revision of his theories, and refuse to accept all the tenets and implications of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, are sometimes so called. They divide, in the main, into REVISIONISTS and advocates of SYNDICALISM.

Netherlands, Labor Organizations in the. See DUTCH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Neutral Chairman. See IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN.

New England Contract Plan. One form of the CONTRACT SYSTEM which has been widely adopted in the United States, particularly in the metal-working industries. Under this plan, as summarized by F. S. Halsey, "certain leading men, who are called sometimes foremen and sometimes contractors, are given contracts for doing certain work. The shop and its facilities are the property of the employer, but the contractors proceed much as though the shop was their own. They engage the help and arrange their rates of pay, this pay being by the day, the men as a whole having no interest in the contracts. The contractors are not capitalists and do not furnish the capital or pay their men, who are paid by the employer precisely as though there were no contract plan in the shop, but the wages as paid are charged against the various contracts, and as the work is turned in the contractors are paid the difference between the contract price and the wages paid out."

New Model of Trade Unionism. While this term has been applied to various types of trade union structure originated during the past fifty or seventy-five years, it is perhaps most applicable to the plan of organization adopted in the formation of the British National Union of Railwaymen in 1913. This plan is described at length in the new (1920) edition of Mr. and Mrs. Webb's "History of Trade Unionism." The underlying basis is that known as EMPLOYMENTAL UNIONISM. (See ALL GRADES MOVEMENT.)

New Politics. This phrase is sometimes used to denote the conditions brought about by the entry of the working classes into the political field, with the consequent shifting of emphasis from political to economic values in government.

New Unionism. While the terms "new unionism" and "old unionism" have been used all through the trade union movement to designate alternating phases of policy and purpose at different periods, the phrase "new unionism" has become rather definitely attached to the revolt, originating in England about the time of the famous London dockers' strike of 1889, against the type of "exclusive" BUSINESS UNIONISM which barred unskilled workers and emphasized insurance, wage increases, improved working conditions, etc. In general, the term "new unionism" now denotes unionism with a revolutionary social aim, organized on an industrial rather than on a craft basis, including the unskilled workers and relying

more upon DIRECT ACTION than upon POLITICAL ACTION. (See OLD UNIONISM.)

New Zealand Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act. A measure, first enacted in 1894 and since considerably amended, which represents the first important scheme of State COMPULSORY ARBITRATION in trade disputes. Under this act New Zealand is divided into eight industrial districts, with a joint Board of Conciliation (composed of employers and employees in equal number) for each district. After a dispute has been brought before one of these boards a strike or lockout in connection with the dispute is thenceforth illegal. The board's award is compulsory unless appeal is taken within one month to the central Court of Arbitration. The latter body consists of one member representing workers, one representing employers, and a justice of the Supreme Court. This body, like the district Boards of Conciliation, has legal power to enforce its decisions, individual members of the unions or employers' associations being liable for the payment of fines up to a certain amount. The original Act provided for a system of registration for trade unions and employers' associations; no unregistered union or association, and no individual employer or employee, could bring a dispute before a district board. Under a late amendment, however, a single employer may now register under the Act. Practically the same system has been adopted in Western Australia. (See NEW ZEALAND LABOR MOVEMENT.)

New Zealand Labor Movement. As an effect of the elaborate system of STATE SOCIALISM carried out in New Zealand during the period 1890–1914, labor organization in that country has been of comparatively recent growth. The system of COMPULSORY ARBITRATION under the NEW ZEALAND INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION ACT, with the accompanying governmental regulation of wages and hours, resulted in a state of industrial peace from 1894 to 1905, and New Zealand became famous as the "country without strikes." But since 1905 strikes have occurred with increasing frequency, and discontent with the compulsory arbitration law is now widespread. In 1920 there were 380 trade unions in New Zealand, with 82,553 members—or about seven per cent of the total population. Of these unions, 190 were organized in thirty associations, mainly national federations of single crafts. The two predominant groups are the New Zealand Workers' Union, which organizes the mass of the rural workers and is linked up with the powerful AUSTRALIAN WORKERS' UNION; and the Alliance of Labor, which grew

up out of the affiliations of the Waterside and Transport Workers and the Miners, and now includes, among others, railway and transport workers, miners, engineers, and metal workers, on a basis of industrial departments. In November, 1920, a joint conference of the Workers' Union, the Alliance of Labor, and other federations was held to promote unity in industrial organization, and, in particular, to find some basis for the unification of the two predominant groups. The political interests of organized labor are represented by the New Zealand Labor Party, which is definitely socialistic in policy.

New Zealand Labor Party. See NEW ZEALAND LABOR MOVEMENT.

New Zealand Workers' Union. See NEW ZEALAND LABOR MOVEMENT.

Newlands Act. A Congressional act of 1913, creating the UNITED STATES BOARD OF MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION for the settlement of controversies between employers and employees engaged in interstate transportation. It superseded the ERDMAN ACT of 1898.

Night Work. While necessary in essentially CONTINUOUS INDUSTRIES, night work has normally no justification under other conditions, and it is strongly opposed on both economic and social grounds by organized labor. Many of the 14th century craft guilds expressly prohibited night work; and there have been cases of American trade unions which refused to admit habitual night workers. Even from the employer's point of view, though it permits of more continuous use of plant and equipment, night work is uneconomical owing (in part) to higher charges for wages, lighting, heating, supervision, etc. From the worker's point of view, it is attended by serious physical and moral dangers—particularly in the case of women and children. According to Commons and Andrews, the investigations of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION, begun in 1901, "clearly demonstrated that recovery from FATIGUE is obtained mainly through rest and sleep, and that sound sleep can rarely be secured in the daytime, especially in the noisy and crowded homes of many working people in industrial cities. The lack of sunlight tends to produce anæmia and tuberculosis and to predispose to other ills. Night work brings increased liability to eye strain and accident. Serious moral dangers also are likely to result from the necessity of travelling the streets alone at night, and from the inter-

ference with normal home life. From an economic point of view, moreover, the investigations showed that night work was unprofitable, being inferior to day work both in quality and in quantity. Wherever it has been abolished, in the long run the efficiency both of the management and of the workers was raised. Furthermore, it was found that night work laws are a valuable aid in enforcing acts fixing the maximum period of employment." Night work for women in all industries or in certain selected industries is now forbidden in nearly all European countries and in about a dozen states of this country. Some forty states have prohibited night work for children under sixteen. There is practically no existing legislation of this sort with regard to adult males.

Nihilism. From the Latin word *nihil*, meaning "nothing"; the philosophy or belief of a small intellectual extremist section of Russian revolutionaries, who were popularly supposed to strive for universal destruction of all existing forms of society, without having any constructive plan to substitute for those forms. The assassination of high political officials was for a time prominent among their methods. Nihilism, never a very clearly defined creed and having but few followers, has practically disappeared since the overthrow of the Czarist regime in Russia.

Nominal Wages. See WAGES.

Non-Economic Strike. See POLITICAL STRIKE.

Non-Partisan League. An association of farmers, organized in North Dakota in 1915, which has spread rapidly throughout the northwest. Its general purpose is to secure the election of government officials, and the subsequent enactment of legislation, "favorable to the establishment and operation by the State of the industries and facilities necessary to insure the efficient and equitable financing of farm operations and economic marketing of farm products so as to protect the farmers' earnings and to conserve soil fertility." Thus, the League is essentially a political movement which seeks to correct certain industrial abuses and to attain definite economic results. But its detailed programme covers a much wider field. The League identifies itself with no party, but nominates its candidates ordinarily by endorsing candidates in the old parties who accept its principles. While membership in the League is restricted to *bona fide* farmers, it has from the first adopted a policy of cooperation with labor organizations. During the first six years of its existence the League has established itself on a substantial

basis in at least a dozen states, notably in the two Dakotas and Minnesota. (See WORKING PEOPLE'S NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE.)

Non-Union Shop. An establishment in which wages, hours, and general conditions of employment are fixed by the employer, instead of by joint agreement with a trade union. If employment is refused to trade unionists as such, the non-union shop becomes an "anti-union shop." But even if trade unionists are employed without discrimination, the establishment is nevertheless non-union as long as COLLECTIVE BARGAINING in the trade union sense is not recognized or practiced. (See OPEN SHOP; AMERICAN PLAN.)

Norfolk Idea. During a recent strike of machinists at Norfolk, Va., following an employers' effort to enforce the OPEN SHOP policy, the International Association of Machinists purchased an overdue mortgage against one of the largest Norfolk plants. With this weapon they forced the plant to renew operations on a union basis; and when the local banks withdrew credit from the "offending" concern, the Machinists Association itself advanced the needed credit. These tactics finally brought complete victory to the strikers, against the combination of bankers and employers' association conducting the open shop "drive." This transference of strategy from DIRECT ACTION to the field of finance has been termed the "Norfolk Idea," and labor leaders are now giving it close consideration as suggesting a new and favorable approach to WORKERS' CONTROL of industry.

Normal Day or Normal Week. The number of working hours per day or week that has been established, through COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, by law, or by custom, as the standard for one industry or for all industries within a certain geographical area. In a larger sense, a standard number of working hours per day or week demanded for all industrial workers, and determined with reference to two main factors: (1) The physical, mental, and moral welfare of the worker, and (2) the maintenance of the STANDARD RATE. Mr. and Mrs. Webb use the term "normal day" in designation of the second class of trade union regulations involved in what they call the principle of the COMMON RULE. "The regulation that work shall not be extended beyond so many hours per day," says George O'Brien, "is one which is peculiar to manual workmen and even amongst them is of comparatively recent conception. During the eighteenth century working hours were tolerated and accepted which would now shock the conscience of the public, but in recent times the whole

weight of the trade union movement has been thrown into the endeavor to secure diminution of the working hours. Of course, the introduction of factory work and of LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY renders the adoption of the normal day more easy than it was when workmen worked in their own homes, and the very simplicity with which the normal day can be enforced in factories where a large number of workmen are employed makes it peculiarly a subject for LEGAL ENACTMENT, as it does not depend upon the peculiarities either of localities or of individuals." (See SHORT HOUR MOVEMENT.)

Norwegian Labor Party. See ARBEIDERNES FAGLIGE LANDSORGANISATION I NORGE.

Norwegian National Trade Union Federation. See ARBEIDERNES FAGLIGE LANDSORGANISATION I NORGE.

Norwegian Works Councils Law. A provisional WORKS COUNCILS act (*Midlertidig lov om arbeiderutvalg*) was passed in Norway on July 22, 1920. The functions of the councils are advisory only, and no penalty is laid down for failure to comply with the terms of the law. In every establishment which employs regularly not less than fifty workers, a works council is to be formed, if demanded by one-fourth of the workpeople. The members of the council (who must number not less than two or more than ten) are to be elected for a year from among such workers in the establishment as are over twenty-one years of age. The works council is to consider and express opinions upon the following points: (1) Important changes in the management, so far as they affect working conditions; (2) questions concerning ordinary scales of pay, PIECE WORK rates, hours of labor, OVERTIME, arrangement of work during SHORT TIME, holidays, and other working conditions; (3) workshop regulations and additions to or changes therein; and (4) questions as to the setting up or the management of welfare institutions (sickness and funeral funds, savings banks, workmen's dwellings, etc.). Further, the council is entitled (and if requested by one of the parties is bound) to act as CONCILIATOR in disputes in which any worker is concerned if they relate to working conditions or to the dismissal of workpeople.

O

O. B. U. These initials are commonly used in popular designation of ONE BIG UNION.

Occupational Diseases. In a broad and general sense, "the morbid results of occupational activity traceable to specific causes or labor conditions, and followed by more or less extended incapacity for work." The commoner forms of occupational disease may be classified according to cause and nature of injury as follows: (1) Diseases due to gradual absorption of poisons—*e.g.*, lead poisoning. (2) Diseases in which the poison or germ enters the system through a break in the skin—*e.g.*, anthrax. (3) Skin affections from acids or other irritants—*e.g.*, eczema, dermatitis, etc. (4) Diseases due to fumes or dust entering the system through the respiratory organs —*e.g.*, tuberculosis, gas poisoning, etc. (5) Diseases due to vibrations or constant use of particular members—*e.g.*, neuritis, telegrapher's cramp, housemaid's knee, etc. (6) Miscellaneous diseases —*e.g.*, caisson disease, miner's nystagmus, etc. In addition to all these, the term "occupational diseases" is often applied to many non-industrial ailments or disorders to which the public at large is subject, but which may nevertheless be caused or aggravated by specific conditions of labor. Nearly all civilized countries have enacted legislation designed to limit or prevent the more serious occupational diseases. In some cases the use of certain poisonous materials, as for example, white lead and yellow phosphorus, is prohibited altogether. In other cases children, women, or some classes of men are prohibited from handling certain dangerous materials or working under hazardous health conditions. The immediate reporting of all cases of occupational disease is required under the laws of seventeen states in this country. (See HEALTH HAZARDS; INDUSTRIAL MEDICINE; INDUSTRIAL HEALTH WORK; INDUSTRIAL PHYSIOLOGY; SAFETY FIRST MOVEMENT.)

Occupational Union. See CRAFT UNION.

Odborove Sdruzeni Ceskoslovenske (Federation of Czecho-Slovak Trade Unions). The leading labor organization of Czecho-Slovakia, formed as a separate entity in 1897, upon the refusal of the Austrian GEWERKSCHAFTSKOMMISSION to grant autonomy to the Czech unions under its jurisdiction. In 1913 the Federation had a membership of 104,574. Owing to war conditions this total had dropped to 23,932 in 1916. Since the proclamation of the Republic, however, the Federation has made tremendous headway. In 1920 the membership was stated to be 727,055, women members forming 28 per cent of this total.

Old Age Certificate. See EXEMPT CARDS.

Old Age Insurance. A form of SOCIAL INSURANCE which provides periodic payments to workers who are wholly or partially incapacitated for wage-earning by reason of old age. Such payments are often termed "superannuation benefits." Compulsory old age insurance, in combination with invalidity insurance, has been established in eleven European countries, and in the United States for all Federal government employees in the classified civil service. Other countries have voluntary systems of old age insurance, carried on mainly by MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES, assisted or unassisted by the State. "Straight" old age pensions, that is to say, annual payments granted outright by the government on a non-contributory basis, are provided in several countries. ESTABLISHMENT FUNDS in the United States usually make provision for old age pensions, or "retirement allowances" as they are often called, and some of the larger national or international unions maintain special pension funds for this purpose. Superannuation benefits are paid by many of the large British trade unions. (See BENEFITS; MASSACHUSETTS SAVINGS BANK INSURANCE AND PENSION SYSTEM; SOCIAL INSURANCE IN RUSSIA; OLD AGE PENSION ACTS.)

Old Age Pension Acts. British Parliamentary enactments of 1908 and 1911, which provide for State pensions payable to every man and woman over the age of seventy whose income does not exceed £31, 10 shillings a year, and who has been for the last twenty years before receiving the pension a British subject and for twelve of those years (allowance being made for Crown service abroad and certain other instances) a resident in the United Kingdom. About one million persons in Great Britain now receive pensions under these Acts.

Old Age Pensions. See OLD AGE INSURANCE.

Old Unionism. In general, unionism of the conservative type, laying stress on insurance, craft autonomy, POLITICAL ACTION, etc., rather than on INDUSTRIAL ACTION; and largely or wholly ignoring the unskilled worker. (See NEW UNIONISM; BUSINESS UNIONISM; UPLIFT UNIONISM; COFFIN SOCIETY.)

Omnibus Injunction. See BLANKET INJUNCTION.

On-and-Off System. In general, the method of employing workers at irregular intervals and for uncertain periods, instead of for a definite number of hours each day or week. The "on-and-off system" is chiefly found in those industries which habitually utilize extra or relief workers, according to the varying pressure of work. Thus, in telegraphy, an extra or relief operator might be given two hours' work in the early morning, another hour at noon, and two or three additional hours in the early evening. As he would not know when he might be called on, he would have to be continuously on hand from early morning until late evening, although idle most of the time. (See GRASS WORK; BYE-TURNMAN.)

One Big Union. This term, like many others in the labor movement, is so loosely and variously used that any exact definition is difficult. To certain timid souls, any departure from strict CRAFT UNIONISM, any labor organization that follows the general structure and lines of an entire industry, is "One Big Union." On the other hand, the term is often applied to any radical labor body, however relatively limited in membership and influence—such as the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, or the South Wales Miners' Federation, or the WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION OF AUSTRALIA. Then there are certain labor organizations, notably the one formed among the workers of Western Canada in 1919, which have definitely adopted the title of "One Big Union." But, in the broadest sense, the term denotes an ideal or purpose, rather than any present actuality—an ideal and purpose that have long exerted a powerful influence on the working classes of every country. In the broadest sense, the goal in view is a single world-wide organization of labor, coherent and coordinate and all-embracing, recognizing no distinctions of nationality, color, sex, or occupation, and representative of the united economic force and social will of the working classes of the world. A necessary step toward the realization of the international "One Big Union" is the formation of a nationally inclusive organization in every country. In this national sense, the "One Big Union" movement has perhaps made the greatest progress in

Ireland, where the stress of the revolutionary republican struggle has united the working classes in a remarkably homogeneous body. (See CLASS UNIONISM; GRAND NATIONAL; IRISH LABOR PARTY AND TRADES UNION CONGRESS; IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION; AUSTRALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

One-Break Day. A working day that is "broken" only by the interval allowed for the mid-day meal. The "one-break day" is a rarity in British industry, as usually several "breaks" or pauses are allowed for various purposes.

One Day's Rest in Seven. The insistence upon one day of rest for the worker each week has long been an important item in the programme of trade unionism. But it is recognized that the rest-day for all workers cannot be Sunday, because certain kinds of industries require continuous operation. Not the seven-day week but the seven-day worker is the objectionable feature. In nearly all European countries and in some half dozen states in this country, so called "rest-day laws" have been passed which recognize in some degree at least the principle of "one day's rest in seven." These laws generally name Sunday as the day of rest, but permit the operation of CONTINUOUS INDUSTRIES on that day provided the worker is given some other free day during the week. Another class of laws, originating primarily from religious motives, attempts to enforce Sunday as a day of rest; but such laws have for the most part proved ineffectual. Yet notwithstanding trade union pressure, legislative enactments, religious scruples, and the force of enlightened public opinion, large numbers of workers are still required to labor seven days a week—sometimes, as in the American steel industry, for twelve hours a day.

One-Man Shop. The form of small business—particularly common in the plumber, barber, tailor, job printer, blacksmith, painter, and carpenter trades—which is run by a single man or a partnership, with no other workers than possibly an APPRENTICE or HELPER. The problem of the one-man shop is an important one to trade unions. The competition of such a shop, according to Dr. Weyforth, "is unregulated; its proprietor is left free to work at prices that are out of the question for an employer compelled to pay the regular union rate of wages, and to prolong his hours of labor to a time far beyond the limits fixed by the regulation of the union. In fact, the intensity of competition for business insures the working out of this result. . . . The result of the presence of these small shops is the undermining of the strength of the union, since the

large employer of labor is compelled to meet the competition of such shops, and, in doing so, feels himself handicapped by regulations in regard to wages and hours that do not apply to the small competitor." In some trades the one-man shop is sometimes referred to as a "bedroom shop."

One-Man Strike. A strike called to force the reinstatement of a single discharged employee. Such strikes are of fairly frequent occurrence, and sometimes involve thousands of workers—as in the case of the famous "Knox strike" of British railway workers in 1912. In such a strike it is of course a principle that the workers are contending for—the principle that the employers' "right to discharge" shall not be arbitrarily or unjustly exercised. (See VICTIMIZATION.)

One-Man Town. See COMPANY TOWN.

Open-Door Principle. This phrase has its origin in the statement frequently made by employers: "My office door is always open to any employee who wishes to lay a grievance before me." Advocates of the "open-door principle" often assume that nothing further is needed to secure just and satisfactory industrial relations.

Open-Mouth Strike. A workers' term, applied to the plan sometimes adopted by dissatisfied waiters, retail clerks, etc., of telling customers the exact truth about adulterated or inferior articles which their employer offers for sale. Or, in connection with factory workers, it may consist in letting the public know about shoddy or dishonest methods followed in the manufacture of certain articles. This practice is, properly speaking, a mild form of SABOTAGE, the immediate purpose being to injure the employer. In France it is called *la bouche ouverte*—"the open mouth."

Open Shop. Originally, an open shop was one where trade union members were permitted by the union to seek employment. To declare a shop "open" was equivalent to calling off a strike or boycott. Now, however, the term has a very different connotation. In present-day practice there are three main forms of open shop. First, there is the shop which, under JOINT AGREEMENT, is open alike to unionists and non-unionists, where both classes of workers are employed under the same wage scale and the same working conditions, without DISCRIMINATION on the part of either employer or trade union. Open shops of this type have long been common in certain national industries (as for example, the railways) where control on both sides is strongly centralized. They are in no way incompatible with the methods and aims of trade unionism, or with

the legitimate independence of employers. But they depend upon three definite factors: (1) A strong and well-disposed association on each side; (2) the fixing of wage-scales and working conditions by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING and joint agreement; and (3) the reference of unsettled grievances and complaints on either side to a joint board of union officials and the employers' association representatives. Where these factors prevail, the issue of open shop versus CLOSED SHOP becomes largely an academic one. The second form of open shop is commonly and more properly known as the "non-union shop"—that in which wages, hours, and working conditions are fixed by the employer instead of by joint agreement with a trade union, although no discrimination is shown against individual unionists in the matter of employment. The third form is the shop which is "open" to non-unionists, but is "closed" by the employer to trade unionists as such, although some form of COMPANY UNION may be permitted or encouraged. This is the "anti-union shop," or what unionists often call the "employers' closed shop" or "closed non-union shop." It is around the two last-described forms of open shop—those in which collective bargaining is denied by the employer—that the present "open shop controversy" is centred. The vital point in this controversy, as every employer and trade unionist knows, is the matter of collective bargaining. Discrimination or non-discrimination in the employment of individual unionists is of comparatively small importance. Trade unionism is effective solely by virtue of the principle of collective bargaining and collective action. As far as the "open shop campaign" aims to nullify or destroy that principle, it aims at the nullification or destruction of trade unionism itself. Carefully concealed as this fact is in most public discussions of the subject, it is nevertheless the heart and substance of the whole matter. (See AMERICAN PLAN; UNION SHOP; PREFERENTIAL SHOP; MIXED SHOP; LOCKWOOD COMMITTEE.

Open Trades. Those trades or occupations in which the trade unions concerned in no way restrict APPRENTICESHIP or the learning of their members' occupations by newcomers.

Open Union. A trade union in which membership is open to all workers in the same craft or occupation and locality, under uniform conditions which necessarily exclude no competent and honest member of the trade. This is by far the prevailing type in all countries. Opposed to this type is the so-called CLOSED UNION, which endeavors to secure a monopoly of the employment in its field for a comparatively small number of workers.

Operative. (1) Any industrial worker, particularly one employed in a mill or factory, is commonly so called in England. The term is also used in the same sense in the United States, although much less generally. (2) A private detective, or UNDER-COVER MAN.

Operator. In American coal-mining, the person, firm, or corporation in direct control of the working and management of a mine, whether as owner or lessee, is known as the "operator." As the anthracite coal-mines are largely owned or controlled by railroad companies, the term "independent operator" is often applied to an operator other than a railroad corporation.

Opportunist, Opportunism. In the field of SOCIALISM or labor, an "opportunist" is one who believes in advancing his cause by taking advantage of opportunities and circumstances as they arise, without much regard to fixed principles, consistent practice, or ultimate objectives. Opportunism is the policy of moderate, as opposed to extremist, socialist and labor leaders. (See IMPOSSIBILIST.)

Order System. See TRUCK SYSTEM.

Organization by Function. See FUNCTIONAL DEMOCRACY.

Organized Scabbery. See UNION SCAB.

Organized Short Time. See SHORT TIME.

Organizer. A trade union official whose function it is to promote the UNIONIZATION of unorganized workers, and to carry on general propaganda work in behalf of trade unionism. In the case of a newly formed national union this function is often assigned to one of the national executive officers; but as the union grows in size and strength the work is usually delegated to one or several permanent travelling officials, who often act as STRIKE DEPUTIES and perform other field duties as well. The AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR employs a considerable number of salaried organizers, besides many volunteer workers who are usually paid on a commission basis. The work of these organizers consists in the formation and building up of local unions in trades or industries in which no national union exists, in assisting the national unions in the organizing of their trades or industries whenever possible, and in the settlement of disputes, the supervision of strikes, and other work of maintenance and conservation—both for the local unions directly affiliated with the Federation and for other unions whenever called upon. (See DEPUTY SYSTEM; BUSINESS AGENT.)

Organizing District Delegates. See BRITISH TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION.

Osborne Judgment. A notable decision rendered in December, 1909, by the British House of Lords, acting in its judicial capacity as the highest Court of Appeals. Formally, this judgment decided only that W. V. Osborne, a member of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, was entitled to restrain that trade union from making a levy on its members and from using any of its funds for the purpose of supporting the BRITISH LABOR PARTY, or maintaining members of Parliament. In effect, however, it crippled all British trade unions by virtual prohibition of political and educational work on their part, and association for common purposes in other labor bodies. While partly modified by the TRADE UNION ACT OF 1913, the Osborne judgment has not yet been completely overruled. (See TRADE UNION ACT OF 1871.)

Out-of-Work Benefits. Payments made by a trade union or by the public authorities to workers who are temporarily unemployed. In England, this is the most important of all trade union BENEFITS. Aside from its protection of the individual from destitution while he is finding a new position, from the trade union point of view it also protects the STANDARD RATE and other normal conditions of employment from being broken down by the competition of union members driven by necessity to accept the employers' terms. In England, the out-of-work benefit is sometimes called "idle money," or more commonly the "donation." (See UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE; TRAVELLING BENEFITS; VICTIM PAY; REGISTRY SYSTEM.)

Outlaw Strike. See INDEPENDENT STRIKE.

Outlaws. A term applied in labor circles to individuals, groups, or shops that have broken away from their "regular" trade union jurisdiction. An outlaw shop is one that refuses to accept the collective agreement between the workers and the employers in an industry. An outlaw LOCAL is one that has seceded from its national or international union, or that has been expelled. (See VACATIONISTS; SECESSIONISTS; INDEPENDENT STRIKE; RUMP UNION.)

Output Committee. See TIMEKEEPING COMMITTEE.

Outside Shop. See INSIDE SHOP.

Outside Union. A term frequently used by employers in designation of any local or national labor organization in the regular trade union sense. The employer who uses this term obviously im-

plies that his own workers are organized in an "inside" or COMPANY UNION, but this is by no means always the case.

Outwork. Any arrangement under which industrial operations are carried on elsewhere than in a factory or workshop provided and controlled by the employer of the workers. "Outwork" and HOME WORK are in the main synonymous terms, although outwork is not invariably home work. For instance, a group of garment finishers, working for a contractor or sub-contractor, may collectively hire one or more rooms outside their own homes, which they use solely for the purpose of a common workshop. Their work is thus outwork, but not home work. (See OUTWORKER.)

Outworker. In the commonly accepted definition, "a person to whom articles or materials are given out to be made up, cleaned, washed, altered, ornamented, finished, repaired, or adapted for sale in his own home or on other premises not under the control or management of the person who gave out the articles or materials." (See OUTWORK.)

Over-All Time Study. The process of determining, usually with an ordinary watch, the amount of time required in a complete industrial operation, the result being sometimes made the basis of a piece-rate wage. This should be carefully distinguished from the TIME AND MOTION STUDY of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, which consists in "the analysis of operations into their elementary units, the determination of the best methods and time for the performance of each of these units, and their summation into a total time for the entire job." (See EMERSON SYSTEM.)

Over-Driving. See SPEEDING UP.

Over-Production. In a correct economic sense, this term does not necessarily imply that more has been produced of an article than can be consumed or used, or even sold. It means, according to Clay, that "more of the article has been produced than can be sold at a price big enough to repay its makers the cost of production, plus sufficient profit to induce them to go on producing at the same rate." Upon this point is based one of the arguments commonly urged in defense of LIMITATION OF OUTPUT as a workers' policy. "It is because more goods are made than can be bought by people who want to buy them, it is argued, that the mills have to stop working, and widespread industrial depression occurs. So far as restriction of individual output would increase the aggregate share of the wage-earners in the social product, it would modify the tendency to industrial de-

pression, by increasing consumption; for almost all which the wage-earners are able to get is immediately consumed. But, beyond that, overproduction would be directly diminished by so much as each individual worker should diminish his own product." (See UNDER-CONSUMPTION THEORY.)

Overlap. As described by Mr. and Mrs. Webb, "an 'overlap' between two trades, leading to a dispute as to which section of workmen has a 'right' to the job, may occur in more than one way. A new process may be invented which lies outside the former work of any one trade, but is nearly akin to two or more of them. In such a case, each trade will vehemently claim that the new process 'belongs' to its own members, either because the same material is manipulated, the same tools are used, or the same object is effected. But even without a new invention the same conflict of rights may arise. The lines of division between allied trades have hitherto often differed from town to town, and the migration of employers or workmen, or even the mere imitation of the custom of one town by the establishments of another, will lead to serious friction. A new firm may introduce fresh ways of dividing its work, or an old establishment may undertake a new branch of trade. There may even be an unprovoked and naked aggression, by a strongly organized class of workmen, upon the jobs hitherto undertaken by a humbler section." Disputes concerning "overlap" (generally called "demarcation disputes" in England and "jurisdictional disputes" in America), while always frequent and often serious in the trade union world, occasionally develop into industrial wars of the first magnitude. The terms "encroachment" and "trespass" are sometimes used in a sense generally synonymous with "overlap." (See JURISDICTION; DEMARCATION; RIGHT TO THE TRADE; VESTED INTERESTS DOCTRINE.)

Overman. In British coal-mining operations, a petty official having charge of some section of the work below ground.

Overstrain. See FATIGUE.

Overtime. Time worked beyond the number of hours established by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, by custom, or by law as comprising the NORMAL DAY OR WEEK in a particular industry, occupation, or industrial plant, or time worked on Sundays and holidays, is so called. The increased rate of pay commonly demanded by organized employees for such extra working time is often known as "punitive overtime," the trade union theory being that it is usually unnecessary and always undesirable to have overtime, and that the increased rate of payment is a penalty against the employer and intended to

able and friendly relations between the labor movements and peoples of the Pan-American Republics." The Federation maintains headquarters in Washington, and holds an annual congress.

Parasitic Industries. Those which depend for their labor supply upon "casuals," HOME WORKERS, and other unorganized laborers, particularly women and children, under wages and conditions far below the ordinary industrial standards. The employer in such an industry is clearly receiving a subsidy or bounty which gives his process an economic advantage over those worked by fully paid labor. The subsidy comes in part from society as a whole in the form of drafts upon its physical human resources, and in part from individuals—parents, husbands, etc.—who must make up the difference between the worker's wages and the amount necessary for his subsistence. (See SWEATING SYSTEM; SWEAT SHOP; SWEATER; LITTLE MASTER; HOME WORK; UNDER-EMPLOYMENT.)

Paris Internationale. See INTERNATIONALE.

Parliament of Labor. See TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Parliamentarism. With particular reference to the labor movement, the theory or method of improving working-class conditions by the election of working-class representatives to national legislative bodies. Although the two terms are often used interchangeably, parliamentarism is more properly only one form of POLITICAL ACTION.

Parliamentary Committee, Trades Union Congress. See TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Parliamentary Labor Party. Those members of the British Parliament, at present some sixty in number, who were elected or "returned" by labor constituencies, are collectively so called. The Parliamentary Labor Party is virtually the Parliamentary representation of the BRITISH LABOR PARTY.

Parlor Bolshevism. A term of derision often applied to the discussion and support of radical social theories on the part of those who belong to the intellectual or propertied classes, rather than to the working people. "Parlor socialism" is also used in a similar sense. (See BOLSHEVISM.)

Part Time. As distinguished from FULL TIME, this is less than the number of working hours which has been established as constituting the NORMAL DAY OR WEEK in a particular plant or industry.

Part-Time Schools. Special schools or classes for children and others who are industrially employed. The instruction may be wholly of an academic character, wholly of a vocational character, or a combination of both. The part-time school devoted wholly or mainly to general academic instruction is commonly known as a CONTINUATION SCHOOL. Part-time schools which place main emphasis upon VOCATIONAL EDUCATION are of two general types: (1) Those giving instruction in the particular trade or industry in which the pupils are employed—known as "trade extension schools"; and (2) those giving instruction to persons who wish to fit themselves for a particular trade or industry other than the one in which they are employed—known as "trade preparatory schools." The part-time school of whatever type may be a part of the general educational system, or it may be provided by an individual employer for the sole benefit of his own employees. Where it is a part of the public educational facilities, attendance is compulsory in some countries and in several states in this country, for a minimum number of hours, for children below a specified age limit; and such hours are usually counted as part of the time during which such children are legally permitted to work. While the terms "part-time school" and "continuation school" are often used indiscriminately or interchangeably, properly speaking the continuation school is merely one specific form of the part-time school. (See FORTBILDUNGSSCHULE.)

Parteischule. See WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.

Parti Ouvrier Belge (Belgian Labor Party). Because of the close-knit alliance between trade unionists, socialists, and cooperatives which it represents, the Belgian Labor Party (founded in 1885) is one of the most effective working-class organizations in Europe. In this organization, it has been remarked, "SOCIALISM supplies the brain that directs, TRADE UNIONISM the weapons for the fight, and COOPERATION the sinews of war." The Labor Party is a national federation with thirty-two district organizations which cover the whole of Belgium. Membership is open to trade unions, cooperative societies, political organizations called "workers' leagues," communal socialist unions, and the political sections of friendly societies (*mutualités*). The complete establishment of socialism is the aim of the Party, which in 1920 had 540,000 members and seventy adherents in the national Chamber of Representatives. It is affiliated with the second INTERNATIONALE. (See COMMISSION SYNDICALE BELGE; BELGIAN TRADE UNIONS.)

Partial General Strike. See GENERAL STRIKE.

Particulars Clause. An important section of the British FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT of 1891 which provides, as regards textile manufactures, that the employer shall state in writing, before the job is begun, all the particulars (including the rate of payment) required for the precise computation of the workers' earnings. The clause has since been extended to cover a number of other PIECE WORK trades.

Partido Laborista Mexicano. The national Labor Party of Mexico, formed in March, 1920. It is composed of both city workers and farm laborers, and is organized in national, state, electoral district, and municipal units, with subcommittees for small towns. The party supports the CONFEDERACIÓN REGIONAL OBRERA MEXICANA (Mexican Regional Confederation of Labor), and endeavors to carry out that organization's programme in the political field.

Partido Socialista Obrero (Socialist Labor Party). See SPANISH LABOR MOVEMENT.

Partnering. See TEAM WORK.

Passive Resistance Strike. See HARTAL.

Passport Agreement, Japanese-American. See JAPANESE-AMERICAN PASSPORT AGREEMENT.

Paternalism. A term derived from the Latin word *pater*, meaning "father." As most commonly used, it refers to the theory and practice of a government or of the ruling classes which attempt close control and supervision of the social and economic affairs of the people, in much the same manner that a father deals with his children. Two forms of paternalism, each in direct opposition to the other, should be carefully distinguished. One form is that which would trust the conduct of human affairs solely to the wisdom and beneficence of the possessing classes. "Just as the true solution of the problem of government was felt to consist in the training up of a wise, strong, and humane body of governors who would carry out with justice and selflessness the function with which they were entrusted, so the industrial problem would be solved only when the employers and the landlords understood that they owed a duty to the men of whom they were in charge. . . . The rich and the rulers must be converted by the teaching of the most enlightened among their number into an aristocracy of service." The second form is that represented by STATE SOCIALISM; the paternalistic functions in this

case are exercised not by individuals among the possessing classes, but by the governmental machinery of the State. Naturally enough, the most bitter opponents of this latter form of paternalism are the adherents of the form first mentioned above; the individual paternalist is commonly the last person who wishes to be himself paternalized. While the European labor movement for a long time leaned toward State socialism, there is now a marked tendency among the workers in every country to reject paternalism in any form. This tendency expresses itself most obviously in (1) opposition to anything which seems to place the representatives of labor under the dominance of reformers or of the representatives of organized capital—as for example, WELFARE WORK; and (2) opposition to all laws and governmental tendencies which may restrict complete freedom of action on the part of labor organizations. (See BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM.)

Patrimony. In labor affairs, this term denotes an old custom whereby the JOURNEYMEN in certain occupations were privileged to bring their own sons into the trade as APPRENTICES, and to instruct them in the processes of the craft. This custom still survives to some extent. The National Window Glass Workers, for example, make relationship a strict qualification for apprenticeship, while some other unions give the preference to sons of journeymen. It is also to be found in the cutlery industry of Sheffield, England.

Patrolling. See PICKETING.

Patrolmen. In the district organizations of the International Seamen's Union these are officers whose function it is to visit sailors' headquarters along the water-front, examine the cards of members on incoming and outgoing vessels, and collect dues. (See SHOP STEWARD.)

Pauper Labor. A phrase often used in arguments for a protective tariff in the United States, particularly when such arguments are addressed to the working classes. It is intended to designate the "poorly paid" laborers of Europe, whose competition would theoretically be disastrous to the "highly paid" American workmen, if the products of the latter were not "protected" by a high tariff.

Pay Agencies. See EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.

Pay Orders. See SCRIPT.

Pay Roll Period. That period of time—one week, two weeks, a month, etc.,—which in a particular plant or industry is taken as the basis for computing the amount of wages due employees.

Payment by Results. A general term applying to any system of wage payment in which the amount of wages is dependent in one way or another upon the amount of output. STRAIGHT PIECE WORK is of course the simplest and commonest form of "payment by results," but numerous other systems, usually based on the bonus or premium plan, have been devised. In some cases payment by results is worked on a purely individual basis, each individual worker being paid in proportion to his or her individual output. In others the system adopted is collective, and payment is made on the total output of a shop or group of workers without reference to the output of any particular individual. (See PIECE WORK, and the cross references thereunder.)

Payment in Kind. See TRUCK SYSTEM.

Peaceful Picketing. See PICKETING.

Peaceful Persuasion. See PICKETING.

Peaceful Union. See COMPANY UNION.

Pearled Strike. See GRÈVE PERLÉE.

Pénétration. See BORING FROM WITHIN; DUAL UNIONISM.

Pennsylvania State Constabulary. See STATE CONSTABULARY; INTER-CHURCH STEEL REPORT.

Pension Funds. See OLD AGE INSURANCE.

Peon Labor. Unskilled workers of the lower classes are known as "peons" in Mexico and other Spanish-American countries. The phrase "peon labor" often refers to the PEONAGE system; but more commonly it denotes the class of native Mexicans who are employed in the United States as common laborers in railway construction, fruit-growing, etc. Peon labor is particularly prevalent in the southwestern border states.

Peonage. In general, a "status or condition of compulsory service based upon the indebtedness of the peon to the master." The term is commonly used in designation of a system, practically amounting to slavery, prevalent in South America and Mexico and sometimes practiced in the United States by lumber and mining corporations, southern planters, etc. In South America, Mexico, and the southern states, it consists specifically of holding a laborer in forced labor until his debts to the employer are paid. Such debts generally originate in advances made by the employer to the laborer,

or in the payment by an employer of fines and costs in cases of misdemeanor on a laborer's part, especially violation of vagrancy laws. As described in the "Labor International Handbook," "the procedure is that of encouraging the laborer to get into debt. It may be done by selling him an attractive blanket, or a mule, or it may be done by tempting him into an act of moral depravity. It is the first step which counts. Once the laborer becomes in debt, he is on the highroad to perpetual slavery in the form of peonage, for the astute creditor—generally the plantation owner—keeps one vicious principle in mind, namely, that of maintaining the debt at a point where it can never be overtaken. To the original debt is added interest, fines, additional loans, further sales, in many cases the manipulation of accounts, and the hundred and one venal practices which inflate the debt beyond any hope of liquidation. One of the most diabolical features of this situation is that although slave-trading is illegal in all these countries, the peon can in fact be bartered and sold, familes can be divided, fathers sold from children and children sold from their parents. All this is done in a regular manner." The term "peonage" is now generally applied to any method by which a person is physically held outside the law on any pretext, and made to perform labor against his will. Peonage in the United States is a direct violation of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, which forbids INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE except as a punishment for crime. (See PEON LABOR.)

People's Commissariat of Labor. One of the most important of the eighteen main executive divisions of the Russian Soviet government. It determines and directs the national labor policy, sees to the enforcement of the labor code, etc. At the head of the Commissariat is a People's Commissar of Labor, who acts as the President of an assisting "collegium" (committee) of nine members, five of whom are elected representatives of the ALL-RUSSIAN COUNCIL OF PROFESSIONAL ALLIANCES, the other four being appointed by the Council of People's Commissars. The work of the Commissariat of Labor is distributed among several specialized departments, such as the Department of Labor Protection, the Department of Labor Distribution, etc. Local and district offices of the Commissariat are maintained in nearly all parts of Russia. (See LABOR INSPECTION IN RUSSIA.)

Per Capita Tax. The regular methods by which a national union replenishes its treasury are a CHARTER FEE on the organization of new LOCALS, and a per capita tax of so much each week or month

levied on the local units in proportion to their membership. The per capita tax varies, in the main, from as little as two and a half cents a month up to as much as fifty cents a month. The amount is determined less by the ability of the members to pay than by the strength of the organization and the degree in which the system of BENEFITS has been developed. In a few cases, instead of being a fixed amount, it is a percentage of the wages of the members. SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS are also, as a rule, levied on a per capita basis. The constituent units of national federations and other federated bodies usually pay a periodic per capita tax to the federal organization. (See STAMP RECEIPT SYSTEM.)

Percentage of Unemployment. In statistical work, etc., the "percentage of unemployment" for a given month is usually secured by dividing the greatest number of persons employed during the year into the difference between that number and the average number employed during the month in question.

Permanent-Disability Benefits. See DISABILITY BENEFITS.

Permeation Policy. The method, long chiefly associated with the tactics of the English FABIAN SOCIETY, of advancing the cause of SOCIALISM by impressing socialistic doctrines little by little, as opportunity offers, upon political parties and other non-socialist organizations, as well as upon individual members of society.

Permit System. A term sometimes applied to the plan under which a trade union, during a temporary labor shortage in the particular trade concerned, might admit for a limited period workers from other trades, instead of permanently enlarging the union.

Personal Record System. The method followed by many large corporations of requiring applicants for employment to fill out elaborate blanks, covering all details connected with the working career of the applicant—names of previous employers, terms of service with each, reason for changing positions, trade union affiliations, etc. It is often alleged by workers that the information thus secured is used in some cases for BLACKLIST purposes. (See RUSTLING CARD; DISCHARGE BOOK SYSTEM.)

Personnel Administration or **Personnel Management.** As defined by Messrs. Tead and Metcalf, this consists in "the direction and coordination of any [industrial] organization with a view to getting the maximum necessary production with a minimum of effort and friction and with proper regard for the genuine well-being

of the workers." The principal functions or activities of personnel administration may be stated as follows: (1) Employment; (2) health and safety; (3) education; (4) research (JOB ANALYSIS, plant analysis, etc.); (5) service (recreation, lunch-rooms, etc.); (6) adjustment and joint relations. In nearly all large plants these activities are divided into two main groups, commonly known as EMPLOYMENT MANAGEMENT and WELFARE WORK, and a separate official is placed in charge of each group; but in some cases both groups are combined under a single PERSONNEL MANAGER. (See INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT; HUMAN ENGINEERING; LABOR AUDIT; MORALE IN INDUSTRY; INDUSTRIAL HEALTH WORK; SUGGESTION SYSTEM; INDUSTRIAL COUNSELLORS.)

Personnel Department. See INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT.

Personnel Manager. Attention given in recent years to problems of hiring labor, decreasing the LABOR TURNOVER, rewarding efficiency, promoting from the ranks, developing MORALE, and doing away with unsatisfactory working conditions has created an employers' official known as a personnel manager, who deals solely with the human factor in industrial production. While the PRODUCTION MANAGER, or efficiency engineer, seeks to increase production largely by mechanical improvements, the personnel manager goes after the same result by creating and maintaining a loyal and efficient working force, by improving the general conditions of employment, by developing special service features such as rest rooms, restaurants, recreational and educational opportunities, etc., by studying the psychology of the individual worker and supplying him with personal incentives and stimuli The administration of safety and health policies is also normally centralized in his department. (See PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION.)

Phalange. See FOURIERISM.

Phalanstère. See FOURIERISM.

Philippines, Labor Organization in the. The conception of trade unionism among the Filipinos, according to Glocker's "Government of American Trade Unions," was a result of the American conquest of the islands. "In 1899, shortly after the American invasion, they made their first attempt to organize unions, and societies of barbers, cigar makers, tobacco workers, carpenters, wood workers, painters, lithographers, and others rapidly appeared.

A few groups of American workmen who had been attracted to the islands after the annexation organized themselves as branches of the trade unions at home. The Filipinos have avoided all alliances with the North American associations. They have not imitated the American method of forming federations of the local societies of each trade and of further federating the federations into general labor unions. All their local societies are united irrespective of trade divisions into the Democratic Labor Union of the Philippines. Agents of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR have endeavored to persuade them to adopt the American method of organization and affiliate themselves with the continental unions, but so far the Filipinos have held aloof."

Philosophical Anarchism. See ANARCHISM.

Pick Mining. The common designation among coal miners for hand as distinguished from machine mining—both methods being often followed in the same mine or mining district.

Picketing. It is a common custom for workers conducting a STRIKE to place "pickets" or "patrols" along the avenues of approach to the "struck" establishment, for the purpose of intercepting possible recruits for the employer, informing them of the situation, and endeavoring to dissuade them from entering his employment. Pickets often perform other duties as well, such as securing information regarding the employer's plans and movements, or dissuading the public from patronizing an establishment against which a strike is in progress. Picketing has, as a rule, been considered legal in this country as long as it was "peaceful"—*i.e.*, as long as the method followed was persuasion rather than INTIMIDATION. In actual practice, however, the courts have repeatedly held that any form of picketing involves at least the threat or possibility of coercion, and it is therefore frequently declared illegal. "The practice of picketing, apart from open threats or intimidation, has been held illegal by courts of ultimate resort in several States. INJUNCTIONS against the practice are not infrequently issued by the lower courts in other States, where, perhaps, the higher courts would not uphold such injunctions. Two or three leading decisions have declared that even entirely peaceful picketing involves a degree of coercion. In one case a Federal court enjoined 'unlawful persuasion' of persons seeking employment; and, while the phrase is vague, and is coupled with others restraining direct threats and intimidation, it seems to imply the idea that the strikers have no right to persuade men not to take

their places, presumably because this would interfere with the conduct of business by the employer. This idea of the illegality of interference with the employer's business is doubtless held also by the various inferior courts which have recently prohibited by injunction even peaceful persuasion of those seeking employment. The supreme court of Pennsylvania has even asserted that it is unlawful to consume the time of men seeking employment by urging them not to do so." In at least three states—Alabama, Colorado, and Utah—picketing is a statutory misdemeanor, and many cities have passed ordinances to the same effect. In England, the TRADE DISPUTES ACT of 1906 expressly legalized peaceful picketing; but there, as here, the courts are prone to deny that such a thing as "peaceful picketing" is possible, and the use of this trade union weapon is very seriously restricted. Picketing is entirely prohibited in France. (See CLAYTON ACT; CHASSE AUX RENARD.)

Picture Brides. Under the JAPANESE-AMERICAN PASSPORT AGREEMENT of 1907, Japan is free to grant passports to women coming to join husbands in this country, although such women may be of the laboring class and may become laborers here. A large number of the women thus admitted secure the right to come under the terms of the agreement based on a peculiar wedding ceremony or contract whereby women in Japan become the wives of men already in the United States, the class being popularly known as "picture brides."

Piece Master or Jobber. A contractor who arranges to provide the labor required for a particular job, receives a lump sum in payment for that labor, and makes his own terms with the individual workers whom he engages. Owing to trade union hostility, the piece master or jobber has been largely eliminated as a factor in industrial operations. (See PIECE WORKER; CONTRACT SYSTEM; LITTLE MASTER.)

Piece Price System of Convict Labor. Under this system contracts are made with persons, firms, or corporations under which the prison is furnished by them with materials in proper shape for working; the materials thus furnished are converted by the labor of the convicts into finished products, which are delivered to the contractors at agreed prices per piece, the work of manufacturing being conducted wholly under the supervision of the prison officials. (See CONVICT LABOR SYSTEMS; PRISON LABOR; ACCORD SYSTEM.)

Piece Work. Generally speaking, the method of wage payment under which a worker is paid for each unit of production or

each unit of effort expended—instead of by the hour, day, week, or other time unit. While thus distinct in principle from TIME WORK, the prices paid for piece work are naturally determined in largest part by the amount of time consumed in the particular process involved. Thus, a common time standard is at the basis of both systems. "Where Trade Unions are strong, they generally attempt to secure a guarantee that the earnings of the piece-worker will not fall below the hourly rate of wages. Not only do the Unions seek to establish piece-prices on such a basis that actual earnings under piece work conditions shall be above the standard time-rate; they also demand an absolute guarantee that every worker shall receive at least the standard time-rate, without reference to output. In some few cases they have gone further, and have provided that, since piece work is openly advocated on the ground that it secures greater output and therefore greater effort from the worker, more than the standard time-rate (*e.g.*, time and a quarter) shall be guaranteed to every individual who is working on piece work." The piece work system is usually adopted in industries where direct supervision of the worker is difficult, and where the work done is REPETITION WORK. Furthermore, it is easiest to establish and operate where the following conditions are present: (1) Where a given amount of effort and skill can be relied upon to result in a given product; (2) where the product is easily measurable in simple quantitative terms—*e.g.*, by the ton; (3) where increased productivity means a considerable saving in standing charges, and thereby a reduction in the cost of production per unit; (4) where a highly developed system of COLLECTIVE BARGAINING exists or can be created. It is generally held by the workers themselves that the piece work system results in the giving of more work for the same pay; and it is even maintained that no intensity of exertion beyond a certain point will give any permanent increase of daily wages. Every employer has in his mind, it is said, a somewhat definite standard of fair wages for every class of workers. He is likely to assume that all of them could, if they would, do as much as the fastest actually do. If the fastest considerably and habitually exceed the amount of earnings which seem to him proper, he is certain, say the workmen, to reduce the piece price. The attitude of the trade unions of Great Britain toward piece work, as it appears to Mr. and Mrs. Webb, is summed up in the following passage: "What the capitalist seeks is to get more work for the old pay. Sometimes this can be achieved best by piece work, sometimes by time work. Workmen, on the other hand, strive to obtain more pay for the same number of working

hours. For the moment, at any rate, the individual operative can most easily secure this by piece work. But not even for the sake of getting more pay for the same number of hours' work will the experienced workman revert to the individual bargain, with all its dangers. Accordingly, the trade unions accept piece work only when it is consistent with collective bargaining; that is, when a standard list of prices can be arrived at between the employers on the one hand and the representatives of the whole body of workmen on the other. As a matter of fact, this is practicable, so far as concerns anything above mere unskilled laboring, in a majority of the organized industries, in which, therefore, piece work prevails by consent of both masters and men." This is no doubt the attitude of most American trade unions also. In actual practice, the piece work system assumes a number of variant forms, which are described elsewhere in this volume under separate titles included in the cross references below. (See WAGE PAYMENT METHODS; STRAIGHT PIECE WORK; COLLECTIVE PIECE WORK; INDIVIDUAL PIECE WORK; MUTUALITY; FELLOWSHIP PIECE WORK; BONUS SYSTEM; PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM; LOG SYSTEM OF RATE MAKING; COUNTY AVERAGE SYSTEM; PAYMENT BY RESULTS; PRICE LIST; PRICE CUTTING; PIECE MASTER; PRICE ADJUSTER; CLICKING SYSTEM; PRICE COMMITTEE; SPEEDING UP; ABNORMAL PLACE; CONTRACT MINING; MOVE; PARTICULARS CLAUSE; GOOD FROM OVEN; BAD SPINNING.)

Piece Work List. See PRICE LIST.

Piece Worker. An employee engaged in industrial operations on a PIECE WORK basis. In England, this term originally denoted a contractor or PIECE MASTER, and it is still occasionally used in that sense.

Pin Money or Pocket Money Theory. The idea, popular with "sweating" employers, that most girls who enter industry do so merely to earn "pin money," that they "live at home," and consequently do not require a LIVING WAGE. The pin money theory has been repeatedly punctured by thorough labor investigations.

Pin Money or Pocket Money Workers. Those persons—principally farmers' wives and daughters, domestic servants, etc. —who put in their spare time and earn "pin money" by doing at home work that would otherwise be done in a factory. In the garment trades particularly, where a considerable part of the "finishing" is done by pin money workers, the competition of such workers is an important factor in keeping factory or shop wages below a decent

subsistence level. The contractors and sub-contractors who usually control this work often establish warehouses in the country districts, and regularly distribute and collect garments among home workers. (See HOME WORK.)

Pink Internationale. See INTERNATIONAL WORKING UNION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES.

Pinkertons or Pinkerton Men. See LABOR DETECTIVE AGENCIES.

Pit Boss. The foreman in direct charge of coal miners engaged in underground work. He is supposed to look after the safety of the men, as well as to secure the maximum production of coal. The pit boss negotiates directly with the trade union PIT COMMITTEE in regard to complaints and grievances arising in the course of work. The corresponding official in metal mines is called the "shift boss."

Pit Committee or Mine Committee. A body representative of the organized workers in a single coal mine, and charged with the adjustment of minor disputes arising between the workers and the management, as well as with the oversight of certain matters of trade union administration, in the particular mine involved. It corresponds in general, to a SHOP COMMITTEE or WORKS COMMITTEE in other industries. (See SUB-LOCAL.)

Pithead Committee. See TIMEKEEPING COMMITTEE.

Place of Wage Payment. The one-time prevalent custom of "paying off" industrial workers in saloons or other public resorts, with its attendant evils, has been abolished in some states of this country and in some foreign countries by legislative enactment. Such laws usually provide that wages shall always be paid on the employer's premises; but in some cases they specifically prohibit payment in saloons, taverns, public houses, etc.

Placement Work. A general designation for the activities of public and other EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS in finding jobs for idle workers and workers for unfilled jobs.

Planning Department. See INSTRUCTION CARD SYSTEM.

Plant. (1) An entire industrial factory or WORKS, in a given locality, including all units, operations, or departments known individually as SHOPS. (2) A slang term used in labor circles to denote a spy introduced as a workman among other workmen, or a trap set

to involve workmen in some discreditable occurrence. The terms "frame" and "frame-up" are also often used in the latter sense. (See AGENT PROVOCATEUR.)

Plant Committee or Council. See WORKS COMMITTEE.

Plant Union. One that is representative of all the workers, regardless of craft distinctions, in a single factory or other industrial establishment.

Plebs League. A British organization which seeks to "propagate the educational principles and policies upon which the CENTRAL LABOR COLLEGE was founded." The League originated among the more radical students of RUSKIN COLLEGE, who seceded in 1909 and with their principal, Dr. Dennis Hird, helped to found the Central Labor College. Like that college, the League is frankly devoted to WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION along the lines of Marxian SOCIALISM.

Pluck Me Stores. Owing to the extortionate prices often charged by COMPANY STORES, these are commonly known among workers as "pluck me stores."

Plumb Plan. A proposal relating to the ownership and management of the United States railroad systems, formulated by Glenn E. Plumb, a railroad lawyer, in 1919. The Plumb Plan seeks to offer a practicable alternative to a bureaucratic scheme of public ownership on one hand, and the method of private control on the other. It would make the national government trustee for the entire railroad system. The management would be in the hands of a board of directors, consisting of fifteen members, five appointed by the President to represent the public, five elected by the classified railroad employees to represent labor, and five elected by the railroad officials to represent the management. Government bonds would be issued to purchase the railroads, at evaluations determined by the courts. A gradual amortization would take place through the reduction of the outstanding indebtedness by one per cent each year. Profits resulting from efficient operation, after fixed charges were met, would be divided equally between the government and the operating force. Whenever the government's share of profits exceeded a fixed percentage of the gross operating revenue, the freight and passenger rates would be automatically reduced to absorb the government's surplus. Advocates of the plan have urged its application to other basic industries of a "public service" nature—of course with such modifications as the character of each specific industry would make

desirable or necessary. The Plumb Plan has the endorsement and support not only of the principal RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS, but of the great majority of organized American labor in other industries. It has a direct propaganda agency in the Plumb Plan League, which issues a weekly newspaper from its central headquarters in Washington, D. C.

Pocket Money Theory. See PIN MONEY THEORY.

Pocket Money Workers. See PIN MONEY WORKERS.

Police Power. In the United States, most of the so-called FACTORY ACTS and other legislative enactments in regard to wages, hours, and conditions of labor are fundamentally based on what is called the "police power" of the State. "But the proper extension of the police power is viewed differently by different courts. Regarding the nature of the police power in itself there is no difference of opinion; it is supreme wherever reasonably applicable, and may be invoked to restrict or limit the FREEDOM OF CONTRACT; but as to its extent there are differences of legal opinion. It includes the protection of the health, safety, morals, and welfare of the public. These objects are indeed broad, and might apparently on their face justify many kinds of interference. The main point of difference in the decisions of the courts is whether the police power extends only to the protection of the public at large, or whether it can also be invoked to protect the individual against himself, as when he is prohibited from making a contract which is injurious to himself. . . . Many courts have held that the police power can not be invoked to prohibit a person from taking industrial risks which imperil only himself and do not affect the community. This ruling, however, has not been applied in the case of factory laws, which have been enacted by more than one-half of the States, with the object of protecting employees from dangerous machinery and unwholesome conditions of work."

Policing. Among British workmen, this term denotes what is regarded as needlessly severe or offensive oversight on the part of foremen or managers.

Policing of Industry. The problem of policing industry is generally conceived to lie in the suppression of violence and the protection of life and property; but in reality it consists in the more fundamental task of protecting the rights of both employers and employees, as well as preserving the peace. In this larger sense, the

courts are included as an essential factor in the policing of industry. The task of protecting life and property and preserving the peace legitimately belongs to the public peace officers—municipal police, town constables, county sheriffs, and STATE CONSTABULARY—and to them only. If these authorities find the task beyond their powers, the aid of the state militia may be called for. Any employment of armed bodies of men under private control is an obviously illegal usurpation of public authority, and of necessity denotes the breakdown of orderly government. (See ARMED GUARDS.)

Polish Labor Movement. Until the independence of Poland was proclaimed by the Allies on November 9, 1919, trade unionism had struggled against heavy odds under the Austrian, German, and Russian governments. Thereafter, however, it almost immediately assumed large proportions. The first Polish Trade Union Congress was held in May, 1920. There were then 560,000 members of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNIONS, and 388,000 members of other unions. The strongest association was the Agricultural Workers' Federation, with 150,000 members. The new Polish government has been no less ruthless than the old absolutist monarchies of Russia and Austria and Germany in repressing radical or communist elements in the labor movement.

Political Action. As opposed to INDUSTRIAL ACTION, or DIRECT ACTION, in the labor movement, this term generally has specific reference to the use of the conventional machinery of party politics for registering working-class opinion and attaining working-class ends. But in common usage it may refer to almost every conceivable form of political activity, and to the relationship which does or might obtain between labor organizations and political parties. Also called "indirect action." (See PARLIAMENTARISM; LEGAL ENACTMENT.)

Political Strike. As distinguished from the ECONOMIC STRIKE, this is a strike that is not directly concerned with relations between employers and employees, but seeks to enforce some political or social demand of the strikers. The ultimate end in view may indeed be economic, as in the case of a strike to enforce NATIONALIZATION of coal-mines or railways, but the action is directed not against employers directly, but against a government or public officials. Also called "non-economic strike." The political strike is practically always a GENERAL STRIKE, of at least nation-wide proportions. (See DIRECT ACTION; SYMPATHETIC STRIKE.)

Population Principle. See MALTHUSIANISM.

Port Labor Committees. In England, bodies consisting of employers and trade union representatives in equal numbers, established in each important shipping centre during the recent war, for the adjustment of problems in connection with dock labor. After the armistice a central advisory port labor committee was formed, consisting of representatives of employers and labor organizations from each port. A model registration scheme was prepared by this committee, which was followed roughly in the various ports. The chief purpose of the scheme is to protect the ports against an influx of CASUAL LABOR. The system of port labor committees, with the central advisory port labor committee, constitutes what is virtually a WHITLEY PLAN organization.

Porto Rican Free Federation of Workers. A considerable number of the manual wage-workers in the island of Porto Rico are members of local branches of various American international unions. In 1920 there were 206 such locals, affiliated in perhaps a dozen CENTRAL BODIES, and comprising about 22,000 members. These locals and central bodies are federated in the *Federacion Libre* or "Free Federation," which occupies the same relative position to the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR as does a STATE FEDERATION.

Portuguese General Confederation of Labor. See CONFEDERACAO GERAL DO TRABALHO.

Positive Boycott. See BOYCOTT.

Poverty. As summarized in J. H. Hollander's "The Abolition of Poverty," the word "poverty" in ordinary usage is applied indifferently to three distinct conditions: (1) Economic inequality, (2) economic dependence, and (3) economic insufficiency. A man is said to be poor in mere contrast to his neighbor who is rich; this is economic inequality. Almshouses and public relief minister to those who in the eye of the State are poor; this is economic dependence. Midway between the modestly circumstanced and the outright dependent are the poor in the sense of the inadequately fed, clad, and sheltered; this is economic insufficiency. "It is poverty in the sense of economic insufficiency—its wide extent, its assumed necessity, its tragic consequence—that forms the real problem. There are great bodies of people in country and in city who from birth have less than enough food, clothing, and shelter; who from childhood must toil long and hard to secure even that insufficient amount; who can benefit little from the world's advance in material comfort and in spiritual beauty because their bodies are undernourished, their minds overstrained, and their souls deadened by bitter struggle with want. These are

the real poor of every community—the masses who, not lacking in industry and thrift, are yet never really able to earn enough for decent existence and who toil on in constant fear that bare necessities may fail. Neither racial qualities nor national characteristics account for the presence of such poverty. It persists as an accompaniment of modern economic life, in widely removed countries among ethnically different peoples. It cannot be identified with alien elements in native race stocks." The British investigator, B. Seebohm Rowntree, draws a definite distinction between what he calls primary poverty and secondary poverty. Families were said to be in primary poverty when their total earnings were "insufficient to obtain the minimum necessaries for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency." Families were said to be in secondary poverty when their "total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful." While it is impossible to state with any fair degree of accuracy the extent of poverty, either in this country or abroad, the following statement from the staff report of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS is of value: "It is evident both from the investigations of this Commission and from the reports of all recent Governmental bodies that a large part of our industrial population are, as a result of the combination of low wages and UNEMPLOYMENT, living in a condition of actual poverty. How large this proportion is can not be exactly determined, but it is certain that at least one-third and possibly one-half of the families of wage-earners employed in manufacturing and mining earn in the course of the year less than enough to support them in anything like a comfortable and decent condition." In connection with this statement, it should be borne in mind that poverty is of less proportionate extent in the United States than in any other industrial country. (See SICKNESS INSURANCE.)

Practical Man. Among trade unionists, a "practical man" is a fully qualified JOURNEYMAN—one who has served the required period as APPRENTICE or LEARNER, and has gained a thorough knowledge and experience of his trade; while an "unpractical man" is one who does not possess these qualifications. Often the specific occupation is indicated—as in the terms "practical miner," "practical printer," etc. In a somewhat different sense, trade unionists sometimes use the term "practical man" in designation of a man who is actually working at his specific trade or craft—as distinguished from one who has only a theoretical knowledge of the trade or craft.

Preceptory. A SHOP UNION of workers in the American window glass industry is so called. The plants in this industry are comparatively few and widely scattered, usually with not more than one plant in a locality; so that the preceptory takes the place of a LOCAL in the national organizations of window glass workers.

Predatory Unionism. A term used by Professor Hoxie in his standard work on "Trade Unionism in the United States" to designate a functional type of labor organization whose "distinguishing characteristic is the ruthless pursuit of the thing in hand by whatever means seem most appropriate at the time, regardless of ethical and legal codes or effect upon those outside its own membership." Of this general type, Professor Hoxie names two subspecies, the first of which he calls "hold-up unionism." This variety is in outward appearance conservative, but in reality it is lawless and unscrupulous. Generally it is boss-ridden and corrupt, and frequently it combines with employers to "squeeze" rival employers, rival labor organizations, or the consuming public. Its methods are a mixture of open bargaining coupled with secret bribery and violence. The second subspecies, which he designates "guerilla unionism," is distinguished from hold-up unionism by the fact that it operates always directly against the employers, never in combination with them, and cannot be bought off. "It is secret, violent, and ruthless, seemingly because it despairs of attaining what it considers to be legitimate ends by business, uplift, or revolutionary methods." (See MCNAMARA CASE; LOCKWOOD COMMITTEE; VIOLENCE IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Preferential Shop or Preferential Union Shop. A compromise between the CLOSED SHOP and the OPEN SHOP which has been particularly successful in the American clothing trades. The principle of the preferential shop is thus applied: Whenever the employer needs additional workers, he shall first make application to the union, specifying the number and kind of workers needed. The union shall be given a reasonable time to supply the specified help, and if it is unable or for any reason fails to furnish the required persons, the employer shall be at liberty to secure them in the open market as best he can. In like manner, the principle of preference shall be applied in case of discharge. Should it at any time become necessary to reduce the force, the first ones to be dismissed shall be those who are not members of the union in good and regular standing. It should be noted that the preferential shop is always conducted under a JOINT AGREEMENT, arrived at through COLLECTIVE BARGAIN-

ING. (See PROTOCOL; HART, SCHAFFNER & MARX LABOR AGREEMENT; UNION SHOP.)

Premium Bonus System. A method of wage payment which, in various specialized forms, has been widely adopted in American and British industry—generally in connection with plans of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT. Under what is commonly known as the BONUS SYSTEM, a fixed sum is usually added to the ordinary time rate or piece rate as a reward for the worker's reaching or exceeding a given point of production. Under the various forms of the premium bonus system, on the other hand, the amount of the bonus or reward for special effort is not fixed, but varies according to the worker's rate of speed; and the basis of the system is always a standard time allowance in which the job is supposed to be done. If the job is completed in less than the standard time allowance, the worker receives in addition to payment for the time actually worked a premium or bonus for a portion of the time saved. Thus in its simplest form, known as the HALSEY PLAN, if the standard time allowance for a job is ten hours, and the worker does the job in six hours, payment is made for six hours, and in addition for a proportion (very often a half) of the four hours saved in the job. This payment is at the standard hourly rate. Thus under the premium bonus system, the standard time-rate is practically always guaranteed to every worker. Both the standard time allowance and the amount of the bonus are determined by painstaking analysis. These factors, and others, differ under the different schemes into which the underlying idea of the system has been elaborated. The method of wage payment under the premium bonus system is sometimes referred to as the "progressive wage"; but with equal propriety it might also be called, from the employer's point of view, "progressive profits," since, while the earnings of the worker increase with each increase of output, the employer's labor cost and overhead on each unit of output usually fall in similar or greater proportion. (See ROWAN PLAN; GANTT SYSTEM; EMERSON SYSTEM; WEIR PLAN; THREE-RATE SYSTEM OF WAGE PAYMENT; EFFICIENCY PAYMENTS; REWARD SYSTEMS.)

President's Industrial Conferences. In the latter part of 1920 two national industrial conferences met in Washington, by call of President Wilson, to consider remedies for INDUSTRIAL UNREST. The first consisted of three groups, representing employers and farmers, labor, and the public, respectively. It broke up through the withdrawal of the labor group after the other groups had declined to consider the existing steel strike, and after COLLECTIVE BARGAIN-

ING, in the sense of direct dealing with trade unions, had been rejected by the employers' representatives. The second conference was an assemblage of industrial experts and public men. It met in private, and as a result of its deliberations recommended the establishment of a national industrial tribunal and regional boards of investigation and adjustment, whose decision was not to be binding unless both parties to an industrial dispute consented to ARBITRATION. The boards could, however, undertake investigation of any dispute. No action has yet resulted from this recommendation.

President's Mediation Commission. An industrial commission appointed by President Wilson in the summer of 1917 to investigate and if possible to adjust certain labor controversies in the Southwest and Northwest which had seriously checked the output of such war materials as copper, lumber, and oil. The President designated the SECRETARY OF LABOR as chairman of this Commission. After several months of constant investigation in the copper districts of Arizona, the oil fields of California, the northwest timber districts, and other sections where industry had been disturbed by labor unrest, including Chicago, where a strike in the meat-packing establishments was threatened, the Commission transmitted to the President a report which summed up its work in a concise description of the causes of labor difficulties in the United States. The creation of such war-time labor agencies as the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD, WAR LABOR POLICIES BOARD, and WOMAN IN INDUSTRY SERVICE was largely due to the Mediation Commission's report. (See MOONEY CASE.)

Pression Extérieure. See DUAL UNIONISM; BORING FROM WITHIN.

Prevocational Education. Instruction given to young children who will later be obliged to enter industry, the purpose being "to permit them to sample different trade conditions and experiences, so that they can make an intelligent choice of occupation."

Price Adjuster. An official appointed and paid jointly by the trade unions and the employers in certain industries (notably the New York cloak, suit, and skirt industry), to whom disputes over PIECE WORK rates are referred and who has authority to decide such disputes.

Price Committee. A group of workers who represent the employees of a shop or industry in negotiations with employers about PIECE WORK prices.

Price Cutting or Rate Cutting. In the labor movement, this term commonly refers to an employer's reduction in the PIECE WORK wage paid on a particular job or kind of work. The circumstances in which piece prices are cut vary considerably, but in general may be differentiated as follows: (1) Where the job remains unaltered, but it is contended that owing to error the original price has been fixed too high; (2) where the job remains unaltered, but the worker produces more rapidly owing to familiarity with it or to the presence of an inducement in the shape of a bonus or reward; (3) where the job is altered in such a way as, in the employer's opinion, to reduce the time necessary for doing it. The worker's grievances in connection with price cutting are often closely associated with those arising from SPEEDING UP. Indeed, it may be said that price cutting is itself a common form of speeding up. Trade union rules in LIMITATION OF OUTPUT are in large part directed against this practice. "If a few individuals increase their speed, their pace tends, it is declared, to become the standard pace in the trade. If the work is by the day, there is no tendency to a corresponding increase of wages. The workmen assert that the case is nearly the same, in the long run, if the work is by the piece. Under piece rates there is, of course, an increase of daily wages at first, if the pace is increased. But every employer has in his mind a more or less definite standard of just wages for each kind of service. If the piece workers begin to earn more than he considers fair, he will cut down the piece prices. In the end the men will work harder than before, and will get no more for it. Here, therefore, as well as under the day-wage system, the STANDARD RATE is best maintained, the workmen think, by keeping within certain standard limits of performance."

Price List. In industries or industrial operations where the PIECE WORK system of wage payment prevails, this is a detailed statement, usually in printed form and often of great complexity, setting forth in full the piece-work price to be paid for every job regularly executed in the industry. Such lists are sometimes established for a particular works and sometimes arrived at by agreement between the unions and the employers for a whole industry or a whole district, subject in many cases to modifications to meet the conditions in particular works. In some British industries, the price list is called the "statement"; in others it is known as the "list," sometimes preceded by the name of the particular craft or occupation to which it refers—*e.g.*, "spinning list," "weavers' list," etc. In the clothing trades it is generally known as the "log," and

among granite cutters as the "bill of prices." Other alternate general titles are "piece work list," "wage bill," and "standard price list." (See SCALE; MUTUALITY.)

Primary Arbitration. See ARBITRATION.

Primary Boycott. See BOYCOTT.

Primary Poverty. See POVERTY.

Printers' Chapel. See CHAPEL.

Printers' Home. See CHILDS-DREXEL HOME FOR UNION PRINTERS.

Printing Trades Councils. See ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCILS.

Printing Trades International Joint Conference Council. Formally organized at Chicago in April, 1919, by four leading unions and three prominent employers' associations in the allied printing trades of the United States and Canada. The chief purpose of the Council is to formulate matters of national trade policy, and to strengthen existing organizations on both sides by giving sanction to all local agreements between unions and employers, after they have been underwritten by their respective international unions. The Council is at present composed of sixteen members, eight from each side.

Prison Labor. The competition of "prison-made goods" with the products of so-called "free labor" has long been a serious concern to American trade unionists. According to the latter, prison labor is a menace because of the following characteristics, summarized by Professor Carlton: "(1) It is a form of subsidized labor; the prisoner must be fed, clothed, and housed whether he works or lives in idleness. (2) The labor force is always available; it cannot strike, nor can an individual worker withdraw in order to accept another job. (3) Convict labor and the output of convict-made goods will be very slightly affected by periods of depression or prosperity. (4) Convict labor is quite similar in many respects to slave labor; the motives which lead to industry are almost identical." The evidence in regard to prison labor taken by the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS is the basis for the following statements in the Commission's staff report: "(1) The practice of using convicts in penitentiaries and prisons generally for the manufacture of articles for general commerce has been productive of evil results as regards not only

the convicts but the general public. (2) The competition of prison-made articles has resulted in the existence of a low wage scale in many industries and has subjected the manufacturers to a kind of competition which should not exist in any civilized community. (3) The only beneficiaries of the convict labor system are the contractors who are permitted by the State to exploit the inmates of prisons. (4) The individual States are powerless to deal adequately with the situation because of the interstate shipment of convict-made goods. It is suggested that the Commission recommend: (1) The abolition as far as possible of indoor manufacture, and the substitution of such outdoor work as that upon State farms and State roads, providing that where prisoners are employed they should be compensated and that the products which they manufacture should not be sold in competition with the products of free labor. (2) The enactment by Congress of a bill providing that all convict-made goods when transported into any State or Territory of the United States shall be subject to the operation of the laws of such State or Territory to the same extent and in the same manner as though such goods had been produced therein." Many of the states have enacted laws designed to restrain or restrict the competition between prison labor and free labor within the respective jurisdictions of such states. (See CONVICT LABOR SYSTEMS.)

Prison-Made Goods. See PRISON LABOR.

Private Employment Bureaus. See EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.

Private Enterprise. The present system of industrial production for the profit of private individuals; as opposed to the ownership or control of industry by the State, in the interest of society as a whole.

Prize Systems. See REWARD SYSTEMS.

Probation System in Russian Industry. Under the Soviet labor code, before any person is permanently engaged he must undergo a probation period of one week; in nationalized (State-conducted) establishments the probation period is two weeks for unskilled labor and one month for skilled labor. If any employee is rejected after probation he may appeal to his trade union. If his union considers his complaint justified it may enter into negotiations with his employer. Should negotiations fail, the matter may be submitted to the local office of the PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF LABOR, which may order the appointment of the complainant to a permanent position or may dismiss his complaint.

Probi-Viri. Italian industrial courts established by law to deal with cases (mainly wage disputes between individuals) arising out of existing labor contracts. They correspond to the French CONSEILS DE PRUD'HOMMES and the German GEWERBEGERICHTEN.

Process Work. In England, a common designation for factory work which involves a series of specialized mechanical processes or operations.

Producers' Cooperation. As distinguished from CONSUMERS' COOPERATION, this is the plan whereby factories, farms, dairies, etc., are established or acquired by the workers themselves, for their common profit and benefit, the capitalist and employer in the ordinary sense being eliminated. The essential features underlying the various forms of producers' cooperation have been thus summarized: "(1) Each group of workers is to be associated by their own free choice; (2) these associates shall work under a leader elected and removable by themselves; and (3) the collective remuneration of the labor performed by the group shall be divided among all its members (including this leader) in such a manner as shall be arranged upon principles recognized as equitable, by the associates themselves." It is of course essential, under producers' cooperation, that the share capital of the enterprise shall be owned by the workers. As a general rule, the profits, after payment of interest on capital, are returned to the workers as a dividend on wages and to customers (who are largely the distributive societies) as a dividend on purchases. There are now 30,000 societies throughout the world engaged in this form of cooperation. They are generally known as "productive societies" or "copartnership societies." Producers' cooperation itself is sometimes called "industrial cooperation." The movement is strongest in Great Britain. (See SELF-EMPLOYMENT; COOPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.)

Product Sharing. A name sometimes given to the method or plan under which workers are recompensed, not in wages, but with a certain share or proportion of the product of their labor. Product sharing is now mainly confined to the field of AGRICULTURAL LABOR. (See CROPPER.)

Production Manager. A technical engineer employed in large-scale industrial operations to keep the processes of production up to a point of maximum efficiency. He differs from his less specialized forerunner, the ENTREPRENEUR, in that he is not concerned primarily with the maintenance of prices or profits. Sometimes called "efficiency engineer." (See JOB ANALYSIS.)

Production Standards. In some industries or industrial establishments certain definite standards, sometimes calculated with the assistance of the trade union, are adopted to determine the normal output of workers on given processes. Such standards are used as a basis for fixing the wage in TIME WORK. One of the recent demands of the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Association upon the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was as follows: "All workers shall individually be responsible for a daily standard of production to be agreed on and calculated upon the base rates prevailing in other competitive markets; and that in the event of the failure of any worker to produce such standard of production, the employer shall have the right to reduce wages *pro rata* or discharge the worker substantially under-producing." Unless determined by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, the enforcement of production standards usually results in TASK WORK. (See LABOR NORM; FAIR DAY'S WORK.)

Productive Societies. See PRODUCERS' COOPERATION.

Productivism. The theory that social advance is dependent chiefly upon increased industrial output, rather than upon a more equitable distribution of the existing supply. In continental labor circles this term denotes the belief that labor groups must concentrate upon a mastery of industrial processes, to the end that a labor or socialist regime shall produce a greater amount of wealth than does CAPITALISM at present.

Productivity Theory of Wages. The breakdown of the WAGE FUND THEORY has forced economists to fall back upon a conception of general wages which is commonly known as the "productivity theory." At the base of this doctrine is the fact (noted in the entry on WAGES) that high wages do not necessarily mean high labor cost. "A worker who is efficient at his work will get high wages, because the product of his work will be great; anything that increases the efficiency of the worker will, by making him more productive, tend to increase his wages." Thus, competition secures for the worker, in the form of wages, just what he produces. In Professor Hadley's phrase, wages are "the discounted product of industry," *i.e.*, the value of the product less interest on the wages from the time they are paid to the time when the employer receives the price of the product. Professor Clark summarizes the productivity theory as follows: "As real as gravitation is the force that draws the actual pay of men *toward* a standard that is set by the final productivity law. This law is universal and permanent: everywhere it will outlive the local

and changeful influences that modify its operation. We are to get what we produce—such is the dominant rule of life; and what we are able to produce by means of labor, is determined by what a final unit of mere labor can add to the product that can be created without its aid. Final productivity governs wages." One of the several elaborations of this general theory is commonly known as "economic worth"—this phrase being, according to Professor Clay, "merely a misleading synonym for 'productivity of market value.'" (See EXCHANGE THEORY OF WAGES.)

Professional Alliances. See TRADE UNIONS IN RUSSIA.

Professional Risk. See TRADE RISK PRINCIPLE.

Professorial Socialism. See SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR.

Profit Sharing. This term was defined by the International Cooperative Congress, held in Paris in 1889, as "an agreement freely entered into by which the employees receive a share, fixed in advance, of the profits." The same congress defined the term "agreement" as covering "not only agreements binding in law, but as including also cases where the agreement is only a moral obligation, provided it is honorably carried out." The term "profit" is defined as "the actual net balance or gain realized by the operations of the undertaking." A "share" is stated to be "a sum paid to the employee out of the profits." The share given to the employee "shall not be indeterminate"; that is, "it must not be a share which an employer fixes, at the end of some period, at his absolute discretion, as distinguished from a prearranged basis." The production of the total working force of a concern that must share in the profits in order to establish real profit-sharing conditions was stated to be "not less than 75 per cent." The three methods of profit sharing most commonly followed are: (1) Cash payments, at the end of a fixed period; (2) DEFERRED PARTICIPATION by means of a savings bank deposit, benefit funds, or annuity; and (3) payment in shares of stock of the employing corporation. Within these three forms, however, there are almost innumerable differences of detailed application in different establishments. Profit sharing, in the genuine sense, must be clearly distinguished from all schemes under which individual or collective bonuses are paid for increased production or lower production costs, irrespective of the rate of profit realized by the employer and also from all so-called "profit sharing" plans the benefits of which are confined to a selected few of the better-paid executive or supervisory employees. Trade unionists are, in the main, distinctly hostile to

all forms of profit sharing. As Professor W. J. Ashley has said, "profit-sharing and Trade Unionism rest on two mutually exclusive principles and involve two incompatible policies. Profit-sharing assumes a community of interest between employer and employed in each particular business, Trade Unionism between all the workmen in the trade against all the employers in the trade." It is a not uncommon practice among employers to make non-membership in a trade union a condition of employees' participation in profit sharing schemes. (See GAIN SHARING; CAPITAL SHARING; INDUSTRIAL PARTNERSHIP; LABOR COPARTNERSHIP; COOPERATION.)

Profits System. A name often given to the present economic organization of society, which has for its primary end the securing of monetary gain for the private owners of the means of production and distribution. The principal aim of SOCIALISM is to abolish the profits system, and to make public service rather than private profit the chief incentive in the economic arrangements of society. (See CAPITALISM; ABSENTEE CAPITALISM; EXPLOITATION; WAGE SLAVERY; COMPETITIVE SYSTEM.)

Progression within the Trade. See RESTRICTION OF NUMBERS; SENIORITY.

Progressive Wage. See PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM.

Prohibited Employments. Those which are forbidden by law to women or children or, usually under certain individual distinctions, to men. The purpose of such prohibition is to safeguard life, limb, health, or morals, and it is based on considerations of age, sex, physique, and education. In European countries, as a rule, the list of legally prohibited employments is much more inclusive than in the United States.

Proletarian. See PROLETARIAT.

Proletariat or Proletariate. Derived from the Latin word *proles*, meaning "offspring" or "progeny," this word in its original Latin form denoted the lowest or poorest class of citizens—according to some authorities, those who served the State not with property but with offspring. In present-day usage, the term is used in designation of the propertyless wage-earning class as a whole—those who are solely dependent upon daily employment, who do not own the tools or materials with which they work, and who have no security against the future. A single member of the proletariat is a "proletarian," which is also the adjective form. (See SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM;

SALARIAT; INTELLECTUAL PROLETARIAT; PROPERTARIAT; BOURGEOISIE; MIDDLE CLASS; CLASS STRUGGLE; DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT; COMMUNIST MANIFESTO; CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL THEORY.)

Propertariat. A term sometimes used, as an antithesis to PROLETARIAT, to designate the affluent or propertied classes of a community. (See BOURGEOISIE.)

Protective Chairman. See SHOP CHAIRMAN.

Protective Fund. See STRIKE FUND.

Protocol. After a severe strike in the cloak, suit, and skirt industry of New York City in 1910, a so-called "protocol" or treaty of peace was made between the Cloak, Suit, and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association, on the one hand, and various local unions of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, acting with the advice and assistance of the national officers, on the other. This arrangement provided for various matters in controversy, as well as for a MINIMUM WAGE scale, a fifty-hour working week, a joint board of sanitary control, the PREFERENTIAL SHOP, and a plan for adjusting future disputes by means of a Board of Grievances and a Board of Arbitration, with equal representation in each case for both manufacturers and employees. Both sides bound themselves to accept the awards of these boards. The Board of Grievances was composed at first of four members, later increased to ten, an equal number from each side. In cases of deadlock the dispute was to be referred to a Board of Arbitration, consisting of three members, one representing each party and one—the IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN—chosen by the other two or, in case of their failure to agree, by the governor of the state. After some experimenting, the following procedure was established: Any individual having cause for dissatisfaction might appeal to the Board of Grievances. A clerk of this Board first took up the matter, and adjusted it, if possible, in accordance with established procedure. If this failed the matter was considered by the Board of Grievances. In case there was a tie vote or no decision reached, the matter went to the Board of Arbitration and its decision was final, as both parties to the protoco were bound by it. In practical operation the protocol was for a time very successful, and its essential features were widely copied in other TRADE AGREEMENTS. But in 1915 new difficulties arose, and the protocol was superseded by a new agreement on somewhat different lines.

Provident Benefits. This term is used in Great Britain in general designation of any payment made by a trade union to a member during any sickness or incapacity or while out of work, or to an aged member, or to a member who has met with an accident or lost his tools by fire or theft, or to a member in discharge of funeral expenses, or to the children of a deceased member.

Provisional Members. See MEMBERS AT LARGE.

Provocateur. See AGENT PROVOCATEUR.

Public Account System of Convict Labor. Under this system penal or reformatory institutions carry on the business of manufacturing, or other industries, like private individuals or firms, buying raw materials and converting them into manufactured products, or producing agricultural crops, which are sold in the best available market, the entire proceeds and profits accruing to the State, its political subdivisions or institutions. (See CONVICT LABOR SYSTEMS; PRISON LABOR; REGIE.)

Public Employment Bureaus. See EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.

Public Ownership. See NATIONALIZATION.

Public Works and Ways System of Convict Labor. Under this system the labor of convicts is utilized in the construction or repair of public roads, bridges, buildings, and other public improvements. (See CONVICT LABOR SYSTEMS; PRISON LABOR.)

Pullman Strike. See DEBS CASE.

Punitive Overtime. See OVERTIME.

Pure and Simple Unionism. CRAFT UNIONISM, particularly of the functional type known as BUSINESS UNIONISM, is often so called. The phrase is said to have been first used by Samuel Gompers, in designation of the form of trade unionism prevailing within the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. It was quickly taken up by the I. W. W. and other revolutionary unionists, and applied in a derisive sense—as for example in dubbing the A. F. of L. "pure and simpledom," or in referring to craft unionists as "pure and simples," "pure and simplers," etc.

Pushers. See SPEEDING UP.

R

Radical, Radicalism. From the Latin *radix*, meaning "root"; hence "pertaining to the root or foundation of the subject; concerned with or based upon fundamental principles; thoroughgoing, extreme." In any sane and accurate sense a radical, whether within or without the labor movement, is simply one who believes in political, social, or economic reforms that strike at the root of an evil rather than at its surface aspects; while radicalism is the general attitude or philosophy based on such a belief. The common tendency, so sedulously fostered by reactionary public officials in every country, to associate the terms "radical" and "radicalism" exclusively with ideas of working-class violence and lawlessness, regardless of the actual meaning of the terms, is no less absurd and unwarranted than would be a similar tendency to associate "conservative" and "conservatism" exclusively with ideas of capitalistic or governmental violence and lawlessness. (See INTRANSIGENTS; LEFT.)

Raiffeisen Banks. As initiated by Friedrich Raiffeisen of Germany in 1849, these institutions now represent one of the two main types of CREDIT UNIONS which flourish in all European countries. Under the Raiffeisen plan, the people of a small area borrow money on their joint responsibility, and loan it out among themselves for certain specified purposes (usually agricultural improvements) at a slightly higher rate of interest than is paid on the collective loan. The banks do not work for profit, and are conducted by unpaid directors. (See CREDIT COOPERATION; SCHULZE-DELITZSCH BANKS.)

Railroad Boards of Labor Adjustment. During the period of Federal control of the railways, arrangements were made for the establishment of "railroad boards of labor adjustment" to deal with such minor controversies growing out of the interpretation or application of agreements as were not promptly adjusted by the officials and the employees on any of the railroads under Federal control. Three such boards were established during 1918 by former Director-General McAdoo, consisting on the one hand of representatives of

the railway managements and on the other of representatives of the "big four" RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS (Board No. 1), the shop workers (Board No. 2), and the maintenance-of-way men, telegraphers, switchmen, and clerks (Board No. 3). The Federal Transportation Act allowed for the continuance of these boards, as a part of the machinery for CONCILIATION and ARBITRATION in the railway industry. They were, however, dissolved by Director-General Payne in December, 1920. (See RAILROAD LABOR BOARD.)

Railroad Bull. See BULL SYSTEM.

Railroad Labor Board. As created by the Federal Transportation Act of 1920, this is a permanent salaried body of nine members, including three representatives of the railroad managements, three of railway employees, and three of "the public." The Board is empowered to hear and decide disputes involving wages, grievances, rules, or working conditions, which have failed of settlement by a RAILROAD BOARD OF LABOR ADJUSTMENT or by mutual agreement between the contending parties. It may, on petition of either party to a dispute, or on its own motion in serious cases, fix "just and reasonable" rates of wages and standards of working conditions, the same to be made a matter of record and to be published. Decisions of the Board require the concurrence of at least five of the nine members; and in cases of decisions regarding wages or salaries, at least one of the representatives of the public must concur in the decision. Broad powers are vested in the Board with respect to compelling the attendance of witnesses, the production of books and documents, etc., but no penalty is specifically provided for the violation of its decisions. The Board is required to maintain permanent central headquarters in Chicago. (See NATIONAL AGREEMENTS IN THE RAILWAY INDUSTRY.)

Railway Boycott. As commonly understood, this consists in the refusal of railway employees to handle certain classes of cars—as for example, those coming from a railway on which there is a strike. This form of BOYCOTT is peculiar in its character, inasmuch as it involves usually only concerted action by the workingmen themselves, without attempt to influence the public to refuse patronage. Again, the boycott is effected often by means of a strike, by quitting employment, in order to avoid handling cars. On the other hand, a railway boycott conducted in this way is even more effective than one which consists merely in refusal of patronage. If the cars of a railway company can not be hauled at all, because of the refusal

of the employees, the willingness of the public to patronize the railroad is a matter of no significance. (See MANDATORY INJUNCTION.)

Railway Brotherhoods. There are sixteen "recognized" national or international organizations of railway workers in the United States; and of these, eleven use the word "brotherhood" in their titles. The organizations of a majority of the so-called "shop workers" (machinists, etc.) and of the clerks, freight-handlers, switchmen, etc., are affiliated with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and with the RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT of the Federation. The term "railway brotherhoods," however, is most commonly used in designation of the four principal organizations of railway workers—the Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (originally the "Brotherhood of the Footboard"), the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Order of Railway Conductors, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (originally the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen), known popularly as the "Big Four" and having a combined membership of about half a million. These organizations came into existence as benevolent associations formed by the workers to protect themselves and their families, because of the difficulty of securing insurance in the regular insurance companies on account of the special hazards of their work. This insurance feature has developed into an immense business, and most of the brotherhoods have accumulated huge funds. The insurance or benefit departments are usually separately organized, although membership in such a department is compulsory for all members of the brotherhood. The structure and administrative machinery of the brotherhoods are too elaborate, and differ too widely in detail among the various organizations, to permit of intelligible summary here. In the matter of organization, nomenclature, and ritual, several of them still retain the character of fraternal orders. A joint body, representative of the sixteen unions and known as the "Associated Standard Recognized Railroad Labor Organizations," has been formed for dealing with questions of national scope. The "Big Four" also cooperate in joint action of various sorts—as for example, in a "Joint National Legislative Board," maintained for "utilizing the combined influence" and "insuring harmonious action" in the matter of public legislation. Composed as they are of skilled and relatively well-paid wage-earners employed by quasi-public corporations, and working under definite and standardized scales of wages, the "Big Four" brotherhoods represent the conservative aristocracy of the labor world, and their

members have been for the most part little troubled by the dangers and difficulties that confront other classes of wage-earners. (See JOINT CONFERENCE SYSTEM IN THE RAILWAY INDUSTRY; BROTHERHOOD COOPERATIONS; CEDAR RAPIDS PLAN; SYSTEM FEDERATIONS; BUSINESS UNIONISM; COLOR LINE IN TRADE UNIONISM.)

Railway Cooperations. See BROTHERHOOD COOPERATIONS.

Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor. Organized 1908, and consisting of such national, international, and brotherhood organizations of railway workers as are affiliated with and chartered by the A. F. of L. The Department consists of two sections: (1) Mechanical, comprising the organizations of machinists, blacksmiths, boilermakers, railway carmen, sheet metal workers, and electrical workers—the so-called "shop crafts"; and (2) Transportation, consisting of railway and steamship clerks, freight handlers, express and station employees, and switchmen. Each section has complete autonomy and jurisdiction over its membership, subject to the laws of the Department. The jurisdiction of the Department is separated into five "divisions," four of which comprise the various railway systems lying within different specified geographical areas, while the fifth comprises all locomotive and car equipment plants in the United States and Canada. Each division, through its "Federated Board," makes separate agreements as to wages, working conditions, etc., with the railway managers of the same division—subject to the laws of the Department. Strikes upon any division may not be ordered without the Department's approval. (See DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; SYSTEM FEDERATIONS.)

Railway Relief Departments. See ESTABLISHMENT FUND.

Railway Schools. As found in most European countries and less commonly in the United States, these are special establishments for the technical education of young persons preparing to enter some particular branch of railway work. They are conducted either by individual railway companies or (occasionally) by the government.

Rand School of Social Science. An institution for WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION along the lines of Marxian socialism, established in New York City in 1906, under an endowment made by the late Mrs. Carrie A. Rand. The school is owned and controlled by a membership corporation, the American Socialist Society, and its primary function is that of "offering the general public facilities for

the study of socialism and related subjects, and giving socialists instruction and training calculated to make them efficient workers for the socialist and labor movement." The courses of instruction include the training course, courses for general classes, and various correspondence courses. A summer school started as an experiment in 1918 has become a permanent activity of the school. The department of research has conducted investigations into labor conditions, has published pamphlets on various subjects, and brings out annually the "American Labor Year Book." A large collection of reference material and adequate library equipment afford facilities for study and research work along economic and socialistic lines. Social and cultural features are furnished through an athletic association, a students' league, a society for music and drama, and an orchestra. The school also maintains a bookstore.

Rank and File Movement. A phrase often used in designation of the increasing tendency among trade unionists to break away from the centralized control of their national officers. It is exemplified, in one phase, by the SHOP STEWARD MOVEMENT in England; and, on another side, by the numerous "outlaw" or INDEPENDENT STRIKES of the past two or three years in the United States.

Rat. In the printing trade, an epithet often applied by unionists to a non-union worker, or to one who accepts lower wages than those current at the time and place or required by an authorized scale, or who takes the place of a worker on strike or refuses to join in an authorized strike. The doing of any of these things is called "ratting"; one who has done them is said to have "ratted." Among printers the term "rat" usually carries the same implications of dishonor or disloyalty that attach to SCAB and BLACKLEG in other crafts. A non-union printing office is known among unionists as a "rat hole" or "rat shop."

Rat Shop or Rat Hole. See RAT.

Rate and a Half. See TIME AND A HALF.

Rate Cutting. See PRICE CUTTING.

Rate Fixer. See TIME STUDY.

Rating Scale. An American army system for testing the capacity and fitness of officers for promotion, which is now being adopted to some extent in the selection of foremen, etc., in industry. It consists, roughly, in the comparison of certain specified qualities

in the person to be rated with similar qualities in several other persons occupying the class of position to which promotion is being considered, and reducing the comparison to a numerical expression. The term "rating scale" is also sometimes applied to a scale of wages under the GRADING SYSTEM, the workers being rated or graded according to individual ability.

Rattening. In England, the secret damaging or abstracting of a worker's tools, clothes, or other property,—often for failure to observe trade union rules or to keep up the payment of union dues. The loss is sometimes ironically attributed to rats—hence the derivation of the term. "Rattening" is one of the early forms of SABOTAGE—though directed against fellow-laborers rather than employers. (See TRADE DISPUTES ACT.)

Ratting. See RAT.

Reactionary. One who, whether within or without the labor movement, holds stubbornly and persistently to ideas and methods of the past, who opposes economic, social, and political innovations, and usually favors coercive measures against the innovators; an extreme CONSERVATIVE. The terms "tory," "standpatter," and "bourbon" usually carry much the same connotations.

Real Wages. See WAGES.

Recognition. In labor affairs, this term generally denotes the formal acknowledgment and acceptance, on the part of an employer or a group of employers, of the right of a particular trade union to negotiate for and otherwise act in regard to the interests of its individual members. "The first step in the strategy of COLLECTIVE BARGAINING is recognition of the union, that is, recognition by the employer of the representatives of the union by consenting to confer with them. How important this preliminary step is considered by both sides is shown by the meaning which they give to the term 'recognition.' To 'recognize a union' is considered to be not merely to hold a conference with its agents, but also to investigate grievances and demands, to negotiate concerning the terms of a collective agreement, and even to employ union men on terms consented to by the union. Strictly speaking, these are not 'recognition,' but are steps in collective bargaining that follow recognition. Recognition in the ordinary use of the term (the one here used) would be merely a conference in which the employer meets certain individuals, not as individuals but as recognized agents of the union authorized to speak

on behalf of his employees. But it is so well understood that recognition, even in this limited sense, will be followed by other steps, that the decisive battle is often fought out at this point." In another sense, the term "recognition" often denotes the acknowledgment and acceptance, on the part of individual unionists or groups of unionists, of the authority and jurisdiction over their actions of a particular trade union or group of unions. Recognition, in either of the above-described senses, may be called the corner-stone of trade unionism; as without it, both collective bargaining and efficient organization are impossible.

Recruiting Unions. See FEDERAL LABOR UNION; MIXED LOCAL.

Red. As symbolic of the common life-blood of humanity, red has always been the official color of the socialist and communist movements in all countries. In common current usage, anything socialistic or revolutionary, more specifically anything associated with present-day Russia, is characterized as "red"—for example, "red terror," "red army," "red Internationale," etc.; while anyone holding radical social views is commonly dubbed a "red." The legitimate and the propaganda uses of the word should of course be carefully differentiated. (See RED UNION.)

Red Internationale. See INTERNATIONALE; COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE.

Red Necks. A term of contempt sometimes applied to strikers and their sympathizers. It seems to have come into use during the Colorado coal strike of 1914.

Red Trade Union Internationale. See INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

Red Union. In the European labor movement, particularly in France, this term is commonly applied to those labor organizations that are devoted to revolutionary policies and ends—as distinguished from the conservative or YELLOW UNIONS. (See SYNDICAT; FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Referendum. See INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Reformist. In the European labor movement, this term is used in designation of conservative socialistic policies, methods, parties, individuals, etc. In general, it denotes the opposite of "revolutionary." (See RIGHT.)

Regie. The name given to a system of CONVICT LABOR adopted in some parts of Germany. It corresponds in general to what is known in America as the PUBLIC ACCOUNT SYSTEM.

Regional Economic Councils. Russian bodies, ten in number, consisting of delegates from all the WORKS COMMITTEES, local trade unions, and local soviets in all the industries of a specific region. They help in the adjustment of labor disputes, appoint managers in the nationalized factories and other industrial plants, and perform various other functions. Each regional economic council has two representatives in the SUPREME COUNCIL OF PUBLIC ECONOMY.

Registry System. As commonly used among trade unionists, this term refers to the plan under which union members losing their employment must immediately, and daily while they are out of work, sign their names in a book provided for that purpose by the local union. This book (called the "vacant book" in many unions and the "waiting list" in others) serves not only to facilitate the finding of situations for unemployed members, but also as a receipt for OUT-OF-WORK BENEFITS paid to members.

Regular Unionism or **Regular Labor.** In America, that part of the organized labor movement which is represented by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; as distinguished from political labor parties, SECESSIONISTS, OUTLAWS, and such radical labor bodies as the INTERNATIONAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Regularization of Industry. As a measure in relief of UNEMPLOYMENT, this denotes the combined effort of employers, employees, and the consuming public to make every industrial job a steady job by equalizing and stabilizing in every way possible the various factors under their separate control. By way of specific example, employers might spread production evenly throughout the year, instead of producing at "peak" capacity for a few months and then shutting down to await another accumulation of orders. The workers might, on their part, waive certain trade union rules of a selfishly exclusive nature; while the consumers might endeavor to substitute a continuous demand for the present seasonal and sporadic demands that prevail in many industries.

Rehabilitation. See VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION.

Reichsarbeiterrat (National Workers' Council). See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW.

Reichskohlenrat (National Coal Council). Under a law enacted in March, 1919, to "regulate the coal industry," the German National Assembly placed the entire coal industry of the country under a council composed of representatives of trade unions, employers' associations, cooperative societies, etc. This council controls the prices and distribution of coal. Similar councils have been set up for some of the other principal national industries. They are considered an intermediary step toward complete NATIONALIZATION of industry in Germany.

Reichswirtschaftsrat (National Economic Council). In addition to, or in a considerable degree as a part of, the system of WORKS COUNCILS described in the entry GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW, the constitution of the new German Republic makes provision for a system of economic councils, consisting of employers' and workers' representatives, with additional delegates from other sections of the public. Two forms of such councils were proposed: (1) A district council, or *Bezirkswirtschaftsrat*, for each economic area, consisting of the district works council for the corresponding economic area, with employers' and other representatives; and (2) a national council, or *Reichswirtschaftsrat*, consisting of the national works council, with employers' and other representatives. Owing to various difficulties, the district economic councils have not yet been established; but the national body was created on a provisional basis (*Vorbereitender Reichswirtschaftsrat*) by decree of May 4, 1920. In addition to initiating and approving political measures of a social and economic nature, one of the most important duties of this provisional body is to establish the legal foundation upon which to erect the district works and economic councils and the permanent national economic council. When thus permanently established, the *Reichswirtschaftsrat*, as an economic parliament sitting in regular sessions, will pass on all questions of either an economic or socio-political nature, approve all bills of such nature before their introduction in the National Assembly, and initiate and defend original bills.

Relative Wages. See WAGES.

Relief Funds. See ESTABLISHMENT FUND.

Relief Towns. See TRAVELLING CARD.

Relief Workers. See SHIFT SYSTEM; GRASS WORK; ON-AND-OFF SYSTEM; BYE-TURNMAN; SICK WORKER; UTILITY MAN.

Remuneration of Labor in Russia. Under the Soviet labor code, the remuneration of wage earners, and the conditions and manner of payment, are fixed by the trade unions, in agreement with the directors or owners of the various industries, and approved by the PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF LABOR. The workers in each industry are classified by groups or categories, as a basis for the scale of wages in that industry. In determining the amount of remuneration for each group or category, the following factors are taken into consideration: Kind of labor; the danger, complexity, and accuracy involved; the degree of independence, responsibility, education, and experience required. In every case the standard pay must be at least sufficient to provide for minimum living expenses in the worker's district. The scale of wages is for both the normal working day and PIECE WORK; an increased rate for OVERTIME is stipulated. Wages may be paid "in kind"—in lodging, food supplies or other articles. This, however, requires the special permission of the local department of labor. Sick or unemployed workers are given their regular pay. Bonuses are paid for the rapid execution of certain kinds of work. Two decrees issued in 1918 stipulate that "working-women who execute the same work in quality and quantity as men receive the same salary as the latter." Professional workers are classified in groups or categories, similar to those of manual workers, and a rate of remuneration is fixed for each group. Teachers are placed in the group receiving the highest rate of remuneration. Workers receive full pay during a two weeks' leave of absence every six months, but are not permitted to work for remuneration elsewhere during such leave.

Rent of Ability. A term sometimes used by economists to denote a surplus of individual WAGES over the ordinary or average level, earned because of some exceptional talent, skill, or endowment of the worker.

Rent of Opportunity. Economists sometimes use this term in designation of a surplus of individual WAGES over the ordinary or average level, earned because of some legal monopoly or exclusive concession in the industry which employs the worker, because of a sudden rush of demand for a new product or a sudden cheapening of production, or because of various other similar reasons.

Repetition Work. Those industrial operations in which the same specialized task or performance is indefinitely repeated by the same worker. This class of work is common in all highly standardized

manufacturing industries, and is usually paid for on a PIECE WORK basis.

Replacement. See MOBILITY OF LABOR.

Representative Assembly. See NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Representative Bargaining. It is a fixed trade union principle that COLLECTIVE BARGAINING should be conducted on the workers' side by skilled specialists—men who know all the conditions of the trade and the market—rather than by the men in actual employ. "Considered merely as a bargainer, as an actual participant in the operations of the market, the workman is almost always under grave disadvantages as compared with the employer. Except the trifling higgling which he may do in the purchase of his small necessities, he is accustomed to bargain only in the sale of his labor, and the bargains which determine that sale are likely to be made at somewhat long intervals. Every employer, small or great, of necessity devotes a considerable share of his attention to bargains of purchase and of sale. If the labor bargain is made with a foreman, the foreman is continually engaged in such bargaining, and develops in it a very special skill. Both the foreman and the employer have also, in most cases, a higher degree of general intelligence and mental activity than the workingman with whom they deal. . . . If the whole body of workers of a given kind can be brought into the union, so that the union can meet the employers as the representative of the whole, the position of the worker will be greatly strengthened. There will still remain the absolute perishability of his commodity—the need of selling his labor today under penalty of the total loss of today's portion. But he will be freed, by the support of his fellows and of the union funds, from the necessity of accepting whatever is offered, on pain of beggary. The fear that if he refuses to accept certain terms his neighbor will accept them will also be removed. His ignorance of market conditions will be partly remedied, both through the combination of the knowledge of all the members of the union, and, in some cases, by the broader outlook which the union officials, wholly or partly exempted from daily application to manual work, may be able to obtain. The whole matter of bargaining can be put into the hands of the most skillful; and the officers and leaders may develop a skill in bargaining, by constant practice, comparable to that of their opponents." These are the facts which account for trade union emphasis on the principle of representative bargaining—that is to say, collective bargaining conducted by expert "outside" repre-

sentatives of the workers. (See INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING; TRADE UNION.)

Representative Meeting. The constitution of practically every large British trade union makes provision for the assembling at least once a year of a "representative meeting" or national conference, as a means of ascertaining the real will of the membership on matters of general policy. It is also commonly provided that the rules of the union shall not be changed except with the consent of a "delegate meeting" consisting of delegates from the various districts or BRANCHES who as a rule vote according to definite instructions. There are still certain unions which endeavor to insure that wide questions of national policy shall be decided by the whole membership by means of a referendum, but this method of framing policy is gradually being narrowed in practice, and has been largely rendered obsolete by the increased efficiency of representative government. The representative meeting or national conference is often called a "parliament" or "congress." (See COTTON SPINNERS' PARLIAMENT; BRITISH TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION.)

Representatives. See UNDER-COVER MEN.

Reserve of Labor. In connection with any given trade or industry, the reserve of labor means simply the workers who within any given period are liable to be called on sometimes but are not employed continuously. "In the total reserve of labor for any occupation it is possible to distinguish three elements. There is first the body of men representing the fluctuations in the volume of work to be done at all centres of employment taken together. These men are required by the conditions of the trade as a whole. There is, second, the body of men required by the fact that, owing to distance, ignorance, or custom, the supply of labor cannot move with perfect freedom and instantaneously from any one centre of employment to any other, and that therefore separate centres, to meet their fluctuations of work, must to some extent keep separate reserves. These men represent the friction of the labor market. There is, third, the body of men required neither by the fluctuations in the total volume of work nor by the fluctuations of separate business, but liable to be attracted and retained by the perpetual chance of work." (See CASUAL LABOR; FRINGE OF UNEMPLOYED; UNDER-EMPLOYMENT; ROYALS.)

Resistance Fund. See STRIKE FUND.

Rest-Day Laws. See ONE DAY'S REST IN SEVEN.

Rest Periods. Brief intervals of relaxation or recreation allowed employees during working hours. In some cases these periods are of such short duration that the interval of relaxation must be spent at desk or machine. But in some establishments sufficient time is allowed to enable the workers to make use of special rest rooms, to engage in systematic exercise, or to eat a light lunch. Such periods of complete relaxation and change from the strain of monotonous and tiresome occupations have usually proved of great advantage to both employees and employers. (See SNAP TIME.)

Restoration of Prewar Practices Act. See INDUSTRIAL TRUCE.

Restriction of Numbers. A term used by Mr. and Mrs. Webb in designation of one of the two principal devices or methods by which trade unionism seeks to maintain and improve the conditions of employment. It refers specifically to the various trade union regulations and restrictions regarding (1) ENTRANCE INTO A TRADE and (2) ADMITTANCE TO THE TRADE UNION. In the first-named class are the various rules relating to APPRENTICESHIP; those in regulation of what is called "progression within the trade," or the steps by which an adult worker is advanced or promoted from one occupation to another; and those regarding the exclusion of women or children. In the second-named class, that which has to do with admittance to the trade union, belong such rules as those requiring that an applicant for membership shall have served for a certain time at his trade; that he be a "practical" or "competent" worker; that he be "of good moral character"; etc. In some of the more highly skilled trades, the applicant must pass an examination. Most unions exclude foremen and small employers. The principal RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS have long denied admission to negroes, and to workers directly interested in the liquor business. Some unions either exc'ude foreign workers altogether, or discriminate against them by excessive INITIATION FEES. A few unions still exclude women. Finally may be mentioned the type of restriction made possible by an EXCLUSIVE AGREEMENT with an employers' association, where a union arbitrarily excludes competent and otherwise eligible workers in order to maintain a monopoly for its existing membership. In general, the various rules in regard to "restriction of numbers" are based on the common trade union assumption that better conditions can be obtained by limiting the number of competitors. (See COMMON RULE; COLOR

LINE IN TRADE UNIONISM; EXCLUSION POLICY OF TRADE UNIONISM; MONOPOLY POLICY OF TRADE UNIONISM; PERMIT SYSTEM.)

Retirement Allowances. See OLD AGE INSURANCE; BENEFITS.

Retiring Card. See WITHDRAWAL CARD.

Revisionists. Those socialists who adhere to a revised form of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, in which the more radical or revolutionary theories of Marx are either eliminated or decidedly toned down, are sometimes thus designated. (See NEO-MARXIANS.)

Revolutionaries. See LEFT, LEFT WING.

Revolutionary General Strike. See STRIKE; GENERAL STRIKE.

Revolutionary Labor Armies. The system of COMPULSORY LABOR IN RUSSIA assumes two main forms. One of these, which may be called the normal form, consists in the utilization of all the man-power in the country, both skilled and unskilled. This man-power is utilized through the process of registration, mobilization, and distribution. The second, or temporary, form consists in the transformation of the active military forces into a "labor army." In other words, the soldiers are kept with the colors, and are employed on what is called the "labor front" in repairing railway lines and rolling stock, in road and bridge building, wood-cutting, agricultural work, etc. By a decree signed on January 15, 1920, by Lenin, President of the Soviet of Defense, the Third Red Army from the Ural front was converted as a unit into the First Revolutionary Labor Army, with Leon Trotzky as Commander-in-Chief. Several additional labor armies have since been formed.

Revolutionary Labor Movement. In common usage, this term is usually applied to those elements in organized labor that are working for a complete alteration in the existing social, political, and economic system—whether by the avenue of SYNDICALISM, of COMMUNISM, of ONE BIG UNION, of GUILD SOCIALISM, or of any other radical philosophy. The word "revolutionary" in this connection properly refers solely to the *end* in view, and carries no legitimate connotations of violence or bloodshed in the *means*—although here, as in other sections or groupings of society, there are elements which advocate forcible methods in achieving the end in view. In a more general sense, as is emphasized in Frank Tannenbaum's "The Labor Movement," all organized labor is revolutionary in fact if not in

thought. "It is not revolutionary because it wills to be; it is revolutionary because its activities are such without regard to the immediate object in hand. Organized labor is revolutionary because it is the organized embodiment of what must be described as a comprehensive social transformation. . . . A labor union is a new realignment of social forces in the community—a revolutionary, democratic, cooperative grouping of men and women around the tools and the industry with which they are concerned, and the grouping has only one purpose and one result—the constantly greater control of the machine, the industry, the tool which happens to be their particular means of life and labor. Revolutionary activity consists in the absorption, the wresting of power and control by one group from another—and that is what every labor union does. It gains power from the employer." (See REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM; BORING FROM WITHIN.)

Revolutionary Socialism. See SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

Revolutionary Unionism. The functional type of unionism which, according to Hoxie's "Trade Unionism in the United States," is "distinctly class-conscious rather than trade-conscious. That is to say, it asserts the complete harmony of interests of all wageworkers as against the representatives of the employing class, and seeks to unite the former, skilled and unskilled together, into one homogeneous fighting organization. It repudiates, or tends to repudiate, the existing institutional order and especially individual ownership of productive means, and the WAGE SYSTEM. It looks upon the prevailing modes of right and rights, moral and legal, as, in general, fabrications of the employing class, designed to secure the subjection and to further the EXPLOITATION of the workers. In government it aspires to be democratic, striving to make literal application of the phrase *vox populi, vox Dei*. In method, it looks askance at COLLECTIVE BARGAINING and MUTUAL INSURANCE as making for conservatism and hampering the free and united action of the workers." There are two main types of revolutionary unionism. One, the milder form, "finds its ultimate ideal in the socialistic State and its ultimate means in invoking class POLITICAL ACTION." The other and more radical form repudiates SOCIALISM, and looks forward to a society based wholly upon free industrial association; it finds its chosen weapons in the various forms of DIRECT ACTION, and its necessary medium in the INDUSTRIAL UNION. Its aim, as expressed by one of its prominent exponents, "is to build up an industrial republic inside the shell of the political State, in order that when that industrial

republic is fully organized it may crack the shell of the political State and step into its place in the scheme of the universe. . . The administration of affairs will be in the hands of representatives of the various industries of the nation; . . the workers in the shops and factories will organize themselves into unions, each union comprising all the workers at a given industry; . . said union will democratically control the workshop life of its own industry, electing all foremen, etc., and regulating the routine of labor in that industry in subordination to the needs of society in general, to the needs of its allied trades and to the department of industry to which it belongs. . . . Representatives elected from these various departments of industry will meet and form the industrial administration or national government of the country." This type, of which the I. W. W. is the chief American exponent, is sometimes known as "syndicalist unionism." (See NEW UNIONISM; INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM; SYNDICALISM; ONE BIG UNION; MARXIAN INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.)

Reward Systems or Prize Systems. A name sometimes given to the various methods of wage payment which make provision for bonuses or premiums as an inducement to increased effort on the part of workers. (See BONUS SYSTEM; PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM; EFFICIENCY PAYMENTS.)

Right, Right Wing. Terms usually applied to that group or element in any organized movement or body which represents the most conservative opinion and policies. The members of this group are usually known as "moderates." (See REFORMIST; OPPORTUNIST.)

Right to Strike. A slogan which represents one of the most fundamental claims of organized labor. Any interference with or denial of this right (such, for instance, as that set up by the KANSAS INDUSTRIAL COURT and the COLORADO INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION LAW) constitutes, from the worker's point of view, an effort toward placing labor in a state of INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE. The right to strike is considered by labor a necessary check upon the arbitrary use of the employer's right to discharge. The report on railway labor prepared under the direction of the FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION by Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay declares that "it is the almost unanimous opinion of modern economists of various schools of thought that labor combinations with the power to appeal in the last resort to a strike or a joint refusal to work are, under the present system of competition, necessary and expedient. While most labor organizations realize that the strike is a costly and, in most cases, a

useless weapon with which to accomplish their purposes, the wisdom of maintaining the right to strike, as a last resort, can not be questioned. It has been frequently affirmed in court decisions." (See STRIKES IN RUSSIA.)

Right to the Trade. In connection with OVERLAP and JURISDICTION, this phrase denotes the common trade union assumption expressed in the following statement of an English labor organization: "Considering that the trade by which we live is our property, bought by certain years of servitude, which gives to us a vested right, and that we have a sole and exclusive claim on it, as all will have hereafter who purchase it by the same means, . . it is evident it is our duty to protect, by all fair and legal means, the property by which we live, being always equally careful not to trespass on the rights of others." The phrase "Right to a Trade" is used by Mr. and Mrs. Webb in designation of one of the seven classes of regulations which trade unionism seeks to enforce. (See VESTED INTERESTS DOCTRINE.)

Right to Work. Although the right to work was recognized by an 18th century law in Prussia which guaranteed State support for any able-bodied male unable to find employment, the first recognition of this principle on a broad national scale was made by the present Soviet government of Russia, whose labor laws declare that "all citizens able to work have the right to employment at their vocations, and for remunerations fixed for such class of work." If no work can be found for any able-bodied person, he or she is entitled to a full wage or salary for the whole time of involuntary idleness. (See COMPULSORY LABOR IN RUSSIA.)

Rochdale Pioneers. See ROCHDALE PLAN.

Rochdale Plan. This term refers to the system or method of CONSUMERS' COOPERATION originated by the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers (the members of which are now commonly known as the "Rochdale Pioneers" or "Equitable Pioneers") in Rochdale, Lancashire, England, in 1844; which is still the basis of most consumers' cooperative societies. Under this plan, to become a member of such a society at least one share of stock (commonly of about $5 par value) must be purchased, but may usually be paid for in small installments. The maximum number of shares that can be held by one member is commonly fixed at two hundred. Each paid-up share bears interest, limited generally to five per cent, and its value never rises above par. In the general meetings of the society, each

member has one vote, irrespective of the number of shares held, and is eligible to a seat on the board of management or to any other representative office. Goods are sold, for cash, at current prices; but at the end of each quarter, half, or full year the "profits" or "dividends" (that is, the surplus over cost price plus expenses of management, etc.) are divided among the purchasers in proportion to the amount of purchases made. Non-members are permitted to purchase at the cooperative stores, and to participate in profits, but they usually receive only half the rate of dividend paid to members.

Rockefeller Plan or **Colorado Plan.** A scheme of EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION introduced into the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. (owned largely by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.) after a disastrous strike in 1913, and since adopted by several other large industrial concerns. It consists of a system of SHOP COMMITTEES elected by and from among the company's own employees, without regard to their outside union affiliations; and these committees meet in joint session with the company's representatives, for the adjustment of grievances and other matters.

Rotation of Shifts. See SHIFT SYSTEM.

Roumanian General Trade Union Commission. See COMISIA GENERALA A SINDICATELUR DIU RUMANIA.

Roustabouts. See MIGRATORY LABOR.

Routing. This term sometimes refers to the physical lay-out of industrial plants and the relationship of departments. More commonly, however, it has to do (in connection with SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT) with the analysis of the sequence of operations in industrial work, and the determination of the place and time for each operation or group of operations. Also called "scheduling" and "despatching." (See FUNCTIONAL FOREMANSHIP; INSTRUCTION CARD SYSTEM.)

Rovers. See MIGRATORY LABOR.

Rowan Plan. A form of the PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM devised by James Rowan, a Glasgow employer, and widely adopted in British industry. Under this plan, for every ten per cent that is saved on the time allowed or BASE TIME for a particular job, the worker receives a ten per cent increase in earnings. Thus the cost per piece is reduced while the wage per hour is increased; but the rate can never go be-

yond twice the original rate per hour—because, in order to accomplish a hundred per cent increase on the original rate the worker would have to save one hundred per cent of the time, or in other words he would have to do the job in no time at all.

Royals. In English labor slang, these are picked men among the "casual" dockworkers—those who are on the preference lists of employers and are hired more frequently than the ordinary "casual" DOCKER. (See RESERVE OF LABOR.)

Royalty. In connection with British mining, this is a percentage on the output of a mine paid by the mine OPERATOR to the Crown or other owner of the land upon which the mine is situated.

Rule Book. See WORKING RULES.

Rules. See WORKING RULES.

Rump Union. A seceding or OUTLAW trade union is sometimes so designated by members of "regular" labor organizations. (See SECESSIONISTS.)

Run-of-Mine System. See SCREENING SYSTEM.

Runaway Strike. See INDEPENDENT STRIKE.

Rusher. See SPEEDING UP.

Ruskin College. This, the first residential college for working-class students in England, was founded at Oxford about twenty years ago by two Americans, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Vrooman. The aim of the founders was to establish an institution where workers endeavoring to elevate their class and not to rise out of it might obtain an education in the social sciences of most value to the growing democratic working-class movement, "untrammeled by the conventional outlook of any one school of thought or section or party." It is described by its officials as a "school of citizenship and public administration for workingmen, endeavoring to create in each student a feeling that the education which he receives is not a means of personal advancement, but a trust for the good of others." The provisions for residential education at Ruskin College are intended for workingmen who show special promise and who are likely to be called upon by their fellow workers to take up positions in which wise leadership is required; by this means they are enabled to come to Oxford and study the problems they may have to solve. By means of a correspondence course, the college reaches a great number of workers

who cannot take residence at Oxford. The college is supported mainly by trade unions, cooperative societies, and other working-class organizations, and partly by individual subscribers. The majority of the students come to the college by means of scholarships provided by working-class organizations. The college aims to provide a thoroughly broad education in economics, history, local government, cooperation, and trade unionism. English literature and French and German are also studied.

Russian Communist Party. See BOLSHEVISM

Rustler. See RUSTLING CARD.

Rustling Card. Beginning in 1912, the Anaconda Copper Company of Butte, Montana, required every applicant for employment to fill out a blank giving full information regarding himself and his previous situations. If the information given was acceptable, the company issued to the applicant a card which entitled him to apply for work to any foreman of the mines. This card was called a "rustling card"; its holder was a "rustler," one privileged to "rustle the mine"—*i.e.*, apply for work among the mine foremen. No one without a "rustling card" was permitted to be taken on. With one or two important modifications, the rustling card system continues in operation at the present time. Now, however, it is under the control of a joint employment office of most of the companies in the district, known as the Butte Mutual Labor Bureau. Its purpose is of course to keep out miners who are "undesirable" from the operators' point of view. It has been the cause of much bitter feeling among the miners, who regard it as essentially a BLACKLIST system. Somewhat similar employment systems, in which the use of what are called "rustling cards" is a prominent feature, are occasionally found in other American industries.

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S. D. F. See SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

S. T. U. C. See SCOTTISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Sab-Cat. An I. W. W. nickname for the organization's familiar emblem—a black cat and a wooden shoe. "Sab" is an abbreviation of "sabotage," derived from the French *sabot*, a wooden shoe. The symbolism of the cat has not been explained. The emblem often appears in connection with such related mottoes as "A kick in time saves nine," "Kick your way out of wage slavery," "Our coat of arms: the shoe rampant," "A kick on the job is worth ten at the ballot-box," "Immediate demands: wooden shoes on all jobs," "The foot in the wooden shoe will rock the world," etc. The term "sab-cat" is sometimes applied to an individual I. W. W. who practices SABOTAGE.

Sabotage. Derived from the French word *sabot*, meaning a wooden shoe, this term is often supposed to have originally denoted the idea of stalling machinery by throwing a wooden clog into it. Probably its more direct derivation is from the French verb *saboter* (itself derived from *sabot*), meaning to bungle or to botch; while some find its origin in the French expression, "Travailler à coups de sabots," meaning to work as one wearing wooden shoes, often applied to lazy or slow-moving persons. If the derivation of the term is elusive, its precise meaning is even more difficult of statement. According to J. A. Esty, sabotage "is a comprehensive term, covering every process by which the laborer, while remaining at work, tries to damage the interests of his employer, whether by simple malingering, or by bad quality of work, or by doing actual damage to tools and machinery." In this sense, the most common forms of sabotage consist in systematic loafing at work, known as CA' CANNY OR STRIKING ON THE JOB; in wasting materials, turning out damaged or inferior goods, misdirecting shipments, etc.; and in such acts as putting soap in engine boilers to retard the development of steam, putting sand in

delicate bearings, or short-circuiting electrical apparatus. But besides these and innumerable other forms of malicious sabotage, there are certain intrinsically harmless or (as far as the consumer is concerned) actually beneficial forms which are often practiced, but of which the above-quoted definition takes no account. In this latter class belong the common practice of living up to the letter of certain safety rules enacted by the employer for his own protection but not really intended to be observed—as exemplified in the WORK-TO-RULE MOVEMENT; or the practice of doing a job so thoroughly and efficiently that there can be little if any profit in it for the employer; or telling a customer the precise truth about inferior or adulterated goods (called the OPEN-MOUTH STRIKE); or giving full weight when fraudulent scales are used; etc., etc. As summarized by John Spargo, "sabotage is a principle of action rather than a method—a principle of action capable of an almost infinite variety of applications. It may involve violence, or it may be peaceful. It may involve destruction of property or it may not. It may be based on illegal acts or it may not. It may consist of telling lies or of telling the simple truth. . . . It is essentially a furtive and stealthy policy, practiced by individual workers, having for its aim the obstruction of industry and business to such an extent that the employers will suffer a loss of profits so great as to be compelled to grant the workers' demands." Sabotage is in the social or industrial war what guerilla fighting is in national wars. While a favorite method of SYNDICALISM and REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM, it is for the most part vigorously repudiated by orthodox trade unionists. In common usage, the word "sabotage" has both its verbal and its adjectival forms—"to sabotage," "sabotaging," "sabotaged," etc. (See CONSCIENTIOUS WITHDRAWAL OF EFFICIENCY; SCAMPING; RATTENING; GRÈVE PERLÉE; STRIKE OF THE MACHINE; SABOTAGE LAW; CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAWS.)

Sabotage Law. By this title is commonly known the Federal enactment of May, 1918, which declares to be unlawful any association "one of whose purposes or professed purposes is to bring about any governmental, social, industrial or economic change within the United States by the use, without authority of law, of physical force, violence or physical injury to person or property, or by threats of such injury, or which teaches, advocates, advises or defends the use . . . of physical force, violence or physical injury to person or property, or threats of such injury, to accomplish such change or for any other purpose, and which, during any war in which the

United States is engaged, shall by any such means prosecute or pursue such purpose or professed purpose, or shall so teach, advocate, advise or defend." Severe penalties are provided for anyone who connects himself in any way with such an association.

Sack. In British labor slang, "to get the sack" is to be discharged from work; or, in an active sense, "to sack" a worker is to discharge him. At one time manufacturers who employed those who worked at home put the work in a bag or sack. If when brought back the work was satisfactory, the bag or sack was filled again with materials; if not, it was laid empty on the counter, and this indicated that the person would no longer be employed by the firm.

Sacrificed Member. See VICTIMIZATION.

Safety. See INDUSTRIAL SAFETY.

Safety Appliance Act. A Federal enactment of 1897 "to promote the safety of employees and travellers upon railroads by compelling the common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their cars with automatic couplers and continuous brakes, and their locomotives with driving-wheel brakes, and for other purposes."

Safety Codes. Standard instructions or regulations for the prevention of accidents, promotion of correct sanitary principles, etc., for particular industries, kinds of work, forms of machinery or other apparatus, etc. Under the general direction of the Bureau of Standards of the Federal Department of Commerce, a National Safety Code Committee has recently been formed, to organize the formulation of uniform national safety codes in all the main industries of the country. The drafting and enforcing of industrial safety codes often forms an important part of a STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION'S work.

Safety Committees. See INDUSTRIAL SAFETY.

Safety Engineers. Technical experts employed in large industrial plants to study the hazards of the particular work being carried on, to devise safeguards for the prevention of accidents, and to create the elements of attention, understanding, and discipline necessary to make those safeguards effective. Also called "safety supervisors." (See ENGINEERING REVISION.)

Safety First Movement. The systematic effort, on the part of employers, public authorities, national, state, and local organizations, etc., to prevent industrial and other accidents, to safeguard

human life, and to promote the health and welfare of working people. The rapid development of the "safety first movement" has closely followed the enactment of WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION laws and other forms of SOCIAL INSURANCE. (See INDUSTRIAL SAFETY; INDUSTRIAL SAFETY LAWS; SAFETY CODES; SAFETY SURVEY; SAFETY MUSEUMS; ENGINEERING REVISION; SAFETY ENGINEERS; INDUSTRIAL MEDICINE.)

Safety Museums. Permanent public displays of devices, appliances, and methods of safeguarding the life, limbs, and health of industrial workers. In 1916 there were such safety museums in fourteen European cities. For several years an American Museum of Safety was maintained in New York City, but this has now been temporarily discontinued.

Safety Strike. A concerted refusal to work under conditions considered dangerous to life, limb, or health. Safety strikes are mainly confined to the mining industry.

Safety Supervisors. See SAFETY ENGINEERS.

Safety Survey. A systematic investigation into the hazards to life, limb, and health in a particular industrial plant, including a study of the nature and causes of all industrial accidents that have occurred, carried on with a view to preventing such accidents in the future and to safeguarding the workers in all possible ways.

St. Louis Platform. See SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Saint-Simonism. The political and social system formulated by the Comte de Saint-Simon (1760–1825), the founder of French SOCIALISM. Its central idea is the abolition of inheritance, and the union of all instruments of labor in a social fund, to be exploited by association; the worker, however, being rewarded according to his skill and capacities, and not by equal division regardless of merit. (See UTOPIAN SOCIALISM.)

Salariat. A name sometimes used in designation of that section of the working public (consisting of clerks, travelling salesmen, draftsmen, technical workers, etc.) which sells its labor for a month or a year at a time; so called because it receives a salary with a fixed tenure instead of daily or weekly wages during a period of uncertain duration, as is the case with the PROLETARIAT. This class is rapidly allying itself in nearly all countries with the proletariat,

in industrial trade union organizations. (See BLACKCOATS; MIDDLE CLASS; INTELLECTUAL PROLETARIAT.)

Sand Hog. Nickname for a common laborer employed below the surface in tunnel or subway construction.

Sanitation and Safety. Under this head Mr. and Mrs. Webb list the third class of trade union regulations involved in what they call the principle of the COMMON RULE. As summarized by George O'Brien, in his book on "Labor Organization," this is obviously "a subject which comes directly within trade union activity, because the conditions under which a man works are just as important a term of his contract of employment as the wages he receives or the length of his working day. Indeed, it may be said that a man working in a sanitary and safe factory is really receiving a higher wage than another man working at the same rate of wages in unhealthy and dangerous conditions. This class of regulations is one which cannot possibly be enforced by MUTUAL INSURANCE, and which can only be enforced with difficulty by means of COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. On the other hand, it lends itself particularly to the method of LEGAL ENACTMENT, and thus we find that the first interference of Parliament in the last century with industrial matters was concerned with the conditions of safety and sanitation in factories. The code, which has come to be known as the FACTORY ACTS, has now grown to enormous proportions, and it is safe to say that the greater part of it would never have been passed had it not been for the agitation of trade unions concerned. In other words, the legal enactment often gave effect to the provisions of a collective bargain."

Sanitorium Benefits. See NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT.

Sankey Commission. A British royal commission appointed early in 1919 to investigate wages and conditions in the British coal industry. It was composed of thirteen members, representing employers in general, mine owners, labor in general, and miners, with Mr. Justice Sankey presiding. A majority report issued March 20 declared that "the present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands condemned"; and this report, with two minority reports, proposed various changes in wage scales and working conditions. A second report, issued June 20, unanimously recommended that the royalty owners should be at once expropriated in favor of the State; while a minority report, with the chairman and six members in agreement, proposed an elaborate scheme of NATIONALIZATION for the coal industry, with administration under a Minister of Mines

by joint district councils and pit committees, in which the miners would be largely represented. Contrary to the government's pledge to adopt the findings of the Sankey Commission, Mr. Lloyd George announced in October, 1919, that while the government would propose the nationalization of mining ROYALTIES and some undefined "trustification" of the mines by districts, there would be no general adoption of the Sankey reports. No definite action in the matter has since been taken on the part of the government. The published proceedings of the Sankey Commission created world-wide interest, because of the light which they threw on the disorganized workings of the British coal industry, the tremendous profits of the companies and owners, and the unsatisfactory conditions under which the miners lived and worked.

Saturdaying. See SUBBOTNIK.

Satyagraha. See HARTAL.

Savings Bank Insurance. See MASSACHUSETTS SAVINGS BANKS INSURANCE AND PENSION SYSTEM.

Scab, Scabbing. Among trade unionists the term "scab" is applied, in general, to any person guilty of disloyalty to a trade union. The Bricklayers' and Masons' Union, for example, defines a scab as "an employer or employee who has violated the laws of this or of subordinate unions, whom the members of the international union are debarred from working for or with until he or they have complied with the laws of said union." This union has different rates of fines for what the constitution terms "common scabs," "inveterate or notorious scabs," and UNION WRECKERS. The constitution of another union defines "scabbing" as follows: "A member of a union engaging to take a situation in the jurisdiction of another union at a lower rate of wages than the scale of prices of the latter union calls for, and failing for any cause to obtain the same, is guilty of scabbing." In common current usage, however, the term "scab" is most often applied to any person who hires or volunteers to take the place of a worker out on strike. Such action is known as "scabbing," and those who thus act are said to have "scabbed." "Scab goods" are those produced or handled by scabs. Some national unions keep on file or publish at regular intervals a list of scabs, arranged according to the locals by which they were reported. In the eyes of trade unionists, "scabbing" is the sin of sins, and a scab is regarded with the same loathing and contempt that patriotic persons bestow upon

a national traitor. (See BLACKLEG; UNION SCAB; RAT; WHITE COLLAR SCABS; GOLDEN SCABS.)

Scab Goods. See SCAB.

Scab-Herders. Private LABOR DETECTIVE AGENCIES and other concerns which make a practice of supplying professional STRIKE-BREAKERS are commonly known among organized workers by this epithet.

Scab List. See SCAB.

Scab Union. See UNION SCAB.

Scale. In the labor movement, a general designation for the varying rates of wages paid to different classes of workers or for different kinds of labor, in a particular industry as a whole or in a single establishment. Where such rates are fixed by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, the term "union scale" is commonly used. In most cases the union scale aims to establish a minimum standard only. (See PRICE LIST; INCREMENTAL SCALE.)

Scale Committee. See INTERSTATE JOINT CONFERENCES IN THE COAL-MINING INDUSTRY.

Scale of Living. See STANDARD OF LIVING.

Scamping. Working in an intentionally slipshod, inefficient, or dishonest fashion, or causing others thus to "scamp" or "skimp" their work. As a wage-earner's policy, scamping is often a form of SABOTAGE, practiced by the dissatisfied worker. In its more common form it is an employer's policy, adopted to meet competition, increase profits, etc. In a wholly different sense, a worker who so increases his individual output as to arouse the suspicions of his fellow-workers is said by the latter to be "scamping"; and this term is also sometimes used in designation of the act of an employer in "stealing" workers from his competitors.

Scheduling. See ROUTING.

Schulze-Delitzsch Banks. These institutions, the first of which was founded by Franz Schulze of Delitzsch, Germany, in 1850, represent one of the two main types of European CREDIT UNIONS. Under the Schulze-Delitzsch plan, a number of persons in a town combine in guaranteeing a certain amount of capital, each person subscribing for one share only, of large value, to be paid for in small instalments. On the strength of this capital, the association

borrows money, which it in turn lends to its members at current interest rates. Profits are divided among the members, or placed in a reserve. Schulze-Delitzsch banks differ from RAIFFEISEN BANKS in that they mainly serve middle-class townspeople rather than the peasantry, are based upon share capital, are run for profit, and are conducted by paid directors. (See CREDIT COOPERATION.)

Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund (Swiss Federation of Trade Unions). The national central organization of trade union workers in Switzerland; founded in 1880. The twenty-two national unions now affiliated in the *Gewerkschaftsbund* had a constituent membership in 1920 of 225,000. The Federation works in cooperation with the Swiss Socialist Party.

Scientific Management. In the general theoretical definition of Professor Hoxie, this is "an attempt through accurate industrial analysis to discover and put into operation the objective facts and laws which underlie true efficiency in production. In its broadest and best application it attempts through this process of analysis to determine the best location and structure of the shop for the particular manufacture designed; the most efficient processes and methods of production in general and in detail; the material, organic and human arrangements and relationships best suited to further the productive process; the most effective character, arrangement and uses of the machinery, tools and materials employed; the methods of selection and training of the workmen and managerial force most conducive to efficiency; the character and amount of work which can and ought to be performed by each member of the labor and managerial force; the payment to be accorded each individual in the interests of efficiency and justice; and in general it aims to discover all the material, organic and human qualities, arrangements and relationships which will result in greatest output and lowest cost." In its practical industrial application, the primary object of scientific management is "to increase output, reduce the cost per unit of production, and raise the wages of operators. This is accomplished: first, by determining with the aid of experienced investigators the best equipment, materials, and methods to use; second, by selecting and training the workmen best fitted to accomplish the result desired; third, by determining in advance a standard of achievement for the workmen, providing them with the necessary working conditions, and rewarding them with a bonus for attaining this standard." The term "scientific management" (first used about 1910) originally had specific reference to what is commonly known

as the TAYLOR SYSTEM, but it has gradually extended in scope to cover not only various modifications of the Taylor system but certain original developments in the same field. Scientific management is sometimes referred to as "industrial engineering," "efficiency engineering," "business engineering," etc., and (less often) as "task management." The usual trade union hostility toward scientific management is based on various reasons, valid or otherwise, which cannot be fully discussed here. But it should at least be noted that the claim, so often advanced by advocates of the system, that scientific management does away with all necessity for COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, will not bear serious examination. As G. D. H. Cole points out, "all the TIME-STUDY in the world cannot show how much ought to be paid for a job. It can only show at most the length of time a job ought to take. That is to say, it cannot determine what is to be the STANDARD OF LIVING or of remuneration of the workers. PIECE-WORK prices are inevitably fixed in relation to an assumed standard of living of the worker employed, and time-study gets one no further towards the determination of this standard." Scientific management "does not, and can not, touch the question of the proper division of the product between Labor and Capital, or of the propriety or impropriety of any such division. It does nothing to remove the need for collective bargaining and trade union organization." (For descriptions of the chief systems of scientific management, see TAYLOR SYSTEM; EMERSON SYSTEM; GANTT SYSTEM. For accounts of wage-payment methods under scientific management, in addition to those noted in the above-mentioned entries, see PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM; DIFFERENTIAL PIECE RATE SYSTEM; HALSEY PLAN; ROWAN PLAN; WEIR PLAN; THREE-RATE SYSTEM OF WAGE PAYMENT. For accounts of other factors in scientific management, see FUNCTIONAL FOREMANSHIP; EXCEPTION PRINCIPLE; TIME STUDY; MOTION STUDY; TIME AND MOTION STUDY; OVER-ALL TIME STUDY; TASK; TASK TIME; INSTRUCTION CARD SYSTEM; ROUTING; FIRST INSPECTION; BASE RATE; BASE TIME. See also, SPEED-UP SYSTEM; TAYLORISM; EFFICIENCY PAYMENTS; FATIGUE.)

Scientific Socialism. (Also called Marxian, Economic, and Revolutionary Socialism.) The school of socialist theory, formulated by Karl Marx in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO (1848) and "Capital" (1867–1894), which has had the largest influence upon the modern socialist movement. It employs the historical method in economic interpretation. On the basis of past changes in economic organization, such as those from SLAVERY to FEUDALISM and from feudalism

to CAPITALISM, according to Marx two distinct classes have been created: the exploiting and the exploited; and between these two there must be inevitable conflict (the CLASS STRUGGLE), which would finally end in the overthrow of the BOURGEOISIE and a DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. In his view, the transference of the ownership of the means of production and distribution to the State is the ultimate goal of the working-class movement; to achieve the overthrow of capitalism is the "historic mission" of the proletariat. Marx's main contributions to socialist theory are (1) his demonstration that the SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH can be built directly on capitalist foundations, and (2) his dogmatic belief that the evolution of capitalism into socialism is inevitable. Scientific socialism scorns the ideology of UTOPIAN SOCIALISM, holding that the history of social institutions is not the record of man's moral initiative, but of ECONOMIC DETERMINISM—the working of material forces obeying immutable laws. (See SOCIALISM; CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL THEORY; INCREASING MISERY THEORY; SURPLUS VALUE THEORY; EXPLOITATION; REVISIONISTS; NEO-MARXIANS; BOLSHEVISM; STATE SOCIALISM; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

Scissorbill. A slang term used mainly by I. W. W. members in the West in designation of a worker who holds aloof from the class-conscious labor movement or cooperates with the employers in active opposition to that movement.

Scottish Trades Union Congress. A delegate body representing about 250,000 members of Scottish TRADES COUNCILS, Scottish sections of British trade unions, and trade unions of wholly Scottish membership. Its organization and functions are similar to those of the British TRADES UNION CONGRESS, and like that body it maintains a Parliamentary Committee.

Screening System. In bituminous coal-mining, where the method of CONTRACT MINING largely prevails, it is desirable for commercial reasons that the coal be taken out in fairly large lumps. The OPERATORS therefore adopted the practice of running the coal over a screen before it was weighed, and paying the miner only for the lump coal or that which did not pass through the screen. This practice was strenuously opposed by the miners, who maintained that they were thus robbed of a considerable part of their legitimate earnings, and that they should be paid for all coal just as it comes from the mines—what is called the "run-of-mine" or "mine-run" system. Most of the coal-mining states in this country have passed

statutes prohibiting the screening of coal before it is weighed, or fixing the size of the screen-mesh (known as "anti-screening laws" or "coal screening laws"), but in some cases these statutes have been held unconstitutional. In one state at least, what is known as the "double-standard basis" has been fixed. The mine-owner may elect to pay on either a screened-coal or a run-of-mine basis; but having made his choice, he must stick to it. Where the screening system is followed, the men are paid at a higher rate than under the run-of-mine system.

Script or Script Payments. Pay orders (also called "store orders" or "store pay") issued to workers in lieu of wages, which are exchangeable at par for goods in a COMPANY STORE, or may usually be converted into legal money at a discount from their face value. The use of script is prohibited by law in several states, and is subject to considerable restrictions in others. In cases where script may be used, its use is generally guarded by requirements for cash redemption at par within short-time limits, and for interest payments if not redeemed at an early date. (See TRUCK SYSTEM.)

Seamen's Act. An important measure sponsored by Senator La Follette and passed by Congress in 1915, after long agitation by Andrew Furuseth and other leaders of the Seamen's Union. The Act is divided into two sections, one dealing with the status of the seaman and the conditions under which he shall work, the other with provisions for the safety of passengers and crew in case of shipwreck. The most important provision of the law is that calling for the abrogation of treaties for the apprehension of deserting sailors, and the substitution therefor of the provision that a sailor deserting his ship shall forefeit the effects he left on board and such wages as may then be due him. Since it is also provided that at any port where the vessel shall stop, the seaman shall upon demand be entitled to one half of the wages due him, this really means that he may leave the ship before the completion of the voyage upon forfeiture of half his wages. This applies to sailors on foreign ships in American ports as well as on ships of American registry. There are provisions penalizing the shipowner for failure to provide adequate accommodations and wholesome food for the ship's crew; and a number of minor sections. This law is regarded by the seamen as their Magna Charta; it raises the American seaman to the status of a freeman, and indirectly, through its application to foreign ships in American ports, it operates to make the foreign sailor a freeman as well. It tends also, naturally, to make the American wage the standard wage for all ships, since the

foreign sailor may leave his ship in an American port and reship at the American wage.

Seasonal Fluctuations. The fairly regular alternation of busy months and slack months in various trades and industries—as for instance, the winter slackness and the spring and summer activity in the building trades. While generally due, either directly or indirectly, to varying climatic conditions, other factors—for example, the caprices of fashion—have part in producing these fluctuations, which are the rule rather than the exception in industry as a whole. They make for a considerable proportion of the total yearly volume of UNEMPLOYMENT. (See CYCLICAL FLUCTUATIONS; LAY-OFF SYSTEM.)

Seasonal Occupations or Seasonal Industries. Those in which the amount of labor demanded varies widely at different seasons of the year. Wheat harvesting and cloak making are examples of seasonal occupations; in the first case because the product is perishable and must be moved immediately, and in the second case because of the effect of fashion and of retailing methods. The seasonal worker must earn enough during the busy season to tide over the slack period or attempt to find a secondary occupation. The seasonal character of many industries and occupations makes not only for a considerable increase in the yearly volume of UNEMPLOYMENT, but for the permanent creation of "casual" and "migratory" workers in large numbers. The DOVETAILING OF SEASONAL OCCUPATIONS, so as to provide continued employment for workers during the slack seasons of their regular trades, has been often proposed as a desirable activity for public employment exchanges. (See BUFFER EMPLOYMENT; SEASONAL FLUCTUATIONS; LABOR OUTINGS.)

Secession, Secessionists. With specific reference to trade unionism, the term "secession" usually denotes the withdrawal or separation of either (1) a group of trade unionists from a local labor body; (2) a local or district union from a national or international union; (3) a national or international union from a national or other federation. The individuals involved in such separation or withdrawal are called "secessionists." (See RUMP UNION; DUAL UNION; OUTLAWS; VACATIONISTS.)

Second Internationale. See INTERNATIONALE; INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

Secondary Arbitration. See ARBITRATION.

Secondary Boycott. See BOYCOTT.

Secondary Poverty. See POVERTY.

Secretary of Labor. The chief officer of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, and the tenth member of the President's Cabinet. He is charged with the duty of "fostering, promoting, and developing the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, improving their working conditions, and advancing their opportunities for profitable employment." He has power under the law to act as MEDIATOR and to appoint commissioners of CONCILIATION in labor disputes. He has authority to direct the collecting and collating of labor statistics; the gathering and publication of information regarding labor interests and labor controversies in this and other countries; the administration and supervision of the IMMIGRATION and naturalization laws; and the work of investigating all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life. Associated with the Secretary are an Assistant Secretary, heads of the various bureaus and divisions, and a number of lesser officials.

Sectionalism. In the trade union movement, this term refers to the jealousies and quarrels arising between rival unions in the same craft or industry, over questions of JURISDICTION, AUTONOMY, etc. The evils of sectionalism are largely disposed of by the process known as AMALGAMATION, with its resultant centralized control.

Selbständige Vereine. In the German labor movement these are independent unions, standing outside the three main bodies or sections of trade unionism in Germany. They were reported to have 214,360 members at the end of 1918, of whom 90,000 belonged to the Berlin Railwaymen's Association.

Self-Employment. A term sometimes used in connection with PRODUCERS' COOPERATION, under which the worker is employed not by a private capitalist or ENTREPRENEUR, but by an association of which he himself is a member.

Self-Governing Workshop. Except as applied to an industrial enterprise based on thorough-going principles of PRODUCERS' COOPERATION, this term has no accurate significance. It is often used, however, in designation of establishments where some measure of EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION is in operation. (See INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.)

Self-Insurance. See WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Semi-skilled Worker. One who is able to perform a given process or operate a single machine, but who has not received such thorough training that he can, for example, repair the machinery that he uses. (See SKILLED WORKER; UNSKILLED WORKER.)

Seniority. The comparative status of a worker with reference to length and quality of service. Workers are often selected for promotion, or for assignment to the more desirable jobs, or for retention during a slack period, on the basis of seniority. In the railroad industry particularly, where the workers are generally classified and graded in each department on this basis, seniority is an important factor with the individual worker; and the loss of seniority, due to participation in a strike or for other cause, is considered a serious set-back.

Separations. See MOBILITY OF LABOR.

Serfdom or Villeinage. The second stage in labor evolution, following SLAVERY. Under this system, the serf or villein was an agricultural worker, bound to the land and bought and sold with it, like cattle. But, unlike the slave, he might buy his freedom by paying his master either annually or outright a sum of money presumably equal to the value of his services. The abolishment of serfdom in Russia in the early sixties of the 19th century marked the end of this system. (See FEUDALISM; SERVILE LABOR.)

Service Department. See WELFARE WORK.

Service Director or Manager. See WELFARE WORK.

Service Letter. See CLEARANCE LETTER.

Servile Labor. Any system of labor under which the laborer is not a free agent, but is involuntarily bound to work for a specified master for an indefinite period. SLAVERY, SERFDOM, and PEONAGE are the principal forms of servile labor. (See CONTRACT LABOR; NATIVE LABOR.)

Servile State. An epithet used by opponents of SOCIALISM in designation of the socialized State—one in which, as they assert, there would be no room for individual action or initiative, all citizens being mere dependents or servants of the government. In Hilaire Belloc's book with this title, the "servile state" is defined as "that arrangement of society in which so considerable a number of the families and individuals are constrained by positive law to labor for the advantage of other families and individuals as to stamp the whole community with the mark of such labor."

Seven-Day Week. See ONE DAY'S REST IN SEVEN.

Seven-Day Worker. See ONE DAY'S REST IN SEVEN.

Sex Unions. While this term is usually applied to women's trade unions, it is equally applicable to those men's unions which refuse to admit women workers.

Shape. The circle or horseshoe formation which "casual" LONGSHOREMEN seeking work are required to assume when they arrive at the docks each morning, is so called. After the "shape" is assembled, the foreman or stevedore looks the men over, and picks out those whom he wants.

Share Cropper. See CROPPER.

Share Tenant. See CROPPER.

Sharing of Work. See WORK SHARING.

Shenangoes. A slang term applied to "down-and-out" LONGSHOREMEN who are capable of light CASUAL LABOR only, and who finally become a charge upon public or private charity.

Sherman Anti-Trust Law. A Congressional enactment of 1890, forbidding all combinations in restraint of interstate and foreign trade. Under a decision of the Supreme Court in the DANBURY HATTERS' CASE, it was held that trade unions came under the restrictions of the act. After a long and bitter battle on the part of organized labor, this liability was removed by the CLAYTON ACT in 1914.

Shift Boss. See PIT BOSS.

Shift Schedules. See SHIFT SYSTEM.

Shift System. In the operation of CONTINUOUS INDUSTRIES, and in other industries where NIGHT WORK is habitually or occasionally resorted to, it is necessary to divide the working force into two or three groups known as "shifts" or "turns," each group working but one period during the twenty-four hours. Under what is called the "two-shift system" only two groups of workers are utilized; and if the industry is a continuous one, each group must work twelve hours during the twenty-four—as is the case with large numbers of workers in the American steel industry. Under the more humane and enlightened "three-shift system," there are three groups of workers, each group usually working eight hours out of the twenty-

four. In some establishments the same workers are assigned to the same shift throughout the year; but in others the plan of "rotation of shifts" is followed—that is to say, under the "three-shift system," for example, a worker might be assigned to the "morning shift" for one week or several weeks, then to the "afternoon shift" for a like period, and then to the "night shift." Where it is required that the worker be given a continuous rest of not less than twenty-four hours each week, it is necessary in order not to interfere with continuous operation to devise more or less elaborate "shift schedules," and also in most cases to employ special "relief workers," who fill the places of those members of a shift who are absent for a weekly day of rest. The shift system is sometimes known as the "turn system." "Double turn" refers to the two-shift system; while "single turn" refers to the ordinary method of day work, in which the shift system is not used. Among railway men, telegraphers, and some other classes of workers, a shift is usually known as a "trick." Thus, under the two-shift system there would be what the workers call a "day trick" and a "night trick." (See SPLIT SHIFT; LONG TURN; LOBSTER SHIFT; EIGHT-HOUR DAY; TWO-DAY SHIFT SYSTEM.)

Shinyu Kai. See JAPANESE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Shipwreck Benefit. Under this form of trade BENEFIT, which is peculiar to the International Seamen's Union, members are recompensed to a certain specified amount for the loss of clothes or other belongings through shipwreck.

Shop. Strictly speaking, a single unit or department (such as a machine-shop, a foundry-room, a packing-room, etc.) of a factory or other industrial establishment, the factory as a whole being known as a PLANT or WORKS. In common usage, however, this distinction is not maintained, and "shop" often refers to the establishment as a whole. This is particularly true in regard to such terms as "open shop," "closed shop," "shop union," etc.

Shop Agreement or **Shop Bargain.** This, the simplest form of TRADE AGREEMENT, is an arrangement arrived at between the workers in a single shop and their employer or his representative, in regard to such matters as wages, hours of work, working conditions, etc.

Shop Bonus. See COLLECTIVE BONUS SYSTEM.

Shop Call. A custom in the American hat industry which is said to go back to colonial times and which existed in some localities up to 1885. It is thus described in Glocker's "Government of

American Trade Unions": "For many years, whenever any man, woman, or child working in a hat factory had a grievance, he or she cried, 'Shop called.' Immediately a meeting of all the employees in the shop was held, and the complaint was laid before them. If the grievance was considered just, a committee was appointed to wait upon the employer; and if this committee reported a rejection of its demands, the members of the shop assembled in meeting decided whether or not to strike."

Shop Card. See UNION SHOP CARD.

Shop Chairman. The presiding officer of a SHOP COMMITTEE, or the representative of the workers in a given shop. In many cases, there is no practical distinction between a shop chairman and a SHOP STEWARD. In some of the RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS, the shop chairman is termed "protective chairman." (See SHOP COLLECTOR; CONVENER.)

Shop Club. Any form of organization that is limited to the workers in a single shop or establishment is commonly so called—from the informal SHOP MEETING, on the one hand, to the formal SHOP UNION on the other. Genetically, according to Professor Hoxie, "the union was a shop club; that is to say, a meeting of the workers in a shop or factory to consider the wages and conditions of employment in the particular shop, and in some unions shop clubs are still a recognized part of the union machinery. In the printers' trade it is known as the CHAPEL." (See TRADE CLUB.)

Shop Collector. In some labor organizations, especially those which still maintain SHOP UNIONS, this is a union member charged with the collection of dues, fines, assessments, etc., owing to the union from members in the particular shop or establishment where the collector is employed. He may perform other duties as well, such as reporting "open" jobs in his shop, assisting in the administration of BENEFIT funds, affixing the UNION LABEL, investigating shop grievances, etc. In some cases his duties are practically the same as those of a SHOP CHAIRMAN or SHOP STEWARD.

Shop Committee. A body representative of the workers in a single industrial establishment, or of a single department of an establishment, and consisting of delegates elected by vote of all the workers. Its function is to deal with the employer or management in regard to working conditions and arrangements, the adjustment of grievances, and similar other matters. In the United States the term

"shop committee system" is rather indiscriminately applied to almost any plan of EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION, and generally the basis of representation is for an entire establishment, rather than for separate "shops" or departments. But in England, where the movement made great headway during the recent war, a shop committee is always representative of the workers in a single department or unit of an industrial establishment, in their dealings with the management over matters connected with that department. It is thus carefully differentiated from a WORKS COMMITTEE or works council, which represents the workers of all departments or shops of an industrial plant. Shop committees are of various kinds: those which, though elected largely by union members, are not officially related to the union's machinery; those which have an organic connection with a union; and those which have no connection with trade unions, being introduced by the employer in connection with some plan of employee representation or COMPANY UNION. As to functions, most shop committees have to do with grievances, working conditions—safety, sanitation, hygiene, etc.—wages, hours of labor, and methods of wage payments. The effectiveness of the shop committee lies in the fact that it can deal with plant conditions far more directly and intimately than can the ordinary trade union. For the adjustment of minor disputes, grievances, etc., and as a means of bringing the workers into direct contact not only with the management but with many of the difficulties with which the management has to deal, it is an agency of undoubted value. But the extravagant claims often made that it gives the workers a joint share in the control and direction of industry remain as yet unsubstantiated. During the recent war the shop committee system was introduced into a number of large industrial plants at the initiative of the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD. (See JOINT SHOP COMMITTEE; CRAFT COMMITTEE; SHOP COUNCIL; SHOP CHAIRMAN; PIT COMMITTEE; SHOP STEWARD MOVEMENT; FACTORY MANAGEMENT IN RUSSIA; DISCHARGE OF WAGE EARNERS IN RUSSIA.

Shop Council. In some establishments the ordinary SHOP COMMITTEE is so called. Occasionally the term is used in specific designation of a JOINT SHOP COMMITTEE.

Shop Crafts. With particular reference to the railway industry, these are the crafts or occupations carried on inside the shop—as distinguished from the work of operating trains, maintaining the road-beds, etc. In the United States, there are six principal international unions of railway shop crafts—the machinists, blacksmiths,

boilermakers, sheet-metal workers, electrical workers, and railway carmen; all of these are affiliated in the RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Shop Delegate. See SHOP STEWARD.

Shop Deputy. See SHOP STEWARD.

Shop Meeting. An informal assembly at regular intervals of all workers in the same shop or establishment, to consider matters relating to their common employment. The shop meeting is the most primitive form of labor organization in this country, going back almost if not quite to colonial times; and it is still not uncommon today, although largely superseded by the SHOP COMMITTEE system. (See SHOP CALL; SHOP CLUB.)

Shop Piece Work. See COLLECTIVE PIECE WORK.

Shop Representative. See SHOP STEWARD.

Shop Steward. In many British and American trades, it has long been the custom to maintain a workers' official who looks after the local union's interests in a particular shop or establishment. This official is generally known as a shop steward, although in certain trades he is otherwise designated—as for example, "father of the chapel" among printers, SHOP COLLECTOR among cigar makers, PATROLMAN among seamen, etc. "Shop delegate," "shop deputy," "shop representative," "card inspector," COLLECTOR, and "yard committee-man" are other variants—chiefly British. This official is sometimes elected by the local union, sometimes by his fellow-workmen in the same shop or factory. He collects the union dues of members. In closed or union shops he keeps watch that only those in good standing with the union are permitted to work. He reports to the local union the number of unfilled positions in the factory. He detects and reports any deviation from the standard scale of wages, hours, and other working conditions established by the society. When his organization affixes a label on union-made goods, he often has charge of distributing and attaching these labels at the factory. In France the shop steward is known as *délégué de l'atelier*—delegate or representative of the workshop. (See SHOP STEWARD MOVEMENT; SHOP CHAIRMAN; TICKET STEWARD; WATCH COMMITTEE.)

Shop Steward Movement. An important phase of the British labor movement, originating on the Clyde late in 1914 and continuing

to the present time. As noted in the preceding entry, many British trade unions have long maintained minor officials known as SHOP STEWARDS, who looked after the business affairs and general interests of the union in shop or works. With the outbreak of the world war and the subsequent suspension of trade union conditions in many of the most important British industries, under the so-called INDUSTRIAL TRUCE, the adjustment of shop grievances and other dealings with individual employers fell largely to the official shop stewards in the various "controlled" establishments. As a result, their position and prestige became much enhanced, particularly in the engineering and shipbuilding trades. But side by side with these union representatives there arose a class of unofficial shop stewards, appointed not by the trade unions but by the "rank and file" workers in the shop. These unofficial shop stewards rapidly organized into works committees, and elected chairmen, secretaries, and CONVENERS. It was not long before they had become the recognized representatives of the workers in negotiations with the management regarding the numerous important questions that arose in regard to DILUTION, wages and methods of remuneration, timekeeping, etc. A national organization of shop stewards was formed, at first mainly for propagandist purposes. But with the coming of peace the shop stewards have been loath to relinquish their wartime power and authority, and their movement has been considered a somewhat serious challenge by the "regular" trade union leaders. It is difficult to say how far the shop steward movement was a result of war conditions, and how far it represented a revolt against cumbrous trade union machinery and centralized control. It may certainly be said to constitute one of the most important evidences of the trend toward WORKERS' CONTROL. So far no general means has been devised for securing recognition of the shop stewards' committees by either the trade unions or the employers, and the whole future of the movement is decidedly obscure. (See RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT; WATCH COMMITTEE.)

Shop Stoppage. See STOPPAGE.

Shop Strike. One that is confined to the workers in a single shop or establishment. Shop strikes are of most frequent occurrence among unorganized workers.

Shop Union. An organization of workers in a single shop or establishment. The shop union is, as a rule, either a recognized unit of a national or local labor organization, or an "independent"

body formed or fostered by an employer—what is commonly known as a COMPANY UNION. In the former case, it sometimes takes the place of a LOCAL in a community where there are not enough members of the national union to make the formation of a local practicable; and even where a local exists, the shop union may possess certain autonomous powers in COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, the calling of strikes, etc. But in the main it is now primarily a convenient administrative unit for the transaction of a limited number of executive functions especially delegated to it by the local. Certain officials, elected sometimes by the shop and sometimes by the local, collect dues, affix the label to union-made goods, and perform other carefully specified duties. (See SUB-LOCAL; PRECEPTORY; SHOP CLUB; SHOP STRIKE; SHOP COLLECTOR.)

Short Hour Movement. The organized effort, beginning in England early in the 19th century, and continuing until the present time, to secure a shorter working day for industrial wage-earners. As the common ideal of labor has long been a working day limited to eight hours, the "short hour movement" and the "eight-hour movement" are or until recently have been largely synonymous terms. "On the side of the working population," according to the Report of the FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, "there can be no question respecting the desirability of fewer hours, from every standpoint. They gain not only in health, but also in intelligence, morality, temperance, and preparation for citizenship. Even in those cases where machinery has not increased the intensity of exertion, a long workday with the machine, especially where work is greatly specialized, in many cases reduces the grade of intelligence. The old handwork shops were schools of debate and discussion, and they are so at the present time where they survive in country districts; but the factory imposes silence and discipline for all except the highest. Long workdays under such conditions tend to inertia and dissipation when the day's work is done. Lessening of hours leaves more opportunity and more vigor for the betterment of character, the improvement of the home, and for studying the problems of citizenship. For these reasons the short workday for working people brings an advantage to the entire community. . . . A reduction of hours is the most substantial and permanent gain which labor can secure. In times of depression employers are often forced to reduce wages, but very seldom do they, under such circumstances, increase the hours of labor. The temptation to increase hours comes in times of prosperity and business activity, when the employer sees opportunity for

increasing his output and profits by means of OVERTIME. This distinction is of great importance. The demand for increased hours comes at a time when labor is strongest to resist, and the demand for lower wages comes at a time when labor is weakest. A gain in wages can readily be offset by secret agreements and evasions, where individual workmen agree to work below the scale; but a reduction of hours is an open and visible gain, and there can be no secret evasion. Having once secured the shorter working day, the question of wages can be adjusted from time to time according to the stress of the market." (See EIGHT-HOUR DAY; SIX-HOUR DAY; HOUR LAWS; STEWARD'S THEORY OF WAGES.)

Short Time. A working day or week of less than the normal number of hours established as the FULL TIME basis in a particular industry, occupation, or industrial plant. Short time is usually adopted in a period of dull markets or general industrial depression —often as an expedient in relief of UNEMPLOYMENT. As distinguished from what is called "broken time," it generally implies a fixed and uniform number of hours per day and week whereas under broken time the number of working hours commonly fluctuates from day to day or from week to week. In England, what is known as "organized short time" is the most familiar palliative for unemployment. According to Professor Bowley, there is "a group of industries in which certainly more than two million persons are employed, in which it is the custom to regulate the working week in relation to the demand for the product, employing nearly the same number of persons in good trade and in bad, but working short time when the market becomes overstocked. . . Coal-mining is the most conspicuous industry of this group. The textile trades (cotton, wool, and others) organize employment with a similar result; short time is worked or the work is spread out among the operatives, when the demand is slack; but the great number of those employed in moderately busy times draw some wages nearly every week."

Shutdown. The temporary closing of an industrial plant, usually owing to lack of business, OVER-PRODUCTION, or some other reason not directly related to labor troubles.

Sick Benefits. See DISABILITY BENEFITS; SICKNESS INSURANCE.

Sick Committee. See MALINGERING.

Sick Steward. In British trade unions, a local official whose business it is to look after those members of his BRANCH who are

incapacitated for work by illness or accident and who are consequently in receipt of sick BENEFITS.

Sick Worker. It is a common practice for a skilled worker in the British cotton industry to arrange with an 'understudy" (usually a retired member of the "trade") who takes the place of the regular operative when the latter is absent on account of sickness or home emergency. Such an "understudy" is called a "sick worker."

Sickness Insurance. This, the commonest form of SOCIAL INSURANCE, protects the worker in part at least for loss of wages during a period of illness. Besides cash payments, commonly called "sick benefits," such insurance usually provides for medical aid and supplies. It often makes provision also for meeting the cost of funeral expenses, should the illness prove fatal. Sickness insurance is a State function, on a compulsory basis, in nearly all European countries, the State as a rule cooperating with the existing mutual "sick benefit" funds of various kinds, such as fraternal societies, trade unions, ESTABLISHMENT FUNDS, etc. In some countries the law has also brought into existence new insurance associations, known as "local sick funds," for the insurance of persons not members of any other society. In the United States sickness insurance is largely, if not wholly, a function of trade unions, MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES, etc. It is sometimes known as "health insurance" and "disability insurance." Investigations made by the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS led to the conclusion that "each of the thirty-odd million wage-earners in the United States loses an average of nine days a year through sickness. At an average of $2 per day, the wage loss from this source is over $500,000,000. At the average cost of medical expenses ($6 per capita per year) there is added to this at the very least, $180,000,000." The Commission's staff also came to the conclusion that "sickness among wage-earners is primarily the direct result of POVERTY, which manifests itself in insufficient diet, bad housing, inadequate clothing, and generally unfavorable surroundings in the home. The surroundings at the place of work and the personal habits of the worker are important but secondary factors." (See NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT; GROUP INSURANCE; MATERNITY INSURANCE; CAISSE DE SECOURS MUTUEL.)

Simple Boycott. See BOYCOTT.

Sindicatos Católicos (Catholic Unions). See SPANISH LABOR MOVEMENT.

Single Arbitrator. See CONTINUOUS ARBITRATION; CONCILIATION ACT.

Single-Branch Union. In England, generally a small local trade union, comprising from a dozen members upwards, with the simplest form of internal government. Some of these unions, however, are large and comparatively powerful organizations; and in at least one union (the Amalgamated Society of Paper Makers), the membership is not localized in any particular district. As a rule, single-branch unions are governed on the most democratic basis. To quote from O'Brien's "Labor Organization": "Important decisions are come to by the whole of the members voting; and the administration is carried on by an executive committee elected from amongst the members themselves. This committee usually consists of actual workmen in the trade, who receive no remuneration for their services to the union. As a rule unions of this type issue periodical balance-sheets, reports and statements, but do not issue any other literature. Occasionally, however, when the small local union forms part of a larger federal organization, the latter issues reports of its own which contain reports from the various single branch unions of which it is composed, and in this case it is sometimes difficult to say where a federal organization of single branch units passes into a national union with local branches."

Single Foremanship. The plan which prevails in industrial operations where one foreman is charged with all the details of directing and overseeing a group of workers. Under SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, this plan is superseded by the system of FUNCTIONAL FOREMANSHIP.

Single-Handed Piece Work. See INDIVIDUAL PIECE WORK.

Single Tax. The popular designation for a theory of taxation and of fundamental economic reform, first fully and clearly formulated by Henry George (1839–1897) in his famous book, "Progress and Poverty." The essence of the theory is thus stated by George: "We propose to abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of the value of improvements in or on it. What we propose is not a tax on real estate, for real estate includes improvements. Nor is it a tax on land, for we would not tax all land, but only land having a value irrespective of its improvements, and would tax that in proportion to that value. Our tax involves the imposition of no new tax, since we already tax land values in taxing real estate. To carry it out we have only to abolish

all taxes save the tax on real estate and to abolish all of that which now falls on buildings or improvements, leaving only that part of it which now falls on the value of the bare land. This we would increase so as to take as nearly as may be the whole value of the economic rent, or what is sometimes styled the 'unearned increment of land values.'" The wide-reaching effects of such a method of taxation are summarized by George as follows: "We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry. We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to utilize them by employment of labor or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary POVERTY will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance, and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away." The single tax doctrine has exerted a powerful influence upon the labor movement, both in the United States and abroad. According to Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, it was the wide circulation in Great Britain of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," and the subsequent spread among the town artisans of his conception of rent, which changed the current of British economic views in the trade union world toward the close of the last century, and largely transformed the theories and policies of British trade unionism. The single tax theory is sometimes referred to as "natural taxation." (See AGRARIANISM.)

Single Turn. See SHIFT SYSTEM.

Sister Union or Lodge. See LOCAL; LODGE.

Six-Hour Day. It is maintained by many students of industrial affairs and by a considerable section of organized labor that, under the proper economic organization, all necessary industrial work could be accomplished without requiring more than six hours of work each day from each worker. With the increasing acceptance of the EIGHT-HOUR DAY in all civilized countries, the six-hour day is even now being prominently advocated as a socially desirable and ultimately attainable ideal. The six-hour day, in connection with a four-shift system, has been forcibly championed by one of the best-known of British manufacturers, Lord Leverhulme, as a means of increasing the productive capacity of industry.

Sixteen-Hour Law. A Congressional enactment of March 4, 1907, applying to all "persons actually engaged in or connected with the movement of any train" in the District of Columbia, or in any territory of the United States, or on interstate lines. By this act working hours are limited to sixteen a day, with certain provisions for REST PERIODS; but no train-despatcher, telegrapher, or any employee who transmits messages or orders by telegraph or telephone "shall be required or permitted to be or to remain on duty for a longer period than nine hours" in places continuously operated day and night, nor for more than thirteen hours in places operated only during the daytime. OVERTIME in cases of emergency, which is carefully defined in the act, may be permitted for four additional hours on not more than three days a week. The Interstate Commerce Commission is charged with the duty of enforcing the act.

Skilled Worker. One who has passed through a period of APPRENTICESHIP or industrial training for his trade, and is competent to undertake any process and meet any technical requirements connected with it. Skilled workers, strongly organized in national CRAFT UNIONS, compose in largest part the American trade union movement. (See JOURNEYMAN; SEMI-SKILLED WORKER; UNSKILLED WORKER.)

Slavery. Although representing the most primitive stage in labor evolution, the authorized practice of holding human beings in forced subjection and bondage really survived SERFDOM (the second stage) by a quarter-century, its final disappearance as a recognized social institution being marked by the abolishment of slavery by Brazil in 1888. Although nowhere explicitly recognized under the law, slavery is still to be found in certain tropical and sub-tropical countries; while in its present-day survival, PEONAGE, it exists on a considerable scale in South America, Mexico, and the southern section of the United States. (See SERVILE LABOR; NATIVE LABOR; WAGE SLAVERY.)

Sliding Scale. An arrangement by which it is agreed in advance that wages shall vary in a definite relation to changes in the market price of the product. The principle that "prices should rule wages" was first adopted in the English iron trades a half century ago, and has since been widely introduced in the coal-mining industry, as well as the iron and steel trades. In the latter trades in this country, under the sliding scale system, a rate of wages is agreed upon for each position, to be governed by the scale, and then a selling

price for the material is selected as being a fair minimum price while that particular rate of wages is paid; a percentage of advance in the selling price of the material is then listed as requiring a slight percentage of advance in the wages of the men in the several positions. The ratio of advance in wages is thus listed with the advance in material until the probable highest figure the material will sell at has been reached. A corresponding reduction of wages is agreed to as the material recedes in price. But a minimum price is usually fixed as representing a stopping point in the decline in wages; and although the employer is free to sell his material lower than the minimum, he is not permitted to make a further reduction in wages.

Small Master. See LITTLE MASTER.

Smooting. In British labor slang, the practice on the part of an individual laborer of working for a second employer after putting in a full day's work at his regular employment. This practice, which is forbidden by the trade unions, is also known as "foxing" and "grassing."

Snap Time. An English term, denoting a brief interval for refreshments allowed during the daily work period.

Social Democratic Federation. This, the original British society devoted to Marxian SOCIALISM, was formed in 1881, under the leadership of H. M. Hyndman, who is still prominent in the organization. In 1911 it was temporarily absorbed into the British Socialist Party, but in 1916 it reappeared under the name of the National Socialist Party. It has lately resumed its original title.

Social Democratic Unions. In many of the continental European countries, the majority element in the labor movement is organized on the political side in parties which use the term "Social Democrat" in their titles. The trade unions affiliated in these parties are therefore commonly known as "Social Democratic unions." Both the political parties and the trade unions of "Social Democrats" are strongly socialistic in aims and policies, though their socialism is usually of the moderate or right-wing variety. They are opposed by both the CHRISTIAN UNIONS and (generally) the communist organizations.

Social General Strike. See GENERAL STRIKE.

Social Insurance. A general designation for all forms of insurance which seek to indemnify the working classes for losses

resulting from the hazards of modern industry, and to protect them against the extreme effects of POVERTY. In its commonest forms, it consists of sickness, accident, unemployment, invalidity, and old age insurance, and it includes also the pensioning of dependent widows and orphans. In addition, MATERNITY INSURANCE and DEATH BENEFITS are usually classed as forms of social insurance. While active constructive aid or interference by the State is generally regarded as a basic principle of social insurance, a considerable proportion of such insurance (particularly in the United States) is of the "voluntary mutual" sort—that is to say, it is a function of trade unions, fraternal orders, MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES, ESTABLISHMENT FUNDS, etc. This is the first stage in the development of social insurance. The second stage is represented by the "voluntary subsidized State" method, under which the private mutual organizations receive a financial subsidy from some public authority (municipal, district, or State), with or without some measure of public control. The third stage, and the one toward which all social insurance schemes ultimately aim, is the "compulsory subsidized State" method, under which social insurance is a function of the State, the obligation to insure being compulsory on the worker's part. In nearly all European countries social insurance, in one or several of its various departments, is conducted as a State enterprise, usually under what is known as the "contributory plan," the fund from which BENEFITS or pensions are paid being formed from small weekly contributions of both workers and employers, supplemented by State aid. Under all three plans of social insurance, the payment of benefits is usually in periodical installments, although in some forms the "lump-sum" plan of payment is followed. Medical aid and supplies are often provided, in addition to the cash payments. In the United States, the only form of State insurance that has been generally adopted is WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, or insurance against industrial accidents. Social insurance is sometimes referred to as "workmen's insurance" and "industrial insurance," although the latter term is more commonly used to denote a special form of commercial insurance which is described under its proper heading in the present volume. (See MUTUAL INSURANCE; NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT; SOCIAL INSURANCE IN RUSSIA; MASSACHUSETTS SAVINGS BANK INSURANCE AND PENSION SYSTEM; SICKNESS INSURANCE; UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE; OLD AGE INSURANCE; INVALIDITY INSURANCE; WIDOWS' AND ORPHANS' INSURANCE; MOTHERS' PENSIONS; BERUFSGENNOSSENSCHAFTEN; GROUP INSURANCE; WAITING PERIOD; MALINGERING.)

Social Insurance in Russia. Until the revolution of 1917, Russia was perhaps the most backward country in Europe in the matter of SOCIAL INSURANCE. While no very definite information is available on the subject, the Soviet government seems to have established the principle of compulsory State insurance for a l workers without distinction of sex, nationality, or occupation, provided they earn their living by their own labor and do not exploit the labor of others. Insurance is extended to all forms of incapacitation, whether permanent or temporary, and from whatever cause—age (youth or old age), illness, accident, maternity, or involuntary unemployment. DEATH BENEFITS are also included. For involuntary unemployment or complete temporary disability, a subsidy equal to the full remuneration fixed for the worker's particular group and category is paid. In case of partial disability, the amount paid varies according to the degree of disability. Maternity subsidies are paid for eight weeks before and eight weeks after the birth of a child. Pensions for total disability, or invalidity, vary in amount according to the average wages of the trade in the locality concerned, but may be increased in special cases. A factory worker on reaching the age of fifty automatically receives a pension; workers in less exhausting occupations receive pensions at sixty. All of these subsidies are paid out of special local funds, the central management of which is vested in an appointed body called the All-Russian Insurance Centre.

Social Revolution. As used by most social reformers, this term denotes the change from the present economic system to that of the SOCIALIZED STATE or the SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH. It does not necessarily imply any idea of violence, but merely fundamental reversal or reconstruction of the existing order, effected by political and educational methods. (See SOCIALISM.)

Social Secretary. See WELFARE SUPERVISION.

Social Union. A form of English WORKS organization, made up of and managed entirely by the workers of a sing e establishment, and devoted to purely "social" purposes. Through an elected committee, the social union arranges for games, recreations, study-circles, picnics, and the like. (See WELFARE COMMITTEE.)

Socialdemokratiska Arbetare-Partiet (Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party). See LANDSORGANISATION I SVERGE.

Socialdemokratiske Forbund (Danish Social Democratic Federation). See DE SAMVIRKENDE FAGFORBUND I DANMARK.

Socialism. Derived from the Latin word *socius*, meaning "a comrade." There are almost as many definitions of socialism as there are writers on the subject. At the outset, however, it should be emphasized that the term denotes a principle of social action rather than any elaborately formulated plan of society. Like everything else that is vital, says Bertrand Russell, "it is rather a tendency than a strictly definable body of doctrine. A definition of socialism is sure either to include some views which many would regard as not socialistic, or to exclude others which claim to be included. But I think we shall come nearest to the essence of socialism by defining it as the advocacy of communal ownership of land and capital." According to Morris Hillquit, "socialism advocates the transfer of ownership in the social tools of production—the land, factories, machinery, railroads, mines, etc.—from the individual capitalists to the people, to be operated for the benefit of all." Finally, to quote an English authority, Thomas Kirkup, the cardinal principle of socialism is that industry, instead of being carried on as at present "by private capitalists served by wage labor, must in the future be conducted by associated or cooperating workmen jointly owning the means of production." It is this central fact of communal ownership of the tools or means of production that must be kept continually in the mental foreground by all who really wish to understand the actual significance of socialism. The chief divergences between the various schools of socialism relate rather to method and degree than to fundamental basis. "Some socialists," according to Bertrand Russell, "expect communal ownership to arrive suddenly and completely by a catastrophic revolution, while others expect it to come gradually, first in one industry, then in another. Some insist upon the necessity of completeness in the acquisition of land and capital by the public, while others would be content to see lingering islands of private ownership, provided they were not too extensive or powerful. What all forms have in common is democracy and the abolition, virtual or complete, of the present capitalistic system." The distinction between socialism, ANARCHISM, and SYNDICALISM, as well as between some of the leading schools of socialism, turns largely upon the form of democracy in the future social commonwealth. To quote Mr. Russell again: "Orthodox socialists are content with parliamentary democracy in the sphere of government, holding that the evils apparent in this form of constitution at present would disappear with the disappearance of CAPITALISM. Anarchists and syndicalists, on the other hand, object to the whole parliamentary machinery, and aim at a different method of regulating the political affairs of the

community. But all alike are democratic in the sense that they aim at abolishing every kind of privilege and every kind of artificial inequality: all alike are champions of the wage-earner in existing society. All three regard capital and the WAGE SYSTEM as a means of exploiting the laborer in the interests of the possessing classes, and hold that communal ownership, in one form or another, is the only means of bringing freedom to the producers." Socialism, COMMUNISM, and anarchism are thus briefly differentiated by Professor R. T. Ely: "Socialism holds that justice in the distribution of the good things of life is to be attained in common and systematic production in a re-created State, where men shall receive the means of enjoyment in proportion to the service they have rendered to society. Communism presupposes a like transformation, but seeks justice in equality; while anarchism would abolish all existing compulsory institutions, and would let men freely build such social structures as inclination and uncontrolled desire might prompt." The socialist movement, long a slowly swelling tide, has now become a huge and turbulent rapids which has largely engulfed the labor movement in many countries. It is a movement that changes swiftly from day to day—one in which exact classification, identification, and differentiation are virtually impossible under the plan of such a book as this. (For principal references to socialism, see SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM; STATE SOCIALISM; GUILD SOCIALISM; BOLSHEVISM; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; UTOPIAN SOCIALISM; COLLECTIVISM; OWENISM; SAINT-SIMONISM; FOURIERISM; MUTUALISM; MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM; SOCIALIZATION; INTERNATIONALE; together with the various cross references under these headings.)

Socialism of Institutions. The name given by a French writer, H. Lagardelle, to SYNDICALISM. The term expresses the fundamental character of that philosophy, as implying the development by the working-class of its own social institutions, to supplant those now existing.

Socialism of the Chair. See SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR.

Socialist Commonwealth. A name sometimes given to the form of society which SOCIALISM has for its goal—one in which, according to the literal meaning of the word, all social "wealth" would be held in "common," for the benefit of the community as a whole. (See COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH; LABOR CHECKS; SOCIAL REVOLUTION.)

Socialist Internationale. See INTERNATIONALE.

Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain. Organized in 1903, as a secession movement of left-wing elements from the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION. It advocates INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM of a revolutionary kind, excludes from membership all trade union officials and members of other socialist organizations, and refuses to affiliate with the BRITISH LABOR PARTY. The Party played a prominent part in the SHOP STEWARD MOVEMENT during the war.

Socialist Labor Party of North America. Organized in 1877 as the Workingmen's Party of America, this body was for nearly a quarter-century the leading socialist organization of America. Its main efforts have been to carry SOCIALISM to the workers in labor unions. In 1898 the Party declared war on the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. This act antagonized many workers against socialism for years; it also caused the Party's most influential elements to withdraw, later to form a separate organization—the SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA. Since then the Socialist Labor Party has steadily declined, and today it has little but historical significance. It has always stood strongly for INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. (See INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.)

Socialist Party of America. This, the leading American socialist organization, was launched in 1901, largely as a secession movement from the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF NORTH AMERICA. It is devoted to a programme of immediate political issues as well as of ultimate economic reforms, and places its own candidates in the field at all important municipal, state, and national elections. Branches of the Party are now established in several hundred American cities and towns; these branches are affiliated in local, state, and "language" federations. A national executive committee of seven members is in charge of the routine management, all important matters of policy being decided by the annual convention. In 1914 the Party condemned the European war, extending sympathy to the workers in all belligerent countries. In April, 1917, at an emergency convention held in St. Louis, it adopted the famous "St. Louis platform" in opposition to American participation in the war and to conscription. A number of pro-war members then withdrew, and later formed the AMERICAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE. In 1919 the more radical groups within the party seceded and organized the American COMMUNIST PARTY and the Communist Labor Party of North America. This latter body existed but a few months; it now forms the principal element in the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY. With these more radical elements eliminated, the Socialist

Party now represents the moderate or constitutional wing of American socialism. It polled nearly one million votes in the Presidential election of 1920, but has only about 17,000 dues-paying members.

Socialist Party of Canada. See CANADIAN LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Socialists of the Chair. In 1871 a German writer applied the term *Katheder Sozialister* (academic socialists or socialists of the chair) to certain professors of political economy with mild socialistic leanings. The term soon passed into other countries as a designation for those who favor a moderate expansion of the paternalistic State, with the least possible disturbance to existing institutions. Their philosophy, which is at best a diluted form of STATE SOCIALISM, is usually called "academic socialism" or "professorial socialism."

Socialization. As the central ideal or objective of the moderate socialist-labor groups in all countries, the meaning and implications of socialization are well expressed in the following statement, forming part of a resolution adopted at the Geneva (1920) Congress of the second INTERNATIONALE: "By Socialization we understand the transformation from ownership and control by capitalists to ownership and control by the community of all the industries and services essential for the satisfaction of the people's needs: the substitution, for the wasteful production and distribution with the sole object of private profit, of efficient production and economical distribution, with the object of the greatest possible utility; the transformation, also, from the economic servitude of the great mass of the actual producers under private ownership, to a general participation in management by the persons engaged in the work. . . . In a community of highly developed economic life, with an extensive population largely aggregated in urban centres, Socialization takes three main forms—namely, national, municipal, and cooperative. For instance, whatever may be provided for the administration of agriculture, the ownership of land should be national, provision being made for the maintenance and security of peasant cultivators, wherever such exist. Other industries of supreme national importance, such as the transport system, the generation of electricity, and mines, should also be national. But the management of a large number of industries and services will be in the hands of the municipalities and other local authorities, and federations of these, not only the provision of water and gas and the distribution of electricity, but also, in some countries, the provision of food, clothing, and housing. The

production and distribution of household supplies of every kind will form, for the most part, the sphere of the consumers' cooperative societies. . . . A principle of the greatest importance in Socialization is that control must be separated from administration. The control will be exercised by the popularly elected national assembly. The organs of administration in each industry or service must be entirely separate and distinct from those of the political government." (See NATIONALIZATION; SOCIALIZED STATE.)

Socialized State. One in which the SOCIALIZATION of industry has been accomplished, under a socialistic regime. (See SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH; SERVILE STATE; SOCIAL REVOLUTION.)

Società di Lavoro. Cooperative labor societies in Italy, which perform public and private work under contract. They are numerous and of considerable importance, including many kinds of workmen, and have executed large public works both in Italy and in foreign countries. The *società di lavoro* are financed by FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, people's banks, private savings banks, etc. Many of them accumulate funds from which they pay old age pensions, sick and invalidity benefits, etc., to their members. (See COOPERATIVE EMPLOYMENT.)

Società di Mutuo Soccorso. See MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES.

Sociétés Compagnonniques. Secret trade unions which flourished in France during the period, ending in 1884, when open associations of industrial workers were prohibited by law. They rendered services to their members equal and sometimes superior to the modern authorized trade organizations.

Sociétés de Secours Mutuels. See MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES.

Society. In Great Britain, trade unions are very generally known as "societies" or "trade societies." In this sense the word is used in various connections—a "society man" is a union member, a "society house" is an establishment where union conditions prevail, "society rules" are union rules, and so forth.

Soldier's Penny. See SOU DU SOLDAT.

Soldiering. In labor parlance, working slowly, half-heartedly, or in an inefficient way. Unlike CA' CANNY and other similar forms of SABOTAGE, "soldiering" generally denotes mere individual laziness or slowness, expressing unconscious dissatisfaction rather than any deliberate policy on the worker's part.

Solidarity. A term much used among the working classes, as expressive of a common fellowship and common interests, aims, and action. It denotes the condition of a social or economic group in which the individuals are in practical effect "members one of another," with common interests and aims in the fundamental things of life. The familiar labor mottoes, "Each for all and all for each" and "An injury to one is an injury to all," summarize the spirit of solidarity. (See CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.)

Sou du Soldat (Soldier's Penny). In France, a common trade union BENEFIT in the form of a small quarterly sum (generally five francs) paid to unionists while they are performing their compulsory military service. While ostensibly intended to keep the conscript attached to his trade union, the *sou du soldat* has become a powerful weapon of anti-militarism.

South African Council of Organized Workers. See SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

South African Industrial Federation. A federation of the principal trade unions of the Transvaal. As one of its main activities, the Federation has established a chain of cooperative stores and has organized the South African Industrial Federation Cooperative Development Co., which is authorized to engage in any business or transaction, as cooperative producers, manufacturers, and distributors, that may seem to the company directly or indirectly conducive to its interests. (See SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

South African Labor Movement. The workers of South Africa are divided into two main groups: (1) A minority of skilled white workers, relatively well paid and organized; and (2) a large colored majority, very badly paid and for the most part unorganized. The white craftsmen exclude colored labor from the skilled trades and are indifferent if not hostile to organization efforts on the part of colored workers. Trade unionism in South Africa was estimated in 1920 to cover about 80,000 members, organization being strongest in the mining, building, and engineering trades. The SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRIAL FEDERATION is the principal national federation. In 1920 a Council of Organized Workers was formed, which unites the professional and technical workers. Colored labor unions have begun to develop under conditions of great difficulty, and in July, 1920, at a convention in Bloemfontein, it was decided to form a Non-European Workers' Federation. The political interests of South African white labor are principally represented by the South African Labor Party, established in 1909.

South African Labor Party. See SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

Southwestern District. See INTERSTATE JOINT CONFERENCES IN THE COAL-MINING INDUSTRY.

Sovereigns of Industry. An American working-class organization, representing mainly the cooperative movement, which existed from 1874 to 1878. It was a secret order, with a system of national, state, and subordinate councils. It absorbed many independent labor organizations of its time, and attained a membership of about 40,000—mostly in the New England states. (See TRADE UNION COOPERATION.)

Soviet System or **Sovietism.** "Soviet" is a Russian word meaning "council." The soviet idea in Russia dates back to the revolution of 1905, when it was adopted on a small scale by revolutionary industrial groups in Petrograd; but it was not until after the revolution of March, 1917, that it assumed any widespread proportions. The soviets then formed in the cities were somewhat similar in character to the CITY CENTRAL labor bodies in this country. They were made up of delegates from trades, factory committees, and professional and industrial groups, thus differing from the local political government, where representation is based on geographical units. In the rural districts, where an overwhelming majority of the population consisted of peasants, representation was more likely to be based on residence. Through a system of local, district, and national organization, the soviet is now the organ of direct proportional representation in Russia. Its distinctive and fundamental feature is representation for the individual on the basis of occupation rather than on residence, and for groups on the basis of industries rather than on territorial areas. Thus, what is commonly called "sovietism" is in essence simply a governmental system based on the principle of economic rather than geographical representation. It is interesting to note that the germ of the soviet idea, as Lenin and other Russian leaders have acknowledged was formulated many years ago by an American—Daniel De Leon, one of the founders of the original INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. (See BOLSHEVISM; BOMBACCI PLAN.)

Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in Deutschösterreich. See GEWERKSCHAFTSKOMMISSION DEUTSCHÖSTERREICHS.

Spanish General Confederation of Labor. See CONFEDERACIÓN GENERAL DEL TRABAJO.

Spanish General Union of Workers. See UNION GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES.

Spanish Labor Movement. Although a fairly strong Spanish section of the first INTERNATIONALE was constituted in 1870, labor organization in Spain had not up to the beginning of the recent war progressed to a point where it played an effective part in the social and economic life of the country. But organization has increased at a tremendous rate during the past few years, and Spain is now in many respects the chief storm centre of the European labor movement. The doctrines of ANARCHISM and SYNDICALISM have always been potent among a considerable section of Spanish workers, and revolutionary syndicalism is today the dominant force in the principal industrial region—the province of Catalonia, with Barcelona as its centre. Moderate labor and socialist activities centre around Madrid. Organized labor in Spain is represented by three main bodies or groups: (1) The CONFEDERACIÓN GENERAL DEL TRABAJO, devoted to revolutionary syndicalism; (2) the UNION GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES, until recently moderate and socialistic in policy; and (3) the *Sindicatos Católicos*, or Catholic unions, formed largely for the purpose of combating socialism, but exerting no very marked influence. The political interests of the socialist labor elements are served by the *Partido Socialista Obrero* (Socialist Labor Party), which was founded in 1879. The World War gave a marked impetus to Spanish labor aspirations for relief from almost semi-feudal conditions, and since the armistice of 1918 an industrial war of large proportions has rapidly developed in Spain. In this war the government has ranged itself largely on the side of the employers; the workers' constitutional guarantees have been suspended, and the violence of the military juntas has been met with violence on the part of the workers. The acute need for a united labor front in opposition to the forces arrayed against them led to a "pact of unity" between the syndicalist *Confederación General del Trabajo* and the socialist *Union General de Trabajadores* in September, 1920. Three months later, however, this pact was denounced by the C. G. T., which accused the U. G. T. of having failed to cooperate. Since that time, strikes, lockouts, rioting, assassinations, government deportations, etc., continue to mark the Spanish industrial conflict, which has assumed the proportions of civil war.

Spartacans. An ultra radical section of the German working-class socialists or communists, led originally by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Otto Rühle, and others, and aiming at the estab-

lishment of an international socialist republic. The name of their organization, the German Spartacus League, had its origin in a series of anti-government political letters signed "Spartacus" in memory of the classical hero of that name. The Spartacans were prominent in fomenting the strikes and mutinies which led up to the German revolution of November, 1918. Soon after that event they withdrew from the "independent" socialist organization, of which they had formed a section. Since early in 1919 they have been suppressed with great severity by the "majority" socialistic government, which they hold responsible for the murder of their leaders, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, in 1919. They are now largely merged in the German Communist Party. Incorrect variants of the name "Spartacan" are numerous, such as *Spartacist*, *Sparticist*, *Spartacide*, and *Sparticide*.

Special Agents. See UNDER-COVER MEN.

Special Assessments. In addition to their regular sources of revenue through CHARTER FEES and a periodic PER CAPITA TAX, nearly all national labor organizations resort at times to a special assessment, levied on the local unions in proportion to their membership—occasionally in the form of a percentage on wages. Power to levy special assessments in emergencies is usually given to the GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, though it is sometimes reserved to the membership at large, acting through the referendum. In the greater number of cases special assessments are levied in support of strikes, though sometimes they are used for other purposes—such as the provision of benefit funds, etc. The locals of some national unions may levy special assessments on the local membership for any purpose except support of an unauthorized strike. (See STAMP RECEIPT SYSTEM; CHECK-OFF SYSTEM.)

Special Contract Operatives. See UNDER-COVER MEN.

Special Defense Organizers. In some national and international trade unions these are travelling officials appointed by the executive board for work in localities where the interests of the union are threatened. They are sent into towns, cities, or states where the union is confronted with antagonistic legislation, strikes, or serious trouble of any sort. (See DEPUTY SYSTEM.)

Special Deputies. See ARMED GUARDS.

Special Duty Men. See UNDER-COVER MEN.

Special Police. See ARMED GUARDS.

Specialization. In an industrial sense, this term commonly denotes any one of three different things: (1) The separation of industry as a whole into particular crafts or occupations, each with its own set of workers expert in a single occupation or craft; (2) the separation of the work of a single industrial plant or process into a number of component operations, with a different set of workers for each operation; and (3) the localization or concentration of particular classes or kinds of industry within definite geographical areas. (See DIVISION OF LABOR; TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF LABOR.)

Speed-Up System. Because of its effort to secure maximum production on the part of the individual worker, with a minimum expenditure of time, SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT is often thus designated.

Speeder. See SPEEDING UP.

Speeding Up. The practice, on the part of employers, of increasing the pace of industrial production beyond its normal or natural limits, and of exacting the utmost possible output from their employees. Aside from direct and brutal "driving," which is now comparatively rare, speeding up is accomplished in various ways—as for example, by hiring especially rapid or efficient workers (variously known as "rushers," "pacers," "swifts," "speeders," "bell horses," "pace-makers," "leaders," "pushers," etc.) who often receive a secret bonus for setting a fast rate of work which the other workers must keep up with under fear of being discharged; by increasing the speed of machines which the workers must operate; by increasing the size of machines; by requiring a worker to attend two or more machines; by EFFICIENCY PAYMENTS to workers who exceed a standard rate of production, as under the various forms of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT; and by fines levied against workers who fall below a specified standard. The PIECE WORK system of wage payment is a partial protection to the worker against "speeding up," but by no means a complete protection. In that case, as under the plan of efficiency payments, the practice is more largely voluntary on the worker's part; but the danger of overstrain is not materially lessened, and a new evil in the form of PRICE CUTTING becomes a factor in the situation. The ground upon which workers most commonly defend LIMITATION OF OUTPUT is the need of protecting themselves from excessive and injurious exertion—in other words, from "speeding up." The stress and strain of work at high pressure is declared to have reached a point in some trades which noticeably shortens the working life of the laborer. In this connection, it should

be remembered that a person's industrial life may be shortened not only by hastening his absolute deterioration, but also by raising the standard of efficiency. As the pace increases the number of workers that can maintain it diminishes. Workers a little past the prime of life, who might otherwise be able to do effective work for years, find themselves forced out of the industrial field because they are no longer capable of the intense application and the rapidity of movement which existing standards require. The terms "driving" and "over-driving" are often used in the same sense as "speeding up." (See FATIGUE; SPEED-UP SYSTEM.)

Spittoon Philosophers. This derogatory nickname for members of the I. W. W. has reference to their fondness for discussing social and economic matters, many of them being keen and widely-read students of the literature in this field.

Split-Fee System. One of the most pernicious practices of certain private EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS is the form of collusion with foremen or superintendents commonly known as the "split-fee system." Under this plan, the foreman agrees to hire men of a certain employment agent on condition that one-fourth or one-half of every fee collected from men whom he hires be given to him. This leads the foreman to discharge men constantly in order to have more men hired through the agent and more fees collected. (See THREE-GANG METHOD.)

Split Shift, Split Turn, or Split Trick. A working period that is divided or broken into two parts, with a considerable non-working period in between. Thus, a man putting in eight hours daily on a "split shift" might work for two hours in the late forenoon and six hours in the evening. The most common purpose of a "split shift" is to have extra workers on hand during certain hours of the day when the pressure of work is greatest. The disadvantages of such a system to the workers themselves will of course be obvious. (See SHIFT SYSTEM.)

Spontaneous Strike. A sudden stoppage of work, usually in a single shop or establishment, undertaken without consultation with local or national trade union officials. The workers may be acting in sympathy with other workers on strike, or their action may be due to immediate resentment of some enforcement of DISCIPLINE on the employer's part. A number of such strikes, however, are of the "engineered" variety; the employer, knowing or suspecting that an organized fight is imminent, will decide to goad his workers into premature and ill-considered action, and so defeat them.

Spotter System. In labor parlance, the method or plan of keeping constant secret watch over the actions and attitude of employees, by means of company spies or "spotters." This system is chiefly practiced by public utility corporations—railways, telegraph and street-car companies, etc.—which employ large numbers of workers who cannot, from the nature of their work, be kept under the sort of company surveillance that is possible in an ordinary industrial establishment.

Spy in Industry. See ESPIONAGE IN INDUSTRY; LABOR DETECTIVE AGENCIES; UNDER-COVER MEN; AGENT PROVOCATEUR; SPOTTER SYSTEM.

Stab Work. TIME WORK, as distinguished from PIECE WORK, is often so called in the British printing trades. "Stab" is an abbreviation of "establishment"—time wages being known as "establishment wages" when they were first introduced among the printers early in the 19th century.

Stamp Receipt System. A plan of collecting union revenues sometimes adopted by national or international unions. According to this plan, each LOCAL, in return for the sums remitted to the national treasury, receives from the general treasurer or secretary an equal amount in stamp receipts. These stamp receipts are affixed to the members' books upon the payment of INITIATION FEES, weekly or monthly MEMBERSHIP DUES, and SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS, and no member is considered in good standing unless he can show, for the period covered, the requisite number of stamps properly dated and cancelled. Since no other form of receipt is recognized by the national union and remittances must accompany orders for stamps, the locals have little opportunity to evade their payments. To prevent fraud, the color of the stamp is often changed by the president several times a year, at irregular intervals. Other unions which have not uniform dues, but whose national treasuries are supported in the usual way by a PER CAPITA TAX, issue stamps for the payments to the national treasury only.

Standard Agreement. A form of TRADE AGREEMENT that has been adopted or accepted by employers and workers as the standard for a particular trade or industry—local, district, or national in extent—and to which all future agreements in the same trade or industry must conform, as long as the standard agreement remains in force.

Standard Family. See FAMILY BUDGET.

Standard of Comfort. See STANDARD OF LIVING.

Standard of Living. As far as this term is capable of exact definition, it may be said to consist in "the amount of necessaries, comforts, and luxuries which any person or class is accustomed to enjoy and to insist upon having." Some writers make the "standard of living" synonymous with a "standard of comfort"—as for example, Professor Charles J. Bullock, who says: "Each class of people in any society is accustomed to enjoy a greater or less amount of the comforts or luxuries of life. The amount of comforts or luxuries customarily enjoyed by any class of men forms the 'standard of living' of that class." In any case it seems an almost universal rule that the higher the existing standard the greater is the persistence shown, not only in maintaining that standard, but in endeavoring to reach a still higher one; and this fact has a very powerful influence upon the determination of wages. In his "Standard of Living among the Industrial People of America," F. H. Streightoff says: "A clear understanding of what the standard of living is permits some appreciation of its significance. In the first place, unless the standard includes adequate food, clothing, and shelter, health will inevitably suffer and the race will degenerate physically. If, on the contrary, men obtain a proper satisfaction of these fundamental wants, not only will health be preserved and improved, but a foundation will be laid for intellectual progress. A step farther may be taken along this line: unless they believe that their descendants will be able to maintain the parental standard, men will, if thoughtful, refuse to become fathers. Again, if women would rather dress showily than enjoy homes of their own, married or unmarried, they will refuse to assume the burden of motherhood. Thus, in two distinct ways, the standard of living tends to determine population. By this limiting of propagation, the standard of living limits the number of wage-workers, and so, if high enough, it can change the ratio of supply to demand for labor and thus raise compensation. In a much more simple and direct way, however, the desire for a higher standard of living decides the minimum pay demanded by trade unions and operates to increase earnings. More satisfactions will breed new wants, yet higher wages will be sought, and so the process will continue. In this way the 'ideal' standard of living is the key to the material progress of the industrial classes." A distinction is sometimes made between "standard of living," and "scale of living," the former phrase denoting the way one wishes or should like to live, and the latter the way one really does live. (See AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING; FAMILY BUDGET; COST OF LIVING; CONVENTIONAL NECESSITIES; STEWARD'S THEORY OF WAGES.)

Standard Rate. This term is commonly used in designation of a principle which is practically universal among trade unions—namely, the insistence on payment of wages according to some definite standard, uniform in its application. The standard rate is the recognized scale of wages in a particular industry, established by COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. In a larger sense, it is a minimum rate of remuneration below which no worker shall be paid. It is not a maximum, for in many cases higher wages are paid to specially skilled workmen, sometimes by express agreement between an employer and a trade union. Obviously, therefore, the standard rate does not (as is often charged) reduce all workers to the level of the most inefficient or lazy; the principle involved is merely that of equal pay for equal effort, which is plainly consistent with quite unequal earnings even for workers engaged in the same task. "It is true that there is a widespread objection to the PIECE WORK system. Even unions whose members work under it do not always approve of it. But this is because it is felt to interfere with the real final purpose of the organization—the maintenance and the increase of the rate of pay per unit of output. Uniformity of pay per unit, desirable as it is in itself, is chiefly important as a means of securing higher rates of pay. If, under the circumstances of a given trade, the rate per unit of output seems more effectively protected by the time system than by the piece-price system, the time system will be preferred; and the uniformity of the rate per unit must be protected under it by such means as are available. . . . In a few exceptional cases the rigid enforcement of the MINIMUM WAGE is waived. This is done oftenest for members whose hands have lost their cunning by reason of advancing years. Some unions give special consideration to the cases of such men, when they request it, and authorize them to accept special wage rates lower than the regular minimum. This is very rarely done, however, for any other reason than age." (See COMMON RULE; NORMAL DAY; LIMITATION OF OUTPUT: WAGE AGREEMENTS IN GERMANY; EXEMPT CARDS.)

Standpatter. See REACTIONARY.

Starts. In anthracite coal-mining each employee as he enters a mine is checked on the company records as having made a "start" to work. At the end of a week or a month he has made so many "starts"—*i.e.*, he has put in so many working days at the mine. Thus, the term "starts," in connection with coal-mining, is practically synonymous with "working days."

State Capitalism. See STATE SOCIALISM.

State Central Body. See CENTRAL BODY.

State Constabulary or State Police. In those states which maintain mounted bodies of armed men for special police duty throughout the state, the conduct of these bodies in connection with STRIKES and other industrial disturbances has been frequently and seriously criticized. The FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS devoted a great deal of attention to the question of a state constabulary as a method of policing industry. Extensive investigations of the organization, personnel, and activities of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary were made and a number of witnesses were heard at length. The findings with regard to this particular police organization may be briefly stated: "It is an extremely efficient force for crushing strikes, but it is not successful in preventing violence in connection with strikes, in maintaining the legal and civil rights of the parties to the dispute, nor in protecting the public. On the contrary, violence seems to increase rather than diminish when the constabulary is brought into an industrial dispute; the legal and civil rights of the workers have on numerous occasions been violated by the constabulary; and citizens not in any way connected with the dispute and innocent of any interference with the constabulary have been brutally treated, and in one case shot down by members of the constabulary, who have escaped punishment for their acts. . . . There are certain features of the State police system, however, which seem to be preferable to the present haphazard methods of policing strikes. . . . If these desirable features could be combined with other features which would insure their impartiality during industrial disputes, and raise their ideals from the present militaristic basis to the police basis of preserving the peace and protecting the rights of both parties and the public, the establishment of State police systems for use in connection with industrial disputes might be recommended." (See INTER-CHURCH STEEL REPORT.)

State Federation of Labor. A delegate organization representing the various labor bodies in a given state—chiefly those affiliated directly or indirectly with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. It has no arbitrary powers over its constituent bodies, but exists for active political effort, mutual discussion, education, propaganda, investigation, and joint action in state matters affecting or involving the interests of organized labor—chiefly in connection with state legislative affairs. As a typical example, the objects of the Illinois State Federation of Labor are, according to its constitution, "the securing of legislation in the interests of organized labor, to

promote the use of the UNION LABEL and the purchase of union label goods, to make more effective legally declared BOYCOTTS and, in general, to promote the work of labor organizations." Each constituent organization within the state is entitled to representation in the state federation on the basis of one delegate for every hundred members or major fraction thereof. Organizations of less than one hundred members are entitled to one delegate, while all CITY CENTRALS send five delegates each. The state federation is governed by an annual convention, at which officers are chosen who form the executive council, a body that carries on the administrative work of the federation subject to the convention's orders and approval. State federations of labor are directly represented in the annual conventions of the A. F. of L. (See CENTRAL BODY.)

State Industrial Commission. As established in several states of the union—notably Wisconsin, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania—this is a permanent expert body, appointed usually by the governor of the state, which administers the state WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION act, investigates and adjusts industrial disputes, sees to the enforcement of HOUR LAWS and WAGE LAWS, superintends public EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS, supervises FACTORY INSPECTION, and performs various other duties in connection with the industrial welfare of the state. For each branch of the industrial commission's work, the state legislature generally lays down the broad policy and standard, and after investigations and public hearings the Commission makes specific applications of the law by means of ADMINISTRATIVE ORDERS or rules which have generally the binding force of legislative statutes. The Commission "has its staff of investigators and inspectors who are continually furnishing new information, and it can change its rules as needed. It has its representatives of employers and employees who testify to the actual conditions that need remedying and actual workings of the rules already adopted. It can make classifications and issue different rules for different conditions, and can change its rules when the conditions change or when it discovers new and more effective remedies." In Professor Commons's characterization, the state industrial commission is "a fourth branch of government combining, but not usurping, the work of the three other branches. It is a legislature continually in session, yet the power of legislation is not delegated. It is an executive sharing with the governor the enforcement of laws, but also enforcing its own orders. It is a court deciding cases that the judiciary formerly decided, but not assuming the authority of the courts."

(See INDUSTRIAL SAFETY LAWS; SAFETY CODES; INDUSTRIAL COUNSELLORS.)

State Insurance. See SOCIAL INSURANCE.

State Insurance Funds. See WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

State Socialism. A paternalistic school of economic and political thought, originating in modern Germany, which demands State interference in industry to the end of juster distribution of wealth and better conditions for the workers. It does not contemplate any radical change in the worker's economic status, but insists upon State administration of those industries or services that are of a fundamental and universal character—such as banking, housing, insurance, railroads supplying of heat, light, water, food, etc. On the legislative side, it would have the State adjust the relations between masters and workers. Under pressure of necessity, State socialism was adopted in large measure by nearly every government during the recent war. Advocates of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM attack State socialism as a mere sop and compromise, designed to postpone or defeat complete economic freedom; "State capitalism," they maintain, would be a more fitting designation for such a system. State socialism is sometimes called "authoritarian socialism"—as distinguished from "voluntary socialism," or those forms of cooperative economic action not controlled by a highly centralized authority. (See SOCIALISM; SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR; COLLECTIVISM; PATERNALISM; BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM; GUILD SOCIALISM; BUREAUCRACY.)

State Use System of Convict Labor. This system is similar to the PUBLIC ACCOUNT SYSTEM in all respects except that the products of the convicts' labor, manufactured from raw materials purchased by the institutions and under the sole direction of prison officials, or produced in agricultural or other employments, are used in penal, reformatory, or other public institutions, instead of being sold to the general public. (See CONVICT LABOR SYSTEMS; PRISON LABOR.)

Statement. See PRICE LIST.

Station Gang. See STATION SYSTEM.

Station System, Station-Work System, Station-Contract System. These terms refer to a method of SUB-CONTRACTING or COOPERATIVE PIECE WORK often followed in railway construction work. A certain section of the work, consisting of so many yards

along the right of way (usually from one "survey station" to another), is let out by the construction company handling the whole job to a group of perhaps a dozen men, called a "stat on gang." This group is paid at piece work rates on the basis of their collective labor (so many cubic yards of grading, so many linear feet of tunnel excavation, etc.), and the group earnings are then divided among the individual members. Sometimes, however, the sub-contractor is an individual rather than a group, hiring his own "station gang" and paying them at prearranged rates.

Statisticians. As found in some American trade unions, these are national or local officers whose function it is to collect information regarding workers, wages, and general conditions in the particular industry concerned, to prepare special reports on these matters for the local or national executives, and to perform other similar duties. (See DEPUTY SYSTEM.)

Statute of Laborers. This, the first in the long series of British legislative acts in regulation of labor affairs, was enacted by Parliament in 1350. It provided that no laborer should demand and no employer should pay wages higher than the rate customary before the Great Plague of 1348, when scarcity of numbers gave the laborers such an advantage that they were able to secure greatly increased wages. Under a later Statute of Laborers, enacted in 1563, the justices of the peace for each locality were empowered to fix the amount of wages. As the justices were themselves either employers or members of the employing class, the effects of this statute (which remained in force more than two hundred years) may easily be imagined.

Stay In Strike. See STRIKING ON THE JOB.

Stevedore System. A form of the CONTRACT SYSTEM as applied to the loading and unloading of vessels. The stevedore is usually a labor contractor without capital, who furnishes the men required for dock work under contract with ship owners or captains. The constitution of the International Longshoremen's Association declares it to be one of the main objects of the association "to substitute direct work for vessel owners in place of the system of unloading boats by jobbers or boss stevedores, which robs the worker of his wages."

Steward. A local trade union official, with special functions in connection with routine union business—particularly in the building trades. "The steward is usually elected by the men from among their number immediately upon starting work, but receives

no extra compensation for his services. He examines the WORKING CARDS of members, reports infractions of the rules to the BUSINESS AGENT, and can even in certain cases examine the pay of members to see that they are not receiving below the minimum rate. The steward is thus the representative of the journeyman and a lieutenant of the business agent. The method of choosing the steward differs. Occasionally he is selected by the business agent. In other cases no deliberate selection is made, but the first union man employed acts as steward. Sometimes each man acts as steward in turn." In some unions, notably in England, there are several stewards who are assigned to separate functions. Thus, in one large British amalgamated society, we find a SICK STEWARD, a "check steward," and a "money steward" for each local branch. In the early days of British trade unionism, when branch meetings were almost invariably held in the local public-house or tavern, the stewards (or "marshalmen," as they were also called) were originally waiters—two or four members of the union, serving generally in rotation, whose duty it was "at every meeting to fetch all the liquor into the committee room, and serve it regularly round." (See SHOP STEWARD; PATROLMEN; SHOP COLLECTOR.)

Steward's Theory of Wages. As formulated by a Boston mechanic, Ira Steward (1831–1883), the essence of this theory is that WAGES do not depend upon the amount of capital or the supply of labor, but upon the habits, customs, and wants of the working classes. The EIGHT-HOUR DAY, by increasing the amount of the worker's leisure, would raise the STANDARD OF LIVING of the workers. As the standard of living rises, wages would also rise. Steward's views have been the accepted basic doctrine in the American trade union movement.

Stiff or Working Stiff. A nickname commonly bestowed upon "casual" and "migratory" workers throughout the West—particularly members of the I. W. W., who themselves often thus designate their comrades. Probably the term has its origin in the earlier etymological sense of "stiff," as synonymous with "strong," "lusty," etc. (See BLANKET STIFF; HARVEST STIFF.)

Stint or Tantum. In certain British PIECE WORK trades—notably pottery and bottle-making—this is (or was) a fixed maximum daily output which the individual worker must not exceed. In other trades the term "stint" is used in the same sense as TASK, as denoting a minimum amount of work that must be completed within a specified time.

Stool Pigeons. See UNDER-COVER MEN.

Stools. See UNDER-COVER MEN.

Stop In Strike. See STRIKING ON THE JOB.

Stop-Watching. See TIME STUDY.

Stoppage. As commonly used in connection with labor affairs, this term denotes a spasmodic or informal STRIKE confined to a single shop or works, for the purpose of forcing an adjustment of some immediate grievance or in protest against some act of an individual employer or foreman. Stoppages are usually of short duration, and as a rule occur without trade union sanction.

Store Orders or **Store Pay.** See SCRIPT PAYMENTS.

Store Societies. See CONSUMERS' COOPERATION.

Straight Eight-Hour Day. See EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Straight Pay. A term sometimes used in designation of a flat TIME WORK or PIECE WORK method of wage payment—as differentiated from any method involving the payment of bonuses or premiums. (See STRAIGHT PIECE WORK.)

Straight Piece Work. The method of wage payment under which a fixed price is paid for each unit of production; as distinguished from any form of PIECE WORK in which bonuses or premiums are added to the piece rate, or in which the piece rate fluctuates in relation to the amount of output. Under the "straight piece work" system, which is the prevailing method in many industries, the labor cost of the article to the employer remains constant, and any increase in the output of the workers means a corresponding increase in wages. At the same time the employer saves by securing a higher output, because overhead charges are reduced and machines more fully utilized.

Straight Time. In connection with OVERTIME work, "straight time" is simply the same rate of wages for the overtime as that received for the normal working day or week—as distinguished from an increased rate for the extra time, on the basis of "time and a quarter," TIME AND A HALF, "double time," etc. In some trades "straight time" denotes employment by the week—as differentiated from "broken time," or employment by the hour.

Strappers. English DOCKERS and WATERSIDE WORKERS who are employed in gangs under contractors are thus nicknamed.

Straw Boss. A sub-foreman in a logging camp or in other industrial operations is often so called by the workers. The term is also applied, in connection with the practice of JOB SELLING, to English-speaking foreigners who victimize their fellow-countrymen who cannot speak English. (See PADRONE SYSTEM.)

Street Trades. A collective designation for such occupations as shining shoes, selling papers, running errands, etc. Some of the worst features of CHILD LABOR are to be found in the street trades, and they are difficult of social control because of the fact that many of those engaged in such occupations are "independent proprietors" and therefore not subject to legislation regulating hours and conditions of labor.

Strike. The concerted temporary withdrawal from work on the part of a group of wage-earners to effect some desired purpose —usually the improvement or maintenance of the conditions of their employment. Although strikes, in this sense, are as old as the WAGE SYSTEM if not older (indeed, the slave insurrections, peasant revolts, and labor wars occurring before the emergence of the wage system were essentially "strikes"), the Oxford Dictionary gives the first use of the word "strike" in connection with an industrial dispute as occurring in 1768. The derivation is probably from the sailors' term of "striking" or lowering the mast, thus bringing the ship's movement to a stop. The main general purposes for which strikes are instituted may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) To maintain or to force an improvement in the terms or conditions of employment; (2) to protest against a grievance; (3) to exert pressure in favor of some other group of workers involved in an industrial dispute; (4) to punish other persons or groups for antagonistic or offensive acts; (5) to dictate to other persons a particular course of conduct in regard to any question; (6) to prevent individuals or groups from carrying out a certain expressed or suspected intention; (7) to compel a government to adopt or abstain from adopting a particular measure or policy. The ECONOMIC STRIKE (by far the commonest form) is most specifically represented in the first of these purposes; the SYMPATHETIC STRIKE in the third; the POLITICAL STRIKE in the seventh. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to formulate any arbitrary distinctions of this sort. The sympathetic strike may be either economic or political in its ultimate aim; and the political strike may be instituted for ends that are actually economic. What is loosely known as a GENERAL STRIKE may arise in any one or more of these seven purposes; while the "social" or "revolutionary"

general strike, which aims at a radical social or industrial transformation, is so far mainly a theory, although in some degree inherent in any general strike. In the great majority of cases, the chief purpose of a strike is either to enforce a demand for increased wages, or to resist a reduction of wages. "The theory of bargaining," says the Report of the FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, "assumes that the seller will refuse to sell unless he can get a satisfactory price. There is no other means by which a satisfactory price can be got. It is assumed, as a matter of course, that the buyer will give no more than the lowest price at which he can get the commodity. The workman, whether standing alone or organized in a union, appears in the market as a seller of a particular commodity—labor. He supposes that he has the same right as a seller of steel to determine for himself the price that his commodity ought to bring. He supposes that he has the same right as the seller of steel to refuse to sell unless he can get his price. But the strike is neither more nor less than the refusal of a number of sellers of labor, acting, for the time being, in agreement, to sell their labor below the price which they consider just." A very large number of trade unions, both local and national, have in their constitutions declarations of a general character to the effect that strikes are in themselves undesirable. It is very common to find rules that strikes shall be resorted to only "after failure of all honorable attempts at peaceful settlement." Moreover, the rules of local and national trade unions, almost without exception, provide for conciliatory negotiations with employers before a strike may be entered upon. If the union feels that it has a grievance it usually directs its regular officers or its BUSINESS AGENT—if it has one—or a special "arbitration committee" to present the matter to the employer. Such arbitration committees are sometimes permanently constituted, and in other cases are chosen especially to negotiate regarding the particular matter at issue. These representatives of the union do not, perhaps, usually have power to make binding settlements upon other terms than those of the original demand. If these terms cannot be secured, the propositions of the employer are reported back to the union, and frequently negotiations are continued until a compromise is reached. In regard to the legal aspects of the strike, it may be said that here, as in nearly all other legal phases of the labor movement, the bias of the individual court is likely to be the determining factor in any specific case involving strike "legality." So far as there is any consistent attitude on the part of the courts in the United States, it may be summarized as follows: "Except where COMPULSORY ARBITRATION has been intro-

duced, as in Kansas in 1920, strikes solely and directly involving the rate of pay or the hours of labor are in ordinary times everywhere considered legal. But strikes to gain a CLOSED SHOP, sympathetic strikes, and strikes against non-union material have been condemned in many jurisdictions. Only in California is it settled law that all strikes are legal." Owing to the difficulty or impossibility at times of distinguishing in practice between a strike and a LOCKOUT, the term "dispute" or "trade dispute" has long been used in British labor reports as a generic designation for any forced cessation of work. (For accounts of specific forms of strikes and strike methods see ECONOMIC STRIKE; POLITICAL STRIKE; GENERAL STRIKE; SYMPATHETIC STRIKE; INDEPENDENT STRIKE; LIGHTNING STRIKE; DEMONSTRATION STRIKE; ONE-MAN STRIKE; SAFETY STRIKE; SPONTANEOUS STRIKE; SHOP STRIKE; STRIKE IN DETAIL; SUCCESSIVE STRIKE; BUTTON STRIKE. For descriptions of trade union methods and policies in regard to strikes, see STRIKE CONTROL; STRIKE VOTE; STRIKE FUND; STRIKE PAY; STRIKE COMMITTEE; STRIKE DEPUTY. For other main references to the general subject, see RIGHT TO STRIKE; STRIKEBREAKING; STRIKEBREAKER; PICKETING; INTIMIDATION; STRIKE INSURANCE; LOCKOUT; VIOLENCE IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT; AGITATOR.)

Strike Agent. See STRIKE DEPUTY.

Strike Application. See STRIKE VOTE.

Strike Assessment. See STRIKE FUND.

Strike Benefits. See STRIKE PAY.

Strike Circular. See STRIKE VOTE.

Strike Clerk. See STRIKE PAY.

Strike Committee. A temporary body of workers organized to manage the policy and tactics of a particular STRIKE or LOCKOUT. In the case of a local disturbance, the strike committee is chosen by the local union, and has full charge of affairs where there is complete local autonomy; where the local is not autonomous, the strike committee acts in cooperation with a special STRIKE DEPUTY sent to the scene by the national union to which the LOCAL belongs. Where more than one local is involved, management of the strike is entrusted to a "joint strike committee," composed of members from each of the locals involved, usually acting in conjunction with a national strike deputy. In the case of a national strike, the officers of the

national union generally act as a strike committee; if more than one national union is involved, a joint committee is formed among the national officers of the various unions concerned.

Strike Control. The question as to whether the power to call and conduct STRIKES should be vested in local or national unions has been long and bitterly debated in the American labor movement. In much the larger number of unions, strike control is now vested largely or wholly in the national or district organizations, particularly in those industries which produce for a wide territorial market. Local strike control is found chiefly in those industries—notably the building trades—which serve a local market. When a national organization pays BENEFITS to the members of local unions on strike, the national officers are naturally given a very considerable degree of control over the inauguration of strikes. The constitutions of well-established national unions usually refuse to sanction any strike unless all the following steps have been taken: First, thorough efforts at negotiation on the part of the local unions affected; second, a determination by a two-thirds or three-fourths majority of the local members, on secret ballot, to insist on the demands made; next, approval by the national officers of the position the locals have taken; and finally, exhaustive efforts on the part of these officers, in person or by deputy, to obtain a peaceful settlement of the dispute. These national officers are in many cases men of high intelligence and of long experience as to labor disputes. They are largely free from the personal feeling and the narrowness which are likely to characterize the local unions in their conflicts with employers. By their intervention, accordingly, they are often able to prevent strikes or to secure satisfactory settlement of disputes by conciliatory methods. It is commonly in those cases where employers refuse to negotiate with these national officers that industrial disputes develop into serious strikes. (See STRIKE VOTE; INDEPENDENT STRIKE.)

Strike Deputy. In some of the larger American national unions, an official who is sent to the scene of any local labor dispute to investigate the trouble, make an effort to adjust the matter if that is possible, and report to the president and executive board of the national body his conclusions as to the situation and his recommendations as to what course should be pursued. If a strike is authorized, the deputy usually remains on the scene of the trouble, assists in the direction of the strike, and endeavors at all times to reach a satisfactory settlement. Also called "strike agent." (See SPECIAL DEFENSE ORGANIZERS; STRIKE COMMITTEE; DEPUTY SYSTEM; ORGANIZER.)

Strike Fund. The money reserve accumulated by a national or local trade union for the purpose of distributing STRIKE PAY to members engaged in an industrial dispute is generally so called. Various other designations are, however, often used—such as "war chest," "defense fund," "resistance fund" "grievance fund," "emergency fund," "protective fund," "assistance fund," "contingent fund," etc.; but it should be noted that the funds thus designated are in some unions used for additional or for different purposes than the payment of strike benefits. Under whatever name, the strike fund is ordinarily accumulated in the form of small per capita assessments levied at weekly, monthly, or other regular intervals on all members of the union. During a strike or lockout the fund is often supplemented by SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS levied on union members still at work in other localities not affected by the dispute; by appropriations from the regular union funds; and by contributions from other unions or from private individuals and other sources outside the labor movement.

Strike in Detail. Mr. and Mrs. Webb use this term in designation of a method, often resorted to in trades where workers are limited in number and closely-knit in organization, of bringing an offending employer to terms. It consists in the workers leaving the employer one by one, without giving any definite reason for their action, until his shop is so disorganized that he is ready and willing to comply with any reasonable demands. This plan is sometimes called the "individual strike."

Strike Insurance. What employers consider a necessary counterbalance to the advantages secured by trade unions in the distribution of STRIKE PAY to their members is provided by the "defense funds" maintained by many EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS. Such funds are used to assist any member of the association whose workers are out on strike. In the case of some employers' associations, the amount of members' contributions to this fund is determined by the income of the trade union or unions in the same industry or industrial field. Such contributions are regarded by the employers as premiums for str ke insurance. In addition or as an alternative to this form of protection, employers often take out policies in commercial insurance companies which provide for reimbursement of financial losses occasioned by a strike. In a wholly different sense, the term "strike insurance" has been applied to bribes given by employers to corrupt labor officials for the purpose of buying immunity from strikes or other labor disturbances.

Strike Legislation. A collective designation for national or state laws governing the use of INTIMIDATION, PICKETING, the BOYCOTT, etc., in STRIKES and LOCKOUTS, the settlement of such disputes by ARBITRATION, and similar matters.

Strike Money. See STRIKE PAY.

Strike of the Machine. A name sometimes given to that form of SABOTAGE which consists in disabling industrial machinery by breaking, misplacing, or taking away some indispensable part.

Strike Order. See STRIKE VOTE.

Strike Pay. The name most commonly given in America to the periodic (usually weekly) payments made by labor organizations to members who are collectively engaged in a STRIKE or other industrial dispute. The payment of such relief is ordinarily entrusted to the national unions, which thereby acquire a large degree of control over the calling, management, and termination of strikes; but in some industries (notably the building trades) strikes are still financed by, and hence largely controlled by, the local unions. The relief to be given to strikers is left in many unions to the national executive board, and often depends, of necessity, upon the amount of money that is available. Many of the constitutions, however, fix the amount to which striking members are entitled. The sum named is usually a bare subsistence wage. Often a distinction is made between married men, or those with families dependent upon them, and those who have no one to support but themselves. There is very little tendency to make the strike pay in any degree proportional to the customary earnings in the trade. The cessation of strike pay is usually in the power of the executive board. In many cases a time limit is fixed by the constitution, though the executive board may even then have power to continue the strike support by a special vote. In some cases the amount of strike pay is diminished after a fixed period. "If the funds of the national union are to be properly protected, it is of course necessary that some check be put upon the indolence and greed of some members, and upon the action of local officers. Two common provisions are that if a man refuses to accept employment in an establishment not affected by the strike his name must be stricken at once from the strike roll, and that if a member has worked for three or four days in any week he is not entitled to strike pay for that week. To make sure that the members are not earning wages and drawing strike pay also, it is often required that in order to draw the strike pay a member must appear each day at the

local headquarters and sign a roll. Sometimes the roll is signed in triplicate, and at least one copy is sent to the national headquarters. A detailed report of all payments is required in many organizations to be sent weekly to the national secretary. Sometimes strike pay is disbursed by two members chosen by the local union for the purpose, and known as clerk and paymaster. The clerk makes out the pay rolls and the paymaster disburses the money. In some unions a third person is added, who is known as a receiver, and to whom, as the representative of the local union, all strike funds are turned over." Strike pay is sometimes known under other names—as for example, "strike benefits" or "strike money" in America; and "dispute benefits," "contingent benefits," or "dispute pay" in England. (See TRADE PRIVILEGE BENEFIT; STRIKE FUND.)

Strike Paymaster. See STRIKE PAY.

Strike Receiver. See STRIKE PAY.

Strike Referendum. See STRIKE VOTE.

Strike Roll. See STRIKE PAY.

Strike Vote. (1) *Local.* In most trade unions nationally organized, a local STRIKE involving more than twenty-five members must be sanctioned by at least a majority vote of the local union to which the workers belong. It is usually necessary, in addition, to secure the consent of the executive board of the national union involved, before the strike can be declared. In some local unions, strike votes are taken in asking sanction to strike from the national executive board, and if the vote and the decision of the executive board are favorable the strike may be called at once; but in most unions the strike vote can be taken only after a favorable reply to the "strike application" has been received from the executive board. (2) *National.* As a general rule, a national strike must be sanctioned by at least a majority vote of all the LOCALS of the national union involved. Sometimes a two-thirds, or even a three-fourths, vote is required. The usual procedure is for the executive board to mail to each local in the union a "strike circular," setting forth the grievances and circumstances which have led up to the proposed strike action. The locals must then immediately vote on the proposal, and the results of the vote are telegraphed to the executive board. If the strike is sanctioned by the required majority, the executive board issues a "strike order," stating the precise time when the strike is to begin. In nearly all cases of a strike referendum, voting is by secret ballot. In some unions no one can take part in a strike vote unless

he has been a member of the union for from three to six months. (See STRIKE CONTROL; INDEPENDENT STRIKE.)

Strikebreaker. A person who is hired or who volunteers to take the place of a worker on strike. Owing to the difficulty of securing such persons in the immediate vicinity of a strike, they are often imported from other states or from neighboring regions. LABOR DETECTIVE AGENCIES make a practice of supplying professional strikebreakers in practically any desired number; while some of the large EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS keep in readiness a corps of skilled workers to be used for this purpose. Volunteer strikebreakers are in nearly all cases persons who are directly antagonistic to organized labor or who happen to be personally inconvenienced by the particular strike in progress. But the great majority of strikebreakers are of the professional type mentioned above. They are commonly recruited from the lowest and most ignorant classes of society, and their entry into a disturbed industrial area is the most frequent cause of violence and disorder in the labor movement. "The fact is," says the staff report of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, "practically without exception, either that the strikebreaker is not a genuine workingman but is a professional who merely fills the place of the worker and is unable or unwilling to do steady work, or, if he is a *bona fide* workingman, that he is ignorant of conditions or compelled to work under duress. The nonworking character of the strikebreaker is shown by the fact that very few are ever retained as workers after the termination of the strike, while the attitude of genuine workingmen toward strikebreaking is shown by the significant fact that in the bids of employment agencies and detective agencies to furnish strikebreakers it is provided that guards will be furnished with each car 'to prevent escape in transit,' and by the fact that when men are candidly informed in the public employment offices of the existence of a strike, workers practically never apply for such positions even though they may be in dire want." (See SCAB; RAT; BLACKLEG; ARMED GUARDS; MIDDLE CLASS UNIONS; VIOLENCE IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Strikebreaking. So many methods of defeating or "breaking" a STRIKE have been, and still are, practiced that any complete list or summary is out of the question in this place. Sometimes the employer plays a merely passive part, endeavoring to "starve out" the workers—or, if he feels that public opinion is on his side, awaiting the force of that opinion to bring the strikers to terms. More commonly, however, his role is an active one. If the "struck" establish-

ment belongs to a large corporation, with several plants throughout the country, workers may often be shifted to the strike area from other places, and operations thus resumed. Professional STRIKE-BREAKERS may be secured from LABOR DETECTIVE AGENCIES, EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS, and other sources; often negroes and other unorganized workers are imported in large numbers from other states for this purpose. Strikers living in COMPANY HOUSES may be evicted, and local merchants coerced into refusing credit to workers on strike. The INJUNCTION may be invoked to prohibit PICKETING and other forms of strike activity, or the union leaders may be enjoined from taking any part in the strike. In connivance with public officials, owners of halls, etc., the strikers may be prevented from holding public meetings or even gathering in groups. Other methods less commonly resorted to are the intimidation, assault, or corruption of strike leaders; the "buying up" of newspapers so that all news of the strike will be perverted in favor of the employer and against the workers; the forcible kidnapping of men on strike, as in the BISBEE DEPORTATIONS, etc. Many of these practices, as specifically stated in one or two instances above, would be impossible without the active or passive assistance of public officials and the courts. Indeed, such assistance, though not in all cases consciously directed to such an end, is commonly the decisive factor in breaking any large-scale or prolonged strike. (See SCAB; BLACKLEG; RAT; ARMED GUARDS; MIDDLE CLASS UNIONS; STATE CONSTABULARY; TECHNISCHE NOTHILFE.)

Strikes in Russia. Industry being largely nationalized in present-day Russia, and wages and working conditions being generally under control of the workers themselves, the RIGHT TO STRIKE is not recognized by the Soviet government and strikes are considered "an act of treason to the proletarian revolution." Nevertheless, strikes have occurred; but there is no reliable information as to the governmental course which has been followed with reference to them. The chief cause of strikes, according to W. T. Goode, is "the lack of elasticity in the wages tariffs."

Striking on the Job. One of the commoner forms of SABOTAGE, consisting in working as slowly and inefficiently as possible without an actual stoppage. In brief, it is the policy of obstructionism in industry—the device of suspending or seriously impeding production without suspending wages. It is sometimes adopted to gain a definite concession from the employer; but is perhaps more often resorted to by workers smarting under defeat in a regular strike.

While a favorite method of the I. W. W., its use is by no means confined to that organization, and it is known in all industrial countries under various names. The English call it the "stop in" (or, as we should say, "stay in") strike; in Japan it is called the *taigyo;* and so forth. What are known as the "lazy strike," the "go slow strike," the "white strike," and the "irritation strike" are practically the same thing as "striking on the job." (See CA' CANNY; WORK-TO-RULE MOVEMENT; CONSCIENTIOUS WITHDRAWAL OF EFFICIENCY; LIMITATION OF OUTPUT.)

Struck Shop. An establishment against which a STRIKE has been declared is commonly so called in labor circles.

Struggle for Existence. See SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

Sub-Boss. See Boss.

Sub-Contracting. While some authorities make little if any practical distinction between the CONTRACT SYSTEM and what is called "sub-contracting," the latter term has a specific meaning which it seems worth while to preserve—a meaning that is sufficiently indicated in the term itself. The building trades in the United States are largely carried on under a system of sub-contracting. As described by Professor Commons, "the mason builder, or general contractor, secures the contract from the owner, or 'client,' and generally puts up the brickwork; but he submits by competitive bidding all the other work to as many contractors as there are kinds of work. This system enables the contractor to enter the field with little or no capital, since it is usually arranged that partial payments shall be made by the owner to the general contractor, and by him to the sub-contractors, as the work progresses." In the garment trades, where sub-contracting was formerly prevalent, the "manufacturer" of ready-made clothing would give his work to a contractor who was a responsible party, usually not a tailor himself. "This contractor would then give the work to some man who kept a tailors' boarding house or a saloon where the tailors were accustomed to come together. This boarding-house keeper or saloon keeper was a sub-contractor, though not a tailor. He in turn would give this work out to the individual tailors whom he personally knew, who were responsible for the work." In England, sub-contracting is sometimes called "sub-letting." (See SWEATING SYSTEM; STATION SYSTEM; LUMPER; OUTWORK.)

Sub-District Council. See DISTRICT COUNCIL.

Sub-Division. See DIVISION.

Sub-Letting. See SUB-CONTRACTING.

Sub-Local. A few American national unions permit the organization of small groups of isolated members, as branches of the nearest LOCAL. "The members of the branch pay to the parent local union their monthly dues and assessments and are permitted to attend its meetings. If not near enough to attend, they may hold separate meetings at which they may vote on all matters under consideration by other members of the local union. They can make no contracts with employers nor take any other action without the consent of the society with which they are affiliated. When bridge and structural iron workers who are members of a union in some large city are sent away to perform work in some isolated community, they are usually permitted to organize themselves as a branch of the local union in the city from which they come." Another form of sub-local is composed of members employed in a single establishment—as exemplified by the printers' CHAPEL and by the SHOP CLUB or SHOP MEETING in other trades. The PIT COMMITTEE found in miners' unions might also be considered as belonging to this class. (See LANGUAGE BRANCH; SHOP UNION.)

Sub-Lodge. See LODGE.

Sub-Standard Workers. See MINIMUM WAGE LAWS.

Subbotnik (Saturdaying). In the spring of 1919, while the threat of Kolchak's counter-revolution in Russia was greatest, a meeting of communists in the sub-district of the Moscow-Kazan Railway passed a resolution that, in view of the imminent danger to the Republic, communists and their sympathizers should give up an hour a day of their leisure, and lumping these hours together do every Saturday during the usual holiday time six hours of voluntary unpaid manual labor in reconstruction work; and, further, that these "Communist Saturdayings" should be continued "until complete victory over Kolchak should be assured." That decision of a local committee was the beginning of a movement which has since spread all over Russia.

Subdivision of Labor. See DIVISION OF LABOR.

Subordinate Union, Lodge, Division. See LOCAL; LODGE; DIVISION.

Subsidized Workshops. As established by charitable agencies in a number of large cities, these are non-competitive workshops

for the manufacture and repair of handmade articles, their chief purpose being to provide work for UNEMPLOYABLES and those who are temporarily unable to secure other employment.

Subsistence Level. See MINIMUM SUBSISTENCE LEVEL.

Subsistence Theory of Wages. See IRON LAW OF WAGES.

Subsistence Wage. See LIVING WAGE.

Substitution. A term commonly used in England during the recent war in designation of the process by which a woman (usually known as a "substituted worker") took the place of a male worker who was called into military service or advanced to more important work. (See DILUTION OF LABOR.)

Successive Strike. This term has been applied to the policy, supported and sometimes adopted by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, of inaugurating a series of successive trade STRIKES, one trade after another being selected according to strength and strategic position until all trades had obtained some general reform—as for example, the EIGHT-HOUR DAY. This is favored by conservative labor leaders in preference to the GENERAL STRIKE, as involving at any given time only a comparatively small number of workers, who would have the combined support of all other unions in the Federation.

Suggestion System. As a factor in PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION, this is the method of encouraging employees to submit ideas for improved processes or machinery, better working conditions, increased production, etc. "Suggestion boxes" are often provided for this purpose in large industrial plants, and in some cases monthly or annual prizes are offered for the best suggestion submitted by an employee of the plant.

Sunday Rest Laws. See ONE DAY'S REST IN SEVEN.

Suomen Ammattijarjesto (Trade Union Federation). The principal national labor body of Finland. It was founded in 1907, and ten years later had 161,000 members. The "white terror" instituted in 1918 against Finnish socialists and trade unionists by the reactionary government, under Mannerheim's direction, reduced the Federation's membership to 21,000. But by October, 1920, it had risen to 55,000. About two-thirds of the members are communists.

Super. The superintendent of a mine or factory is often referred to by the workers under him as "the super."

Superannuation Benefits. See OLD AGE INSURANCE.

Superintendents. See SUPERVISORY WORKERS.

Superior Servant Doctrine. In connection with EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY, this refers to the commonly accepted legal principle that, other things being equal, an employer is liable for damages to an injured employee where the injury is due to the exercise of superior authority conferred by the employer upon another employee—as for example, in the case of a superintendent or foreman. That is to say, if the agent whose negligence brought about the injury to a coemployee was performing any of the duties properly belonging to the employer, he is regarded not as a "fellow servant," but as a "superior servant" or "vice principal," of the employer, who thus becomes liable for damages. The "superior servant doctrine"—or "vice principal doctrine," as it is often called—thus represents a limitation of the "fellow-servant rule."

Superior Use Doctrine. See LAND QUESTION.

Supervisory Workers. Those who hold an intermediate position between the management and the "rank and file" workers, and whose function it is to supervise or oversee the latter. The appointment and conduct of these foremen, superintendents, and the like, as well as their relation to trade unionism, raise many important questions in the labor movement. According to a recent British government report, "the appointment of foremen is a question on which there may be said to be three groups of opinions. Many employers hold that it is a purely management question. The opposite extreme to this is the claim made by a considerable section of trade unionists that the workmen should choose their own foremen. A position intermediate to these two extremes is taken up by a certain number of employers and by a section of workpeople; the appointment (they feel) should be made by the management, but it should be submitted to the WORKS COUNCIL before it becomes effective." The conduct of supervisory workers in relation to the rank and file, particularly as regards DISCIPLINE and the discharge of workers, often leads to serious strikes. In relation to trade unionism, it may be said that supervisory workers are for the most part promoted from the ranks of manual wage-earners, and on promotion they have usually in the past come to regard themselves as servants of the employers, with no further concern for working-class interests. In England, however, they have not seldom retained their trade union connection, on a limited basis; and have sometimes even played a prominent part

in the trade union movement. In a few trades they have organized in associations of their own. Many American trade unions definitely bar foremen; a few require foremen to be members; while in others the matter is left to the discretion of the local unions. A definite standard of foremanship concerning such matters as manners and attitude toward the workers is required by a few particularly strong unions. (See FUNCTIONAL FOREMANSHIP; SINGLE FOREMANSHIP; POLICING; BOSS; DEPUTIES; COMPANY MAN; GAFFER; SUPER; OVERMAN; CHARGE-HAND; WALKER.)

Supply and Demand, Law of. The economic theory that the price of a given commodity in a given market rises if the demand increases without a proportionate increase in the supply, or if the supply decreases without a proportionate decrease in the demand. Conversely stated, the price falls if the supply increases without a proportionate increase in the demand, or if the demand decreases without a proportionate decrease in the supply. This law, according to Mill, "governs the value of all things that cannot be indefinitely increased." With specific reference to labor, the so-called "law of supply and demand" was long the main support of a once popular doctrine, according to which (in the words of Mr. and Mrs. Webb) "working men were told, by friends and foes alike, that they could no longer be regarded as citizens entitled to legal protection of their established expectations; that labor was a commodity like any other; and that their real position was that of sellers in a market, entitled to do the best they could for themselves within the limits of the law of the land, but to no better terms than they could, by the ordinary arts of bargaining, extract from those with whom they dealt. It was the business of the employer to buy 'labor' in the cheapest market, and that of the workman to sell it in the dearest." As an inescapable corollary of this doctrine, all the efforts of the workers must be directed to strengthening their bargaining position against the employers by the creation of powerful trade unions. (See COMMODITY THEORY OF LABOR; UNEMPLOYMENT; LABOR SUPPLY; LABOR MARKET.)

Supreme Council of Public Economy. One of the eighteen main executive divisions of the Russian Soviet government, having in charge the financing, management, and correlation of industry, and the distribution of food, fuel, raw materials, etc. It consists of sixty-nine members, of whom thirty are nominated by the national "professional alliances" (trade unions), ten by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, twenty by the REGIONAL ECONOMIC

COUNCILS, and two by the cooperatives; the remaining seven are People's Commissars or heads of related government departments. It is under the general direction of a "præsidium" or governing body of ten members, nominated by the Central Executive Committee of Trade Unions and confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars, with a President (or Commissar of National Economy) appointed by the All-Russian Executive Committee. The routine work of the Supreme Council is distributed among some sixty sections, of which ten have to do with distribution or are of a general nature (statistical, legal, inspection, etc.) and fifty with production. Of these latter, each has general control of one or more nationally organized industries. (See INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION IN RUSSIA; NATIONALIZATION IN RUSSIA.)

Surplus Value Theory. The central point in Karl Marx's explanation of the history and influence of capital. Morris Hillquit summarizes the surplus value theory as follows: "Since the individual capitalist owns the tools without which no labor can be performed in modern society, and the laborer owns nothing but his ability to work—his labor power, the workingman is compelled to sell that labor power to the capitalist for a fixed daily wage. His labor power is sold to the capitalist to be used for a day of a duration of eight, ten or twelve hours, according to agreement, and the products of his labor are divided between him and his employer. The portion of such labor that falls to the share of the workingman is his wage, and the portion retained by the manufacturing capitalist Marx calls 'surplus value.' The 'surplus value' of the manufacturing capitalist is by no means his clear profit; as a rule, he is forced to divide it with the landlord, the money lender and the merchant. 'Surplus value' is the source of all profits of the manufacturing and trading capitalists, the rents of the landowning capitalists, and the interest of the money-lending capitalists. Thus the capitalists of all types depend upon the production of 'surplus value,' while the working class depends upon wages. Since wages and 'surplus value' come from the same source, *i.e.*, labor power, it is clear that the proportion of the one will be relatively larger as the proportion of the other is relatively smaller, and vice versa; in other words, the greater the share of capital in the created values, the smaller the share of labor. The economic interests of capital and labor are, therefore, opposed to each other, and while it is in the interest of the class deriving its income from 'surplus value' to maintain the present system of distribution of wealth, the interests of the working class lie in the abolition of that system." (See LABOR THEORY OF VALUE.)

Survival of the Fittest. According to the Darwinian theory of evolution, all forms of organic life undergo a process of continual change or modification under the influence of environment, constituting in effect an unending "struggle for existence," and in this struggle those individuals "which are best fitted for the complex and in the course of ages changing conditions to which they are exposed generally survive and procreate their kind," the weaker or unfit forms being gradually eliminated in this process of "natural selection." The industrial barons of Darwin's day were not slow to grasp the surface implications of this theory, as applied to the economic field; and from that day to this it has been widely and generally utilized to justify the most ruthless forms of economic exploitation, on the false ground that it was no less applicable to man's artificial arrangements than to the process of natural evolution. From this standpoint also, SOCIALISM and kindred altruistic theories are held to be arbitrary interferences with natural law, and therefore predoomed to failure. The real significance of Darwin's theories, as far as they may be applied by analogy to the industrial field, are, however, almost wholly on the side of the social idealists. (See MUTUAL AID; COMPETITIVE SYSTEM.)

Suspension. See FINANCES OF TRADE UNIONS; DISCIPLINE.

Sweat Shop. A place where industrial work is carried on under the general conditions described in the entry, SWEATING SYSTEM. Low rent and a situation in or close to the congested districts of foreign-born workers are commonly the most essential factors in the case of sweat shops. Such shops are usually found in city alleys, in attics, on top floors, above stables, and often in the tenements or other homes of the workers. If machinery is required, it is almost always of the foot-power type.

Sweater. A common designation for any employer of labor under conditions involving excessive working hours, meagre wages, and insanitary or otherwise unwholesome surroundings for the workers. In the garment trades the "sweater" is usually a contractor or sub-contractor who takes out material owned by the "manufacturer" and returns it to him as a finished garment. On the other hand the small manufacturer may impose the same oppressive and unwholesome conditions upon his workers as does the contractor, and so is no less a "sweater." (See SWEATING SYSTEM; LITTLE MASTER).

Sweating System. A term rather too loosely used to permit of exact definition, but in general applying to any industrial work in

which the following conditions prevail: (1) A rate of wages inadequate to the necessities of the workers or disproportionate to the work done; (2) excessive hours of labor; (3) insanitary or otherwise unwholesome working quarters. The system is now chiefly confined to the manufacture of garments, paper flowers, millinery ornaments, and other cheap hand-made articles. It is possible, however, in any industry carried on (1) in large and overcrowded cities, particularly in those containing a considerable percentage of foreign-born workers; (2) under the CONTRACT SYSTEM; and (3) by hand work only, or with inexpensive machinery. In its earlier form the sweating system was practically identical with the system of SUB-CONTRACTING, "the difference between the price paid the contractor and the price paid the sub-contractor or actual worker being considered as 'sweated' from the normal earnings of the latter. Of late years, however, the tendency has been to reduce the cost by eliminating the sub-contractor, without in any way changing the labor conditions." According to Professor Commons, "the system to be contrasted with the sweating system is the 'factory system,' wherein the manufacturer employs his own workmen, under the management of his own foreman or superintendent, in his own building, with steam, electric, or water power. In the sweating system the foreman becomes a contractor, with his own small shop and foot-power machine. In the factory system the workmen are congregated where they can be seen by the factory inspectors and where they can organize or develop a common understanding. In the sweating system they are isolated and unknown." According to Adams and Sumner, "three principal varieties of sweating have been distinguished. First, individuals may labor in their own homes with the assistance only of members of their families. A great deal of custom work is done in this way by skilled journeymen tailors. For the most part, however, this is the lowest type of sweat shop labor, and is frequently carried on under conditions of indescribable filth and squalor. . . . Secondly, individuals may labor in their homes with hired assistance for particular operations. This is the typical form of sweating, under which the living apartments are turned into factories in which outsiders are employed, and frequently also boarded. . . . The SWEATER, in this case, is not merely a contractor, but is the head workman, and often the only person in the shop who understands all the different processes involved in the making of a garment. It is against these shops that legislation is particularly directed. The third variety of sweating is carried on in workrooms used especially for that purpose. These are sometimes con-

nected with the living rooms of the sweater, but sometimes they are in buildings which are not used for residential purposes. . . . As the size of the shop and the number of employees increase, the sweater becomes more and more an overseer, driving the laborers to the greatest possible speed for the longest possible hours." The evils of the sweating system have led to regulative legislation, of one sort or another, in several European countries and in twelve states of this country. (See CONTRACT SYSTEM IN THE GARMENT TRADES; TASK SYSTEM; HOME WORK; SWEAT SHOP; TENEMENT-HOUSE WORK; LITTLE MASTER; PARASITIC INDUSTRIES; UNDER-EMPLOYMENT; CONSUMERS' LEAGUES.)

Swedish Industrial Conciliators. Under a law which came into force in 1907, Sweden is divided into seven districts, and an industrial conciliator is appointed by the crown for each district. The conciliator must reside within his district, and his principal duty is to promote the settlement of disputes between employers and work-people or between members of either class among themselves. He is also on request to advise and otherwise assist employers and work-people in framing agreements affecting the conditions of labor if and so far as agreements are designed to promote good relations between the two classes and to obviate stoppages of work.

Swedish National Federation of Trade Unions. See LANDS-ORGANISATION I SVERGE.

Swift. See SPEEDING UP.

Swiss Federation of Trade Unions. See SCHWEIZERISCHEN GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND.

Sygekassen. See MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES.

Sympathetic Boycott. A labor BOYCOTT instituted by persons not directly involved in any dispute between employers and employees, but whose action is due to sympathy with the cause of workers who are thus involved.

Sympathetic Strike. In its commonest form, a STRIKE called by workers who have no direct grievance against their employer but who are acting in order to bring pressure to bear in favor of other workers who are involved in a strike or LOCKOUT. The purpose which such a strike supports is usually economic—that is to say, it has to do wholly with relations between employers and employees. But sympathetic strikes for political ends are by no means a rarity. In

such cases they are generally intended to exert pressure in favor of some worker or group of workers suffering actually or supposedly from governmental persecution or injustice. Very little mention is made of sympathetic strikes in the written constitutions of the national unions. Two or three except sympathetic strikes from the restrictions imposed in other cases, so far as to permit local unions, though forbidden generally to strike without the previous approval of the national executive board, to join in a sympathetic strike without previous approval, and still to be entitled to the support of the national organization, provided the national executive board is satisfied, after investigation, that the local acted with discretion. The sympathetic strike in its common or economic form is occasionally referred to as the "multiplied strike." It has been most frequently resorted to in the building trades.

Syndicalism. Derived from *syndicat*, meaning a local trade union, the French term *syndicalisme* meant originally "trade unionism," and is still often used in that sense in France. The opposition between revolutionaries and reformists in the French labor movement gave rise to the terms *syndicalisme révolutionnaire* and *syndicalisme réformiste*, as designations for the opposing theories and methods of the two factions. Then later, because of the preponderance of the revolutionary group, its doctrine came to be known as *syndicalisme* simply; and from that usage the name passed into other countries. But it is important to keep in mind the original meaning of the term, as showing that syndicalism is not merely an untried theory or philosophy, but a practical development from actual facts and conditions in the French labor movement. The central doctrine of syndicalism is that the worker should control the conditions of his work—that industry should be managed solely by the producers, organized in INDUSTRIAL UNIONS. Its underlying basis is the CLASS STRUGGLE, "the war of the exploited against the exploiters," the denial that social peace is possible or desirable under CAPITALISM. In the minds of syndicalists, the political State, with its army and its official BUREAUCRACY, exists to protect and foster capitalistic property, and so the State must be swept away before capitalism can be abolished. The actual producers, organized in industrial unions, TRADES COUNCILS, and a general federation of industrial unions and trades councils, will carry on the present activities of the State. Syndicalism is thus, in essence, REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM with the State left out. In regard to method, Marx's phrase, "the emancipation of labor must be the work of labor itself," is the watch-

word of the movement. Bourgeois society can only be supplanted as the workers develop "social tissue" of their own, and create new organisms capable of expressing their desires and serving their interests. Through the avenue of industrial unionism, and rejecting all political methods, alliances, and compromises, syndicalism aims finally to capture the State by means of the national or "social" GENERAL STRIKE, and then to substitute for it a government of trade unions which would regard all its citizens in their primary capacity as producers rather than consumers. SABOTAGE and the BOYCOTT—every form of DIRECT ACTION, in fact—are to be employed as incidental or transient means in achieving this end. Syndicalism thus frankly relies upon coercion, the pitting of organized working-class force against organized capitalistic force. But such coercion does not necessarily imply violence, in the sense of bloodshed and destruction; and violence has in fact hitherto played but a small part in the movement. The syndicalist scorns SOCIALISM as a palliative and compromise. He is at one with the anarchist in his hostility to the State; but whereas he would simply substitute for the present State another form of authority—that of trade unionism—the true anarchist is opposed to every form of coercive government. There is some common ground between syndicalism and COOPERATION, and still more between syndicalism and GUILD SOCIALISM; but in both cases the differences heavily outweigh the resemblances. In France, the syndicalist movement is closely allied with what is known as anarchist communism, though this term leaves out of account the fundamental industrial basis of syndicalism. Originating as it did within the French labor movement, syndicalism is most properly associated with the CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL, within which body it has long been the dominant philosophy. There, however, it assumes a much milder form than in some of the countries to which it has been exported—notably America, where the syndicalism of the I. W. W. has little in common with the French movement. (See INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONALIZATION; SOCIALISM OF INSTITUTIONS; CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAWS; BORING FROM WITHIN; CE-GE-TEIST; INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRATS; MINERS' NEXT STEP; GRAND NATIONAL; NEO-MARXIANS.)

Syndicalisme Réformiste. See SYNDICALISM.

Syndicalisme Révolutionnaire. See SYNDICALISM.

Syndicalist Unionism. See REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM.

Syndicato Unico. See CONFEDERACIÓN GENERAL DEL TRABAJO.

Syndicat. In ordinary French usage, a local trade union. The word generally refers to a trade union composed of manual wage-earners; although such an organization is, strictly speaking, a *syndicat ouvrier*. The syndicats are mainly of the industrial type (*syndicats d'industrie*); the craft unions (*syndicats de métier*) having largely disappeared. By far the larger number are "fighting" organizations devoted to revolutionary ends; these are often termed *syndicats rouges*, or "red syndicats." The minority represent the REFORMIST element, favoring POLITICAL ACTION, moderation, compromise, and OPPORTUNIST methods in general. While these are sometimes called *syndicats jaunes* or "yellow syndicats," that term is more commonly applied to the unions initiated or controlled by employers and to the MIDDLE CLASS UNIONS. What are known as *syndicats mixtes*, or "mixed syndicats," are usually mere benefit societies, often attached to particular factories. The *syndicats agricoles* are unions of agricultural laborers, and play little part in the general industrial movement. The *syndicats* are, in the main, federated by localities in the BOURSES DU TRAVAIL; by districts, in the UNIONS REGIONALES; by provinces, in the UNIONS DÉPARTMENTALES; and nationally, in the FÉDÉRATIONS D'INDUSTRIE, although a few craft federations (*Fédérations de Métier*) still survive. They also affiliate with the national central organization, the CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL—both indirectly, through the above-mentioned federated bodies, and directly. But within all of these local, regional, and national organizations, most of them retain almost complete local autonomy. (See SYNDICALISM; MARQUE SYNDICALE.)

System Federations. (1) Delegate bodies representative of the various national, international, and brotherhood organizations affiliated with the RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. Each system federation is representative of such organizations for a single railway system of the United States and Canada. It elects its own officers, holds regular meetings, and through an advisory board of five members negotiates with the management in regard to grievances and other matters. These system federations are chartered directly by the Railway Employees' Department, and are subject to the latter's control. They are entitled to send delegates to the Department's biennial convention. (2) The so-called "big four" RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS, which are not affiliated with the A. F. of L., have a plan according to which, after the fulfilment of certain stringent conditions, federations may

be formed on individual railroad systems by two or more of the brotherhoods. The conditions for the entrance of any brotherhood into a system federation are that two-thirds of the members of the organization on the system involved shall have voted in favor of federation and the chief executive of the organization shall have given his approval. These federations exist mainly for the adjustment of grievances. (See CEDAR RAPIDS PLAN; BROTHERHOOD COOPERATIONS.)

T

T. A. See TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

T. U. C. See TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Taff Vale Decision. Growing out of a suit brought by the Taff Vale Railway in South Wales against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants for damages sustained in connection with a strike involving breach of contract, this was an opinion handed down in 1902 by the British House of Lords, in its judicial capacity, declaring that a trade union is a corporate body to the extent that it can be sued and held liable for the acts of its agents. Agitation over this decision, which imperilled all trade union funds and virtually nullified the fighting power of organized British labor, was largely responsible for the election of thirty LABOR MEMBERS to Parliament in 1906; and finally resulted in the passage of the TRADE DISPUTES ACT of 1906, which removed the liability.

Taigyo. See STRIKING ON THE JOB.

Tally System. See LIVERPOOL DOCK SCHEME.

Tame Union. See COMPANY UNION.

Tantum. See STINT.

Task. (1) In general, a fixed and definite amount of work, as dealt with in the entry, TASK SYSTEM. (2) In connection with SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, a standard amount of work of a prescribed quality which must be completed within a given time to make the worker eligible for a bonus or premium in addition to his regular daily wage. The setting of the task (the amount of work) in relation to the TASK TIME (the maximum time allotted for its completion) is accomplished by detailed TIME AND MOTION STUDY, allowance being usually made for necessary shop delays and also for the health of the worker.

Task and Bonus System. See GANTT SYSTEM.

Task Management. See SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

Task Master. See TASK SYSTEM.

Task Setting. See TASK.

Task System or **Task Work.** In a general sense, the system or method under which a single worker or group of workers is required to finish a specified amount of work (commonly called the "task" or STINT or "dead line") within a given period of time or else suffer a reduction in wages for that period, although no additional wages are paid for any excess of output. "Needless to say," according to G. D. H. Cole, "this system is strenuously opposed by the workers, nor does it exist in any organized trade; but many of the features of the task-work system exist in those cases in which a certain output is rigidly exacted, and the worker who fails to reach that output is at once dismissed. In these cases there is no deduction from wages for failure to produce the standard amount; but in certain trades the threat of summary dismissal has even more effect in securing the imposition of a 'task' than could ever be exercised by deductions from wages. Task-work is a variant of TIME-WORK in that the payment made is proportionate not to output, but to time spent; but in it the common basis of the two systems appears in the clearest form, since a minimum output is the condition of receiving the time-wage." The term "task system" is often used with specific reference to the method of manufacturing followed in the small Jewish "contract shops" of New York City engaged in making men's coats. This system has two main characteristics. First, there is a "team" or "set" of workers (usually three in number), each of whom performs a special part of the manufacturing process; each member of the team has to keep up with the others, so that a faster rate of speed by any one of the three necessitates a faster rate by the other two. Second, there is fixed by the contractor or "taskmaster" who runs the shop a certain "task" or number of coats that must be turned out in a day; this is called, and paid for as, a day's labor, although it may actually require fourteen or fifteen hours to perform it. By this means the fiction is maintained that standard daily or weekly wages are being paid; although actually the workers, being able to produce but four or five "tasks" a week, receive only a scanty PIECE WORK wage. Wages are reduced from time to time by the simple process of increasing the daily "task." As in other forms of the SWEATING SYSTEM, the workers are thus continually driven to over-exertion. (See PRODUCTION STANDARDS.)

Task Time. In connection with SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, this is the amount of time, determined by detailed TIME AND MOTION STUDY, which is required for turning out a given quantity of work by an individual worker. It differs from the BASE TIME in that the latter is determined by past performance or by estimate, rather than by "scientific" study. The standard TASK must be completed within the "task time" to make the worker eligible for a bonus.

Taylor System. A "science of industrial conservation and a technique for increasing output and lowering production costs," formulated by an American engineer, Frederick W. Taylor. The distinctive features of this system, in its broader aspects, are "the reliance on law and principle, FUNCTIONAL FOREMANSHIP, the EXCEPTION PRINCIPLE intended to aid in securing proper balance and coordination of men, and the principle of discipline for the conscious purpose of securing harmony rather than the mere upholding of authority." In its dealings with individuals, the Taylor system "lays special stress on the principles of selection to fit the job, individual training for their better accomplishment, an extension of SPECIALIZATION to the utmost limit which the size of the industry permits, definite and positive control over all processes and operations, and the predetermined and conscious stimulation of the men to the greatest degree of exertion consistent with their continued health by means of a special reward in the form of a 'bonus,' a 'premium,' or a 'high rate' for superior accomplishment." These theories and principles form the underlying basis of what is now known as SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, of which Taylor was the pioneer and leader. (See EMERSON SYSTEM; GANTT SYSTEM; DIFFERENTIAL PIECE RATE SYSTEM; TAYLORISM.)

Taylorism. The theory and practice of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT are sometimes so called—from the name of its pioneer promoter, Frederick W. Taylor.

Teach-Worker. An especially competent or experienced worker who is employed to instruct his fellow-workers is sometimes so called.

Teachers' Unions. The first American combination of school teachers along ordinary trade union lines was formed in 1916, in Chicago. To-day about 150 LOCALS are represented in the American Federation of Teachers, a national body affiliated with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. The Federation of Teachers has four ORGANIZERS actively engaged in spreading the union idea. It issues

an official organ, "The American Teacher." There are a number of teachers' unions in Great Britain, foremost of which is the National Union of Teachers, with about 100,000 members. The British movement possesses a propagandist and coordinating organization in the Teachers' Labor League.

Team System. See TEAM WORK.

Team Work. In general, this term refers to the plan under which an article is manufactured or an industrial operation carried on by two or more persons working in unison, each person performing one particular process of the complete operation, and the group rather than the individual being considered as the industrial unit. "Each member of the group is compelled to maintain the pace set by the fastest, or forfeit his place by impeding the work of the whole. The two bricklayers at the ends of a wall put up the line as fast as they build their portions, and the men between must keep up with it. In making a coat, three men commonly work together—a machine operator, a baster, and an edge baster or finisher. No one may slacken his pace, no matter how weary or sick; for if one slackens, the work of the whole team is balked." Either the whole group may be paid on the basis of their collective output, or the most important workers may be paid in accordance with the results of the whole group's work, the others being remunerated on a time basis. In a more limited sense, the arrangement under which a skilled JOURNEYMAN in any craft or occupation hires and pays his own HELPER (often a boy or girl), or works in joint agreement with another journeyman, is sometimes called "team work" or the "team system." The term "partnering" is occasionally used in a sense apparently synonymous with "team work." (See TASK SYSTEM; BUCK OR BERKSHIRE SYSTEM; COMPANIONSHIP.)

Technical Education. See INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

Technische Nothilfe. A semi-official "emergency engineer corps" organized for STRIKEBREAKING purposes in Germany during the autumn of 1919. It was made up mainly of technical experts, supplemented by skilled and unskilled workers in various occupations. Its main purpose was to carry on essential industries during strikes. Central headquarters in Berlin and district headquarters in various parts of Germany were maintained. Owing to trade union opposition, the active career of the corps was brief; though it seems still to maintain some sort of existence.

Ten-Day Workers. See MIGRATORY WORKERS.

Tenants' Copartnership Societies. Cooperative associations in England which enable members to become part owners of the community by investing in the company stock. The member lives in a house whose rent is based on expense for use, instead of on land-and-house-scarcity, manipulated by private enterprise for profits. The unearned increment of land value is used for decreasing rents and bettering the public services of the community. The member is in possession of his home for as long a time as he holds his investment in the company stock. Also called "copartnership tenancy societies."

Tenement-House Work. In the larger American cities a considerable amount of industrial work is done in the homes of the poor, often all the members of a family devoting the greater part of their time to such work. Either complete articles—such as cigars, cigarettes, artificial flowers, garments, caps, etc.—may be manufactured in this way, or the "finishing" of articles partly made in machine workshops may be carried on. Such work, characterized as it usually is by congestion, insanitary conditions, unregulated hours, and unrestricted CHILD LABOR, has generally proved a menace to health, wage standards, and existing labor laws; and indeed it is inevitably associated with some of the worst evils of the SWEATING SYSTEM. As a result, several states have enacted legislation either prohibiting certain kinds of tenement-house work or attempting its regulation by licensing, registration, inspection, etc. The prohibitory laws have usually been declared unconstitutional by the courts, while attempts at regulation have in the main proved unsatisfactory. Tenement-house work in the manufacture of clothing for the United States army and navy is prohibited under a Federal statute. (See HOME WORK; TENEMENT TAG.)

Tenement Tag. In the attempt to regulate TENEMENT-HOUSE WORK, a few states require that whoever sells or offers for sale any goods (chiefly wearing apparel) made in unlicensed tenements shall affix to each article so made a conspicuous tag or label with the words "Tenement Made" legibly printed thereon, as well as the name of the state and city where the article was made. In New York the factory inspector himself affixes the tag. In some states the goods thus tagged or labeled cannot be sold or offered for sale; but in any case the implications of the tag are such that the goods are practically unsaleable. A similar system was adopted several years ago in New Zealand.

Territorial Jurisdiction. See JURISDICTION.

Territorial Division of Labor. The concentration of special branches of production in different countries, or in different geographical areas of the same country, according to special facilities or advantages provided by such countries or areas, is sometimes known as "territorial division of labor." (See LOCALIZATION OF INDUSTRY; SPECIALIZATION.)

Textile Schools. Technical schools for specialized instruction in the practical and artistic phases of the textile industry. Such schools are in general intended more for the training of technical experts, or those who wish to become superintendents or foremen, than for the rank and file of wage-earners. Instruction is given in weaving, dyeing, designing, the choice and use of materials, and other related matters.

Third Internationale. See INTERNATIONALE; COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE; MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MANIFESTO; LENIN'S TWENTY-ONE CONDITIONS; INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

Three Eights. Denotes the working-class ideal of a day divided into three equal periods of eight hours each—one period for work, another for play, and the third for sleep. (See EIGHT-HOUR DAY.)

Three-Gang Method. As a direct result of the SPLIT-FEE SYSTEM, which tempts a foreman to make constant changes in his labor force, there has developed in railroad and other construction work what is sometimes called the "three-gang method"—that is to say, on any given job at any given time three separate gangs of laborers are or may be directly involved: one gang working on the job, another gang coming to work from the employment agent, and a third gang on its way back to the city.

Three-Position Plan. As devised by the American "efficiency expert" Gilbreth, this is a method of EMPLOYMENT MANAGEMENT which considers each advanced employee in an industrial organization as in a certain sense occupying three different positions: the one he previously held, the one he holds for the time being, and the one for which he is in line for promotion. Thus each employee is considered in the triple aspect of a worker, a student, and a teacher.

Three-Rate System of Wage Payment. A form of the PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM which consists of (1) paying every worker a usual or customary daily wage—called the low rate; (2) paying a

bonus of ten per cent over the daily wage when a worker conforms to the exact method stipulated in his instruction card, but yet does not achieve the standard TASK—called the middle rate; (3) paying a bonus of from thirty to one hundred per cent when the worker achieves or exceeds the standard task—called the high rate.

Three-Shift System. See SHIFT SYSTEM.

Ticket Steward. In the British building trades, a local trade union official who examines the men taken into employment on a building job, with a view to verifying their union credentials and standing, etc.

Timber Wolf. A "migratory" worker (usually a member of the I. W. W.) in the Western lumber camps is so nicknamed.

Time Agreement. See TRADE AGREEMENT.

Time and a Half. In connection with the increased rate of wages commonly paid for OVERTIME work, this phrase denotes an increase of fifty per cent over the regular hourly rate for all time worked beyond the customary or standard limit. "Time and a quarter" represents a twenty-five per cent increase, while "double time" is twice the regular hourly rate. Where payment is made on a PIECE WORK basis, the terms "rate and a half," "double rate," etc., are commonly used in designation of parallel increases over the normal piece rate.

Time and Motion Study. The essential and fundamental device by which SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT aims "to discover and put into effect the objective facts and laws of industrial efficiency." In the larger and more theoretical sense, it consists, according to Professor Hoxie, of "little less than a universal method of attempted accurate industrial analysis, usable with or without the stop-watch, to discover, at almost every step of the productive and distributive process, not only the most effective material, organic, and human arrangements, adaptations, and combinations, but the reasonable demands which can be made upon the intelligence and energy of the management as well as the men, and the just apportionment of the product to all the factors and individuals concerned." In its simpler practical application, it consists in the determination of the least possible time and the least possible expenditure of human or mechanical energy required to perform an individual job or task, by recording, analyzing, and synthesizing the time and motions of the worker in each of the constituent operations, the result of this process

being made the basis for payment of the worker. (See TIME STUDY; MOTION STUDY; TIME-STUDY MAN; TASK; OVER-ALL TIME STUDY; EMERSON SYSTEM; GANTT SYSTEM.)

Time of Wage Payment. It is generally accepted as a part of the wage bargain that the worker shall receive pay at the end of a certain period of work; in other words, he advances to his employer a day's work, or a week's work, or a month's work, as the case may be, and at the end of the time receives his pay. The longer the interval between payments, therefore, the larger is the loan which the worker makes to his employer without interest. Practically all foreign countries and two-thirds of the states in this country have attempted to regulate the time of wage payment, and have adopted weekly or fortnightly payment laws applying either to all employers or only to corporations or special industries. In the United States such laws have been often declared unconstitutional, as interfering with FREEDOM OF CONTRACT. Other forms of "time of payment laws" require that payment of wages shall be made during working hours, that a discharged employee shall be paid immediately upon discharge, and that an employee quitting shall be paid on the next regular pay day.

Time Study. As inherent in all schemes of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, this process is described by G. D. H. Cole as follows: "Before a job is priced [*i.e.* before the worker's wage on the particular job is fixed] an expert rate-fixer will overlook the doing of the job under ideal conditions by a selected worker. He will note the time taken not merely for the operation as a whole, but for all the various parts of which the operation is made up—the handling time, the machine time, and not merely these in general, but handling and machine times divided into the greatest possible number of distinct but connected operations. . . A study of this kind will be repeated several times with the same or different workmen and on the same or different machines. When a sufficient mass of data has been accumulated, the experts will proceed to work out the time that ought to be allowed for the doing of the job. They will add together the various times taken for the particular parts of the operation under test conditions and will make an allowance of so much per cent on the total time taken, or perhaps different percentages for machine time and handling time. These allowances will be made in order that the time fixed for the job may not be the least time in which the job can be done by a good workman under ideal conditions, but may allow a margin sufficient to enable the ordinary worker engaged from day to day upon the job to make upon it a percentage over and above his

day-rate." The stop or split-second watch, for timing each operation or part of an operation, is an indispensable adjunct to this process, which is therefore often colloquially known as "stop-watching." (See TIME AND MOTION STUDY; OVER-ALL TIME STUDY; TIME-STUDY MAN.)

Time-Study Man. An official in an industrial plant operated under any system of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, who conducts the TIME AND MOTION STUDY in the plant. Under the TAYLOR SYSTEM, which involves the use of the split-second watch, he must be an experienced and technically trained chronometrist.

Time Work. The system or method of wage payment under which the worker is paid according to a unit of time—by the hour, day, or week—instead of according to a unit of production or unit of effort, as in PIECE WORK. While the two systems thus seem to be fundamentally opposed, they in fact possess a common basis. A time work system is never without relation to output, because an employer invariably expects a certain amount of work from the workman, whom he can discharge if this amount is not forthcoming. As it is put by Schloss, in his "Industrial Remuneration": "Although under the method of time-wage the remuneration of the employee is fixed without any direct reference to the amount of labor which he shall perform within a given period, yet the performance of not less than, or not more than a given amount of work within a given period of time forms in many cases virtually a part of the contract between the employee working on time-wage and his employer." On the other hand, piece work prices are almost invariably fixed with reference to a time standard. When such a standard is definitely stated and enforced, time work passes over into the TASK SYSTEM. The time work method is usually adopted when one or more of certain conditions prevail, as for example: (1) When the quantity of output is not easily measurable or ascertainable; (2) when the article produced is the joint product of several workers; (3) when delicate and costly machinery is used; (4) when the material utilized is expensive; (5) when the work is of an abnormal nature, such as repair work. (See WAGE PAYMENT METHODS; OVERTIME; GRADING SYSTEM; INCREMENTAL SCALE; PRODUCTION STANDARDS; DAY WORK; HOUR WORK; WEEK WORK; STAB WORK; BONUS SYSTEM; PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM; HORIZONTAL WAGE.)

Timekeeping. See CLOCKING.

Timing. See TIME STUDY.

Timekeeping Committee. In British industry, a special joint committee, representing both workers and management, which endeavors to reduce the number of absentees from work and to plan ways and means for increasing output. In coal-mining, such a committee is variously known as the Pithead, Output, or Absentee Committee.

Tipple Time. In connection with coal-mining, "tipple time" is a term used to denote the actual time during which a mine is being operated, as expressed in hours or in days. The "tipple" is the place where loaded cars from the coal pit are tipped or unloaded.

Tolling. The practice, on a worker's part, of paying tribute to a foreman or superintendent for the privilege of being given employment or securing promotion. (See JOB SELLING.)

Tommy. Originally a popular nickname in England for a penny roll, then by extension for bread and provisions of any kind. With the introduction of the TRUCK SYSTEM, or the payment of workers in goods rather than in money, "tommy" was soon generally used as a synonym for that system. A "tommy shop" was an employer's shop conducted under the truck system; while "to tommy" meant to enforce that system, or to oppress or defraud workers by means of the system.

Tommy Shop. See TOMMY.

Tonnage Men. Those workers in steel mills, coal mines, etc., who are paid on a PIECE WORK basis—that is to say, at so much per ton of material produced or handled—are often so called.

Tool Insurance. In those trades where it is customary for workers to provide their own tools (*e.g.*, carpentry, wood working, etc.) the trade union commonly insures the tools of its members against loss by fire or other accident. In some unions a special tool insurance fund is maintained apart from the regular benefit fund, small periodical assessments being made upon the members in support of the fund.

Tory. See REACTIONARY.

Town Economy. This, the second historical stage in economic organization, is chiefly marked by the first differentiation between producer and consumer and by the first use of money as a medium of exchange. Whereas the basis of HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY is blood-relationship, that of town economy is contiguity. The consumer

under household economy is either himself a laborer or the owner of laborers; under town economy he makes a direct purchase of labor (wage work) or of the product of labor (handicraft). There is the formation of, or division into, trades within the town, or a partition of production between town and country. Itinerant trade is succeeded by market trade, but the ENTREPRENEUR has not yet appeared. As town economy succeeded household economy, so it was in turn gradually superseded by NATIONAL ECONOMY. (See HANDICRAFT SYSTEM; GUILD.)

Town Union. A labor organization whose entire membership consists of workers in a single town or locality. The Butte Workingmen's Union, made up of unskilled laborers employed in the Butte copper-mining district, is an example of this type of organization. It differs from an ordinary local union in that it has no affiliation with any national or international union, or with locals in any other cities.

Towne System. See GAIN SHARING.

Trade. In connection with labor affairs, this term usually denotes either (1) a specific craft or occupation in the field of manual employments; or (2) the collective body of workers engaged at a single specific craft or occupation.

Trade Agreement. A formal compact resulting from COLLECTIVE BARGAINING between an employer or group of employers and one or more trade unions, and dealing with wages, hours, conditions of employment, or any other matters connected with the relationships between employers and employees. It seeks to establish, through mutual and voluntary adjustments, a joint code of working relations that will make unnecessary any resort to the strike or lockout, and will tend to cooperation and industrial peace. The essential parts of a typical trade agreement are described by Professor Hoxie as follows: "(1) A preamble, defining the parties to the agreement, its scope or field, its duration, and its general purpose. (2) A legislative code, giving the WORKING RULES, etc. The points covered by the legislative part of the agreement range from wages and hours to the most minute regulation of all the technical conditions or incidents of work and pay. (3) A judicial code defining the mode of interpretation. (4) An executive part, providing a mode of enforcement. Not all trade agreements have all these distinct and essential parts. They range from the rudimentary ones, including the preamble and legislative code, to those which are most formal and

elaborate, containing all parts." Trade agreements may be local, regional, or national in scope, and they may relate to either a single establishment, a single craft, or an entire industry. They may run for a definite specified period (known as "time agreements") or they may be terminated at any time upon due notice by either side (called "indeterminate agreements"). It should be noted that the law does not usually recognize a trade agreement as a contract. "The courts will not usually enforce it as they enforce individual contracts. Such a contract, so called, will not bind anybody by the force of law. A contract with a trade union is not a contract in law —it is merely an understanding, or a usage, or a joint agreement, that, when the real LABOR CONTRACT is made between individual employer and employee, it will be made according to the terms of the joint agreement. . . . The legislature might, of course, change the law and provide for the legal enforcement of the collective bargain. This would be COMPULSORY ARBITRATION. But as it now stands a joint trade agreement is a kind of usage or understanding agreed to by two opposing interests and generally enforced on individuals by the coercive weapons of STRIKE, LOCKOUT, BOYCOTT, or BLACKLIST." If trade agreements were legally enforceable the employing side, as ex-Secretary of Labor Wilson has recently pointed out, "would be free, in a contingency prejudicial to that side, to ignore its contract with impunity by restricting or stopping output as unprofitable; yet if the contingency were prejudicial to the wage earners, they could not quit work without subjecting themselves to penalties of the law for a breach. To permit collective bargains to be legally enforceable would be to discourage the making of them; to leave their fulfillment to the good sense and good faith of each side, would encourage their making and thereby promote industrial peace." Trade agreements are also variously known as collective, joint, labor, industrial, and working agreements; also as collective bargains, union contracts, and labor contracts. (See AGREEMENT SYSTEM; EXCLUSIVE AGREEMENT; NATIONAL AGREEMENT; SHOP AGREEMENT; STANDARD AGREEMENT; WAGE AGREEMENTS IN GERMANY; TRADE ARBITRATION.)

Trade Arbitration. Both in the United States and in Great Britain it is common to find boards composed of an equal number of representatives of organizations of employers and employees, which have power to decide authoritatively minor disputes between members of the organizations. In Great Britain these are often called boards of conciliation, but in this country they are more commonly known

as arbitration boards or arbitration committees. The term "arbitration" seems fairly applicable to the decisions of such committees, despite the fact that there is no appeal to any person outside the trade. The settlement of disputes in such cases is not reached by negotiation directly between the parties concerned, but by the binding decision of higher representatives of the organizations to which they belong—representatives supposedly free from the personal bias and feelings of animosity which are likely to exist among those immediately concerned in disputes. This system of settling differences within the trade, without appeal to outside agencies, is often called "trade arbitration" or "arbitration within the trade." But even when outside umpires or arbitrators are called in, these phrases are sometimes used, as distinguishing the general system described from any form of state or other governmental method of arbitrating industrial disputes. (See ARBITRATION; CONTINUOUS ARBITRATION; IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN; IMPARTIAL MACHINERY; CONFERENCE BOARDS; LABOR MANAGER; AGREEMENT SYSTEM; ADJUSTMENT BOARD; GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE.)

Trade Autonomy. See AUTONOMY.

Trade Benefits. See BENEFITS.

Trade Boards. Under the original British Trade Boards Act of 1909, these were statutory bodies set up to fix MINIMUM WAGES in four notoriously "sweated" trades—chain-making, lace-finishing, box-making, and tailoring. In 1918 the Act was amended so as to be applicable to other industries. As the law now stands, the Minister of Labor, if he considers that there is no effective machinery for the regulation of wages throughout a trade and that in view of the rate of wages prevailing in it a trade board is desirable, may make a special order with a view to setting up a board. It is open to any interested party to object and to demand an inquiry, but the Minister has complete discretion to take whatever action he thinks best, when he has heard the result of the inquiry. The trade board consists of an equal number of representatives of employers and workers in the trade, to whom is added a neutral chairman, and two or four persons unconnected with the trade, who are known as "appointed members." The size of the board depends upon the size of the trade. The board must fix a minimum rate or rates of wages for TIME WORK, and, where no other rate has yet been fixed, piece workers must be paid at rates sufficient to yield an ordinary worker at least as much as the minimum time rate. The board can fix different rates for different classes of

workers or for different districts. When the minimum wages fixed by a trade board have been confirmed by the Minister of Labor, they are enforceable by criminal proceedings, and officers are appointed to secure their observance. The minimum rates thus become part of the law of the land.

Trade Boycott. See BOYCOTT.

Trade Club. The oldest and simplest type of labor organization, consisting of a comparatively small number of workers following the same occupation in the same locality. Historically, the trade club was the governmental unit of the early labor organizations, although in some trades the workers of a single establishment were grouped in a SHOP CLUB, such as the printers' CHAPEL, which was, and still is—an important administrative unit of the trade union. In America at least, the trade clubs are now extinct, having gradually expanded into or been absorbed by the local trade unions.

Trade Dispute. As officially defined in the British NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT, a trade dispute means "any dispute between employers and workmen or between workmen and workmen, which is connected with the employment or non-employment, or the terms of employment, or with the conditions of labor, of any persons, whether workmen in the employment of the employer with whom the dispute arises or not." (See STRIKE.)

Trade Disputes Act. Following the momentous TAFF VALE DECISION, which vitally undermined the fighting strength of British trade unionism, five years of agitation on the part of organized British labor resulted, in 1906, in the passage of a Parliamentary enactment known as the Trade Disputes Act. This measure, which is perhaps the most important piece of labor legislation in recent times, contains the following provisions: "(1) An agreement or combination of two or more persons to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen shall not be indictable as a conspiracy if such an act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime. An act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons shall, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the act, if done without any such agreement or combination, would be actionable. (2) An action against a trade union, whether of workmen or masters, or against any members or officials thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been

committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be entertained by any court. (3) An act done by a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be actionable on the ground only that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment or that it is an interference with the trade, business, or employment of some other person, or with the right of some other person to dispose of his capital or his labor as he wills. (4) It shall be lawful for one or more persons, acting either on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union or of an individual employer or firm in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working. (5) Every person who, with a view to compel any other person to abstain from doing or to do any act which such other person has a legal right to do or abstain from doing, wrongfully and without legal authority—(*a*) uses violence to or intimidates such other person or his wife or children, or injures his property; or (*b*) persistently follows such other person about from place to place; or (*c*) hides any tools, clothes, or other property owned or used by the other person, or deprives him of or hinders him in the use thereof; or (*d*) watches or besets the house or other place where such other person resides, or works, or carries on business, or happens to be, or the approach to such a house or place; or (*e*) follows such other person with two or more other persons in a disorderly manner in or through any street or road, shall on conviction thereof by a court of summary jurisdiction, or an indictment as hereinafter mentioned, be liable either to pay a penalty not exceeding twenty pounds, or to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months, with or without hard labor." It is worth noting that the British courts have since decided that a trade union need not be actually engaged in a dispute in order to gain the protection of the Trade Disputes Act. This measure is generally regarded as the main charter of British trade unionism.

Trade Education. See INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

Trade Extension Schools. See PART-TIME SCHOOLS.

Trade Jurisdiction. See JURISDICTION.

Trade Monopoly. See MONOPOLY POLICY OF TRADE UNIONISM.

Trade Movements. STRIKES and LOCKOUTS are sometimes so called by trade unionists.

Trade Organs. Nearly every important labor organization of national scope in the United States issues a periodical devoted wholly or mainly to the organization's own interests. There are, of course, very broad differences of policy and of value between the journals of the several organizations. Many of them contain interesting discussions, from the trade union point of view, of important social questions. Others are confined entirely to the chronicling of events whose interest is practically confined to the members of the particular trade concerned. Some of them publish in every issue a list of all the LOCALS of their organizations and of the principal local officers. Some devote much space to local reports of the condition of trade. They are generally the medium of the financial reports of the national officers, and detailed reports of accessions and losses of membership are often given. The great majority of the journals are published monthly. A few appear weekly. In many cases they are sent free to all members of the organization, and are supported either out of the general funds of the organization or by a special tax. These journals are usually edited by one of the regular officers of the national union, but in a few cases a special editor is employed. (See LABOR PRESS.)

Trade Parliament. This term is often used in England as synonymous with a NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL under the WHITLEY PLAN.

Trade Preparatory Schools. See PART-TIME SCHOOLS.

Trade Privilege Benefit. As occasionally found in some trade unions (as for example the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners), this is in practical effect a combined strike and lockout BENEFIT.

Trade Risk Principle. As sometimes recognized in EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY laws, this is the principle or conception that a large number of industrial accidents occur through no fault of either employer or employee, but simply as a consequence of certain industrial processes, or, as it is sometimes called, the "general hazard of the industry"; and that the employer, as the representative of the industry, should bear the financial burden of such accidents, rather than the injured worker. The social and legal recognition of this principle paved the way in large part for the idea of WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION. The term "professional risk" is sometimes used in designation of this principle.

Trade Rules. See WORKING RULES.

Trade Schools. As a direct substitute for APPRENTICESHIP, the trade school aims to impart a thorough practical knowledge of some specific trade or craft. Such schools are sometimes a part of the public educational system; sometimes they are organized and maintained under private endowment; sometimes they are carried on in connection with large industrial establishments, for the training of beginners. In its simplest form, trade school instruction "is confined entirely or chiefly to the workshop, and consists in perfecting the pupil in the practice of the manipulations and operations of skilled workmen at particular trades." The training may be either brief and intensive, or it may cover a period of three or four years. As a general rule, trade schools do not admit applicants under sixteen years of age. (See AUCHMUTY SYSTEM; PART-TIME SCHOOLS; FACTORY SCHOOLS; RAILWAY SCHOOLS; TEXTILE SCHOOLS; FACHSCHULEN; ÉCOLES NATIONALES PROFESSIONALES.)

Trade Tests. Methods of determining the skill or capacity of industrial workers—particularly applicants for jobs. The tests consist usually of (1) a series of questions, written answers to which are required; (2) pictures in which the worker is asked to identify tools or parts of machinery; (3) actual performance tests at the specific work. In addition, general intelligence tests are sometimes given, also tests to disclose any specialized ability. (See RATING SCALE.)

Trade Union. Perhaps the best general definition of this term is that by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb: "A continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives." Associations of this sort have existed in England for more than two centuries, and in the United States since 1792, under various names—institutions, associations, clubs, societies, TRADE CLUBS, trade societies, unions, union societies, etc. In the early thirties of the 19th century, the term TRADES' UNION began to appear in both England and the United States, in designation of a union of the trades in a single city. Later, in the form "trade union," the term was turned back and applied to the separate trade clubs or trade societies, and then to the national or international unions of local societies in the same trade. When the local American trade unions of a single city again began to unite in the sixties, the resulting combinations were called "trades' assemblies," "central labor unions," etc. Now the general term CENTRAL BODIES or CITY CENTRALS is used in the United States to designate what were the "trades' unions" of the thirties and the "trades' assemblies," etc., of the sixties, and the terms "trades union" and

"trade union" are used interchangeably in designation of any form of organization on the part of wage-earners "to improve or maintain the conditions of their working lives." Geographically speaking, a trade union may be either (1) *local*, including the workers of a single town or city; (2) *district*, covering a larger territorial subdivision of a country; (3) *national*, covering an entire country; (4) *continental*, as in the case of the so-called American "international" unions which maintain local units in Canada or Mexico; (5) *intercontinental*, as in the case of those British unions which maintain branches in America and other English-speaking countries; or (6) *international*, as in the case of the International Miners' Federation, which covers practically the entire world. The CRAFT UNION and the INDUSTRIAL UNION represent the two main structural types of trade union organization; although these, like the main functional types (BUSINESS UNIONISM, REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM, UPLIFT UNIONISM, etc.) tend to overlap or vary in such a way that strict classification is difficult without formulating several sub-species. According to Professor Hoxie, the trade union "goes back in its genesis ultimately to the common needs and problems of the wageworkers; it arises immediately out of the consciousness of the common or group character of those needs and problems; it exists for common action looking to the betterment of the living conditions; it appears primarily as a group interpretation of the social situation in which the workers find themselves, and a remedial program in the form of aims, policies, and methods; the organization and the specific form or structure which it takes are merely the instruments which the group adopts for propagating its viewpoint and putting its program into effect." Among modern social theorists, the conception of the trade union ranges from that of a useful means of raising wages and shortening hours in industry, to that of the sole instrument for the abolition of CAPITALISM and the WAGE SYSTEM. But whether its ultimate aims be "peaceful" or "revolutionary," the immediate and fundamental object of a trade union is to put the seller of labor on an equality with the buyer as regards bargaining strength. The individual worker lacks any reserve that will enable him to hold out for a fair price for his labor. By associating with other workers and forming a common fund, he can place a "reserve price" on his labor, because his union will maintain him while he refuses to work at less than the STANDARD RATE. The individual worker sells labor retail, while the employer buys it wholesale. By associating with the other workers in his trade, the seller is put on at least an approximate equality with the buyer; the employer is no longer dealing with an isolated worker, constrained

by necessity to take any terms offered him, but with an organized group which can in large degree sell or refrain from selling its joint services on the merits of the terms offered it. The individual worker, as a rule, lacks experience in bargaining and is ignorant of general conditions in the labor market. By associating with other workers, he is able to secure the services of an expert negotiator, familiar with the psychology and methods of bargaining, whose purpose it is to make the best possible terms for the group which he represents. These are the chief economic reasons that make for the group association of workers in a trade union. (See Local; Labor Union; District Union; General Labor Unions; Compound Craft Union; Material Trade Union; Town Union; Mixed Union; Closed Union; Dual Union; Plant Union; Rump Union; Sex Unions; Teachers' Unions; Middle-Class Unions; Outside Union; Regular Union; Company Union; Christian Unions; Social Democratic Unions; Red Union; Yellow Union; Black Union; Syndicat; Brotherhood; Society; Unionization.)

Trade Union Act of 1871. A British Parliamentary enactment which, together with certain amendments and modifications contained in the Trade Union Act of 1876, for the first time clearly legalized the status of British trade unionism by providing that a trade union should not be held to be unlawful merely because its objects are in "restraint of trade." This carried with it the legal recognition of agreements made by trade unions. But the Act also contained a descriptive clause which (as modified by the Act of 1876) defined a trade union as an association existing for the regulation of the relations between workmen and masters, or between workmen and workmen, or between masters and masters, or the imposing of restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, and the provision of benefits to members. This definition made no allowance for the political activities which later became so important a part of British trade unionism; and upon this fact was based the obnoxious Osborne judgment of 1909.

Trade Union Act of 1876. See Trade Union Act of 1871.

Trade Union Act of 1913. A British Parliamentary enactment which in part at least removed the serious limitations placed upon organized British labor by the Osborne judgment. Under this statute, a trade union is authorized to include in its objects, on certain defined conditions, the expenditure of money on candidatures

for Parliament or any public office, and on the distribution of literature, the holding of meetings, electoral registration work, and the maintenance of elected representatives. The conditions are: (1) That a ballot of the union must first have been taken, and a majority of those voting have declared in favor of such political action; (2) that the political fund must be kept separate, and no member obliged to contribute to it if he gives notice that he objects; and (3) that contribution to this political fund must not be made a condition of admission to the union, nor must any member who refuses to contribute be penalized on that account by being excluded from any benefits or put under any disability or disadvantage as compared with his fellows. (See TRADE UNION ACT OF 1871.)

Trade Union (Amalgamation) Act. A British Parliamentary enactment of 1917, which removed in part some of the legal difficulties regarding trade union AMALGAMATION embodied in previous Trade Union Acts. Until this measure was passed, two trade unions could not amalgamate unless such action had been approved by a two-thirds vote of all the members of each union. Under the act of 1917, the amalgamation proposal must be voted on by at least fifty per cent of the membership of each union, and must be approved by at least a twenty per cent majority of those voting.

Trade Union College of Washington, D. C. Organized in May, 1919, by a group of trade unionists and others interested in WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION. As set forth in its constitution, "the object of the college shall be to provide educational opportunities for those who work for a livelihood, by establishing lecture and study courses or by such other methods as may seem practicable. Active membership shall be confined to local unions which are, either directly or through a national or international union, affiliated with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR." A varied list of courses was given during the first year, including English composition and literature, political science, law, and industrial subjects.

Trade Union Cooperation. While COÖPERATION is commonly considered as one phase of the labor movement, having been initiated and mainly developed by the working classes, its direct association with trade unionism has until recently been largely of a desultory and sporadic nature in the United States. As far as definite organization on any considerable scale is concerned, the first stages of trade union cooperation may be associated with the SOVEREIGNS OF INDUSTRY (1874–1879), which established several stores under the

ROCHDALE PLAN. The KNIGHTS OF LABOR and other organizations carried on experiments in PRODUCERS' COOPERATION; but except as a temporary expedient in time of strikes they met with little success. During the past ten years, however, there has been a marked development of trade union cooperation, particularly on the producing side; and it promises to play a most important part in the future of trade unionism. Several unions now own and operate large cooperative factories, principally for supplying articles of wearing apparel to members of the unions. In Seattle, the federated trade unions own and operate a general store, a slaughter-house and meat-packing establishment, a market, a bank, a laundry, a printing shop, a restaurant, a milk condensary, several shingle mills, a fish cannery, a jewelry factory, and a number of recreation centres. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers recently opened in Cleveland, Ohio, a cooperative national bank, capitalized at one million dollars. In several European countries the cooperative movement is either wholly or largely identified with the organized labor movement.

Trade Union Government—Local. While variations of detail are found in different organizations, the government of local labor bodies in the United States conforms in main outline with the following summary, taken from Glocker's "Government of American Trade Unions": "The government of a local union is essentially government by mass-meeting. The whole body of members, assembling each month, each fortnight, or oftener, is the final authority for the transaction of all business,—legislative, executive, and judicial. The general meeting may adopt amendments to the BY-LAWS, may suspend or expel a member, may order the purchase of an account book, or may declare a strike. . . . The general meeting has been very reluctant to delegate any of its powers; but of necessity various boards and committees have gradually been created. Many of these committees are appointed for a particular purpose, and are discharged when that purpose has been attained. Nevertheless, certain standing committees have also emerged, the most important of which is the executive committee. This board exercises a wide though varying number of specially delegated powers, but any of its decisions may be overruled by the general meeting. . . . Another important committee of the local union is the judiciary or grievance committee, which considers charges. Sometimes a special committee is created when a member is brought to trial. Occasionally the executive board is vested with this judicial authority, but more frequently a special standing committee exists for this purpose. Another

standing committee is the membership committee; another is the finance committee, one of whose most important duties is to audit the accounts of the officers having charge of the funds. The officers of the local union are commonly a president, who is chairman at meetings of the society, a vice-president, a recording secretary, a treasurer, a corresponding secretary, and frequently also a financial secretary who keeps account of receipts and expenditures. Sometimes the recording secretary acts as corresponding or as financial secretary; sometimes the offices of corresponding secretary and financial secretary are combined. Usually the local officers are unpaid, or are paid a nominal sum. They work at their trade, and perform their official duties during spare time. The duties of the local and financial secretary are exceptionally onerous in unions which, like the Cigar Makers, maintain a variety of BENEFITS, and many of the larger local unions in such trades pay him a salary. The paid financial secretary devotes his entire time to the union, and receives usually the rate of wages prevailing in the trade. Not only does he keep the financial accounts, but he also performs in many instances the work of corresponding secretary, recording secretary, and treasurer. The other paid official in the local union is the WALKING DELEGATE or, as the trade unionists prefer to call him, the BUSINESS AGENT. The business agent adjusts disputes between employers and their workmen, and thus replaces the committees of the shops and local union which would otherwise perform this service." (See ADMITTANCE TO THE TRADE UNION; FINANCES OF TRADE UNIONS; DISCIPLINE; STRIKE CONTROL; STEWARD; SHOP STEWARD; AUTONOMY; CENTRALIZATION.)

Trade Union Government—National. There are four main factors in the governmental machinery of an American NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL UNION—the NATIONAL CONVENTION, the NATIONAL OFFICERS, the GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, and the INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM. The comparative importance of these four factors varies considerably in different unions, but the general tendency has been toward a gradual shifting of chief authority from the first-named factor in the group to the last-named. This shifting process, as described in Glocker's "Government of American Trade Unions," "may be marked off into three very roughly defined stages. During the first of these, the representative assembly has been the chief, in fact, almost the sole organ of government. . . . The amount of executive work is very limited, and the few unpaid officials are elected from among the delegates at the convention primarily for the performance

of certain services at its sessions, and they have few or no other duties. The second stage appears with the growth of the activities of the central organization, and is marked by the creation of certain paid and unpaid officials and boards of management which levy assessments, sanction the declaration of strikes, perform innumerable detailed executive duties, make judicial decisions, and sometimes exercise a limited legislative power during the period between conventions. The representative assembly remains, however, the highest authority in the organization. . . . At the same time, the influence of the paid officers over the convention grows rapidly. Giving their entire time to the work of the union, these officials gain an intimate knowledge of the conditions of the trade and the internal affairs of the association, and the delegates must rely greatly on their judgment. . . . In the third stage, government by popular vote is substituted for government by the representatives. . . . Some unions have abolished conventions, or convoke them at infrequent intervals. Another group continues to hold conventions regularly, but submits all enactments of that body to the vote of the members. A few unions require that appeals from judicial and strike decisions of the officers be made no longer to the convention but to the general membership. In others the only change has been that the officers are now elected by vote of the members, and not as formerly by convention. In another fairly large group the referendum is used merely to adopt emergency legislation between the sessions of the representative assembly, and since the representatives are at liberty to revoke or amend such emergency legislation, the power of convention is in no wise limited. Finally, there remains a considerable number of unions which refer no questions of any kind to popular vote, and in these the convention continues to be the primary organ of government." (See DEPUTY SYSTEM; DISCIPLINE; FINANCES OF TRADE UNIONS; STRIKE CONTROL; AUTONOMY; CENTRALIZATION.)

Trade Union Internationale. See INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS; INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

Trade Union Organization in Russia. The structure of the All-Russia Metal Workers' Union, one of the twenty-three national trade unions or "All-Russia Professional Alliances" into which practically all Russian workers "by hand or brain" are organized, is thus outlined by the secretary of its Central Committee: "The Metal Workers' Union at the present moment is a national organization which embraces all those engaged in the metal and metal work-

ing industry. All workers engaged in obtaining metal from the mines and working this metal in any form, from smelting to the making of machines and metal implements, are included in our Union. Besides this it includes all occupations in a metallurgical or metal-working undertaking irrespective of category or trade. Thus, our members include skilled and unskilled workers, the office staff, technicians, and enginers; workers engaged on different crafts in the metal works, as the wood mould makers for instance, are all included in our union. This principle of industrial organization was accepted by the union in 1917, and to a considerable degree constituted our strength in the revolutionary class struggle. At the present moment it is an essential condition of the work of the union in organizing the metal industry on socialist foundations. . . . The scheme of organization of the metal workers' union is based on the following: The primary organization is the factory committee. This is elected every six months at a general meeting of workers and employees and generally consists of from 5 to 11 members. The main task of the committee is to carry out all the trade union regulations in the factory; it deals with the protection of labor, trade union agitation and propaganda, supplies the workers with necessities, clothes as well as articles of general consumption, and maintains the fundamental basis of trade union and industrial discipline among the members of the union. The Conference of Factory Committees of a given industrial area, usually a territorial area a little smaller than a 'government' (*gubernia*), is the higher directing organ within that area. This conference elects the regional committee which manages these regional branches of the All-Russia Union of Metal Workers. Usually these committees are in the industrial centres of the regions. As subsidiary machinery the regional Committee may have its agents in the various towns embraced by it, but these are not obligatory; such agents are usually elected at local meetings of the members and carry out the instructions of the higher organ. The Congress of the union is held once a year; the representatives at this conference are elected at regional conferences on the basis of strict proportion of one delegate to every 2,000 members. The Conference elects the central committee of the union. The regulations of the Congress and, in the intervals between congresses, the regulations of the Central Committee, are obligatory upon all the organs of the union and upon all the members. The union also allows the organization of sections for those categories of labor the working conditions of which are to some extent peculiar, or to those who have comparatively recently entered into the organization. These sections are organized in the form of

elected subsidiary organs attached to the general trade union, but they have not the right to carry out any independent resolutions without the sanction of the union, nor can they have separate funds. . . . The metal workers' union is in this manner one complete organization, strongly welded by the common interests of the metal working industry." (See TRADE UNIONS IN RUSSIA.)

Trade Union Survey. See LABOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT.

Trade Unions in Russia. Before the revolution of 1917 trade unions were under the Czarist ban, and in February, 1917, there were said to be only three trade unions in Russia, with a combined membership of 1,385. With the installation of a working-class government under the Bolsheviki, trade unions immediately sprang into being as one of the most vital national factors. Under the Soviet labor code every Russian wage earner must become a member of a trade union, whereupon he is assigned by the "valuation committee" of his union to a certain trade and class. The trade unions embrace all persons, without exception, who are engaged in "socially valuable" work of whatever sort. Organization is along the broadest lines of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. All workers of a given industry—skilled and unskilled, men and women, manual workers, clerks, technical engineers, etc.—are grouped in a single trade union of national scope. There are now twenty-three of these national organizations, or "professional alliances," embracing practically the entire working-force of Russia, "manual" and "mental" workers alike. The nucleus of a national or "All-Russia" professional alliance is the factory committee; all factory committees of a given district unite to form a branch of the national body; all branches in a given province unite to form a provincial department; and these factory committees, branches, and departments make up the national trade union. The national unions are federated in an ALL-RUSSIAN COUNCIL OF PROFESSIONAL ALLIANCES. In order to understand the Russian trade union movement it is necessary to bear in mind that (1) there are no CRAFT UNIONS or craft guilds and no YELLOW UNIONS in Russia; and (2) there are no trade unions outside of those federated in the All-Russian Council of Professional Alliances. The trade unions of Russia, unlike those of any other country, exercise an important political function, in that they are an essential part of the Soviet governmental machinery. Their economic functions are also of wider scope and greater importance than those of any other country. They participate directly in the management of factories and industry, and play a leading part in the fixing of wage scales, the regulation of

SANITATION AND SAFETY, the control of SOCIAL INSURANCE and WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION, etc. Born of the revolution, they have been and still remain the heart of the revolutionary movement and the foundation upon which the whole structure of the Russian Republic is reared. (See TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION IN RUSSIA; WORKERS' CONTROL IN RUSSIA.)

Trade Unionism. The continuous movement or effort on the part of wage-earners to maintain and improve the conditions of their working lives through group organization and association. Trade unionism is no more than a single manifestation of a universal social tendency—"the tendency of men of similar temperament and similar environment and interest to get together for common action." Mr. and Mrs. Webb, in their standard work on "Industrial Democracy," distinguish three principal "instruments or levers" by which trade unionism seeks to attain its ends; these they call the method of MUTUAL INSURANCE, the method of COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, and the method of LEGAL ENACTMENT. The actual regulations which trade unionism endeavors to enforce through these "methods" are divided by the same authors under seven main heads, as follows: The STANDARD RATE, the NORMAL DAY, SANITATION AND SAFETY, INTRODUCTION OF NEW PROCESSES, CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT, the ENTRANCE INTO A TRADE, and the RIGHT TO A TRADE. All these regulations they conceive to be embodied in two main "expedients" of trade unionism—"the device of the COMMON RULE" and "the device of RESTRICTION OF NUMBERS." The Webb terminology, as indicated above, has been adopted by nearly all later writers. In every country present-day trade unionism divides into two main camps or currents. One, comprising the conservative forces, accepts the existing economic, political, and social order, and merely seeks the gradual improvement of working-class conditions within that order by means of POLITICAL ACTION, cooperation with employers, etc. The other main division refuses to accept present arrangements as either just or desirable, and seeks a revolutionary reconstruction of society along new lines designed to give the worker full control over the conditions of his working life and the full product of his individual labors. The recent growth and extent of trade unionism may best be judged from a statistical study lately made by the INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE of the League of Nations ("The Growth of Trade Unionism during the Ten Years, 1910–1919"). This study covered all important countries of the world with the exception of Russia, for which no figures are available, and China, Japan, and India, where trade

unionism has as yet made little development. According to this study, the total number of trade unionists at the close of 1919 in the twenty leading countries covered by the study was 32,680,000; as compared with 10,835,000 at the end of 1910, and 14,728,000 at the end of 1913. From these figures it will be seen that trade union membership in the twenty countries at the end of 1919 was three times as large as that at the end of 1910, and more than twice as large as that at the end of 1913, just before the war. A small part of the increase is due to the greater completeness of the returns, and another small part (probably about ten per cent) to the natural growth of population; but even allowing for these two factors, there has been an enormous growth in trade unionism among the workers. The growth is common to all countries. During the war unionism received a check, especially in the belligerent countries. The decline was especially great in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Czecho-Slovakia; but in all these countries trade union membership began to increase in 1917. The end of the year 1919 saw a phenomenal increase, especially in the central European States. For European countries only, the membership at the end of 1919 may be put at 26,000,000 at least, as compared with about 8,500,000 at the end of 1910. Of the total membership of 32,680,000 shown above, it is interesting to note that for five of the twenty countries included, namely, Great Britain, Germany, the United States, France, and Italy, the total trade union membership in 1919 amounted to nearly 27,000,000, leaving about 5,500,000 for the remaining fifteen countries. (For accounts of the chief forms of trade unionism, see BUSINESS UNIONISM; REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM; CRAFT UNIONISM; INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM; DEPENDENT UNIONISM; EMPLOYMENTAL UNIONISM; UPLIFT UNIONISM; PREDATORY UNIONISM; CLASS UNIONISM; MASS UNIONISM; MARXIAN INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM; PURE AND SIMPLE UNIONISM; NEW UNIONISM; OLD UNIONISM; NEW MODEL OF TRADE UNIONISM; DUAL UNIONISM. See also INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONISM.)

Trades Council—American. While any delegate body representative of several trade unions in a single locality or district is sometimes called a "trades council," this term is more commonly used in designation of one of the two main varieties of such bodies—that which is representative of several trade unions in related or allied trades, more properly known as an "allied trades council." In the building, printing, and metal trades are to be found the most conspicuous types of trades councils in this sense. Such bodies have

a plain economic basis, in that they represent men who work for the same employers or for employers who cooperate in the same industry. Their technical and industrial relations give them strength in united action. The SYMPATHETIC STRIKE, as it develops under their influence, is a formidable weapon. The building industry seems to offer the best field for them, and it is chiefly there that they have gained importance and have effected a marked improvement in the workman's condition. Trades councils often have power to determine local JURISDICTION and discipline local unions for violations; to act for the locals in making local agreements with employers; to act together in disciplining employers by strike or otherwise; and to assist employers in securing and maintaining monopoly of the field. (See BUILDING TRADES COUNCILS; METAL TRADES COUNCILS; ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCILS.)

Trades Council—British. A delegate body representative of several trade unions in a town or district, the principle of combination being locality, not occupation. There are now about five hundred such trades councils in Great Britain, with an aggregate affiliated membership of several millions of trade unionists. Since 1895 they have been excluded from representation in the TRADES UNION CONGRESS, but they are admitted as constituent units of the BRITISH LABOR PARTY. Their functions are thus described in Mr. and Mrs. Webb's "History of Trade Unionism": "Apart from their constant activity in municipal politics, and their energetic support of the Labor Party in all elections, the Trades Councils have, in the present century, considerably increased in usefulness. They have given valuable assistance in Trade Union propaganda, alike within their own districts and in the adjacent rural districts. No small part of the increase in Trade Union membership, notably among nondescript workers in the towns, and the agricultural laborers in the country, is to be ascribed to the constant work and support of some of the more active among them. They have done much to appease quarrels among the local branches of different Unions, and they are occasionally able to intervene successfully as arbitrators. Even without formal ARBITRATION they bring warring parties together. They nominate working-class representatives to many local committees and conferences, and serve in this way as useful links with public administration. Some of them have, of recent years, done a great deal to promote the better education of the artisan class." Both in organization and in functions, the British trades councils bear a strong resemblance to the American CITY CENTRALS. (See LOCAL LABOR PARTIES; LABOR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEES.)

Trades Union. Ordinarily the terms "trades union" and "trade union" are now used in a synonymous sense. Some writers, however, still maintain a former distinction, and apply the term "trades union" specifically to a federation of trade unions in various crafts or industries—as typified, for example, by a CITY CENTRAL or a STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Trades Union Congress. The great national federation or parliament of organized British labor, holding annual meetings of delegates from all the important trade unions of the country, together with special meetings called from time to time. The Congress originated in 1868. Any *bona fide* union is entitled to be represented by delegates and to vote in accordance with its numerical strength. Membership is not compulsory, and a few important national unions are still unaffiliated. TRADES COUNCILS have been excluded since 1895. At the meetings of the Congress, each constituent union is represented by one delegate for every 5000 members or fraction thereof. Voting on important questions is on the principle of one vote for every 1000 members represented; and the decisions arrived at must be ratified by the separate constituent bodies represented in the Congress, before they have binding effect. The value of the Congress lies first in the opportunity afforded for debate, for exchange of opinion, and for social intercourse, and secondly, in the appointment and instruction of its executive, the Parliamentary Committee. This body, consisting of sixteen members, with a paid secretary, elected annually by the whole assembly, is charged with the duties of watching all legislation directly affecting labor, initiating such legislative action as the Congress may direct, and preparing the programme of the Congress. It also transacts all the necessary business between the Congresses, and is thus a supreme executive council of the British trade union movement. In addition, a Joint Board consisting of representatives of the Parliamentary Committee, the BRITISH LABOR PARTY, and the GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS meets occasionally for the discussion and formulation of common policies. Six and a half million workers "by hand or brain" were represented in the September, 1920, meeting of the Trades Union Congress. One of the most important actions taken at this meeting was the approval of the scheme for a General Council to replace the Parliamentary Committee. This plan provides for a central coordinating body representing the whole trade union movement, to consist of thirty members, elected from seventeen trade union groups arranged by industries and represented on the Council

according to their numerical strength. Two representatives of women's trade unions will be included. The General Council will be in turn divided into five sub-committees, grouped according to industries; and each sub-committee, with a specialized salaried officer, will ultimately form a department of information, coordination, etc., for the particular group of trade unions and industries which it represents. The main general objects of the Council are stated to be "to keep watch over all industrial movements and where possible correlate industrial action; to promote common action on any general questions that might arise and assist any union attacked on any vital question of trade-union principle; to use its influence to promote settlement of disputes between trade-unions; assist trade-union organizations; carry on propaganda, and enter into relations with trade-union and labor movements in other countries."

Tramp Benefits. See TRAVELLING BENEFITS.

Tramp Card. See TRAVELLING CARD.

Tramp Industries. Those in which CASUAL LABOR OR MIGRATORY LABOR is largely employed. Lumbering is a typical tramp industry, particularly in the West.

Transfer Card. When a member in good standing of any local branch of a national or international trade union moves to another town in which there is also a LOCAL of the same national or international organization, he is generally given a "transfer card" which entitles him to membership in the local of his new town without payment of the usual INITIATION FEE. This card is sometimes called a "clear card," the implication being that the member is "clear" of debts to the local issuing the card. "Clearance card" is another variant. In 1906 the International Miners' Federation adopted a uniform transfer card which is recognized by miners' unions throughout the world. (See COMBINATION CARD; CARD SYSTEM.)

Transport Workers. In England, a common designation for all classes of workers engaged in the transport industry, other than railway workers. It includes sailors, marine engineers and firemen, DOCKERS and other WATERSIDE WORKERS, carters and motor truck drivers, etc. The chief unions of these workers are federated in the National Transport Workers' Federation—a member of the famous TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

Travelling Benefits. Payments or loans made generally by a trade union, but in some European countries by the government, to enable an unemployed laborer to travel to another place where

employment is promised or probable. Travelling benefits are usually provided in any comprehensive scheme of UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. Some British unions also make what are known as "emigration allowances" or "emigration benefits"—grants to members who are going abroad to better their economic status. Travelling benefits were often formerly, and occasionally are still, referred to as "tramp benefits." (See TRAVELLING CARD.)

Travelling Book. See TRAVELLING CARD.

Travelling Card. (1) In America, a card issued to trade unionists whose work takes them to various parts of the country, or who are travelling in search of employment, on account of death or sickness, or for the transaction of trade union business. This card indicates that the bearer is a member in good standing of some local branch of his national organization, and entitles him to temporary membership in LOCALS of the same national union in other towns, without payment of the usual INITIATION FEE. (2) In England, a card or small book of receipt forms issued to a trade union member who must leave his own town in search of work. It entitles him for a limited period to lodging and a meal in those towns where his national union maintains local branches such towns being sometimes known as "relief towns" on this account. "Tramp card" and "blank" are alternate names for the English "travelling card." (See COMBINATION CARD; CARD SYSTEM.)

Travelling Witnesses. In I. W. W. circles, this term is used in designation of certain ex-members of the I. W. W. organization who travel about at public expense from one locality to another, wherever prosecutions of I. W. W. members are in progress, for the purpose of giving testimony (usually of a luridly sensational character) against the organization.

Trespass. See OVERLAP.

Trial Board or Trial Committee. See DISCIPLINE.

Trick. See SHIFT SYSTEM.

Tripartite Control. Denotes the representation of workers, capitalists, and consumers in the management of industry. The consumers' interests, also known as the public interest, first achieved recognition in WAGE BOARDS for the arbitration of industrial disputes or the establishment of living standards, and the public thus came to be recognized as a legitimate third party. Tripartite control extends

this principle to the sphere of industrial management. (See UNITARY CONTROL; PLUMB PLAN.)

Triple Alliance. This, the first great inter-industrial federation in the British labor movement, was formed in 1913, and is made up of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the National Transport Workers' Federation. It represents a combined membership of more than a million and a half, or perhaps one-sixth of the entire adult male labor of the nation. The object of this great organization is to secure joint action and a common policy in connection with any industrial dispute of national extent. The three industries concerned are of course closely interrelated, and a strike in any one of them is bound seriously to affect the other two. But while its tremendous potential strength has often counted to good purpose in negotiations with employers and the government, the Triple Alliance has never yet been put to a direct and practical test. "To some extent," wrote G. D. H. Cole in 1918, "the very power of the machine presents an obstacle to its use, and its makers are fearful of the Frankenstein that they have made." This was the precise case in the great British coal strike of 1921. After fixing a definite date for "coming out" in the miners' behalf, the railwaymen and transport workers, seemingly overawed by the possible results of their action, made an eleventh hour reversal of their decision, and the Triple Alliance once more failed to fulfill its purpose. But while these events have seriously shaken the organization, there has as yet been no formal dissolution. In America, the term "triple alliance" has been applied at different times to several loose and shifting combinations of trade unions, farmers' organizations, and RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS. (See TRANSPORT WORKERS; ALL GRADES MOVEMENT.)

Truck Acts. See TRUCK SYSTEM.

Truck System. The payment of wages in goods or services rather than money. This system goes back a long way in English industrial history; but various Parliamentary Truck Acts (1831, 1887, 1896) have now largely done away with it in Great Britain. In the United States, the truck system is mainly associated with the COMPANY STORE and COMPANY HOUSING. Where the employer owns the store from which his employees are required to purchase their food, clothing, and supplies, or owns the houses in which they are required to reside, wages are often paid in cash only to the extent of such balances as may remain to the credit of the employee

after deducting his charges at the store or for rent. Even when wages are paid in cash, the employees are sometimes virtually compelled to deal at stores or to live in houses owned or controlled by the employer. Various state laws either prohibit the truck system altogether or else restrict it in an effort to prevent coercion, extortion, etc. But even when such laws are not declared unconstitutional (as they often have been), there is an inherent difficulty in enforcing the penalties of the law upon the employer, since prosecution must usually be instituted by the employee or by some one in his behalf. In either case the certainty of discharge makes him anxious to avoid the prosecution. Consequently almost the only cases where the law is enforced are in those industries where a strong labor organization has taken up the issue; and even then the result is not usually accomplished by a legal prosecution but by the ordinary direct influence of the union. In England the word "truck" is often used as a synonym for the truck system. Also called "order system" and "payment in kind." (See TOMMY; SCRIPT; LIVING-IN SYSTEM.)

Trust. As commonly understood in the United States, a trust is a permanent combination of capital on the part of several business enterprises, in number sufficient to represent a majority of those producing a given commodity or performing a given service. The principal object of such a combination is manifestly to control the production and price of its product; or in case of a combination of public utility companies, to dominate the territory affected, in the matter of rates and service. The term had its origin in the form of organization adopted in 1882, to combine the interests of competing producers of oil. The stockholders of all the CORPORATIONS which were parties to the agreement placed all their shares of stock in the hands of trustees and received in exchange trust certificates. These trustees had absolute power of voting the stock that was placed in their hands, and were therefore able to control the policy of each corporation which entered into the agreement. This form of combination was known as a "voting trust"; but because of legal difficulties, it soon gave way to the "holding company" method, under which a new corporation is formed, with power to purchase either for cash or with its own stock the stocks of the several companies included in the trust, the relation of trustee and trust thus being changed to that of owner and property, and the board of trustees giving way to a board of directors. Practically all present-day trusts are organized on this plan; but it should be noted that not all so-called "holding companies" are trusts, some being formed for purely financial serv-

ices. In relation to trade unionism, the trust presents a problem of peculiar difficulty. "It is here," says Dr. Weyforth, "that the employee labors under the greatest disadvantage in competition with thousands of his fellow workers under the process of INDIVIDUAL BARGAINING with the employer, who possess the advantage of having a restricted field of competing employers bidding for the same labor that he desires. It seems that here above all is the place where trade unionism is necessary for the purposes of COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. In just this field, however, are to be found the most glaring examples of its complete break-down. The fundamental factor in this situation is the superior strategical strength of the employer under such form of business organization. This superior strategical strength is due to three causes: (1) the greater financial resources of the trust and the difficulty of the union in obtaining a substantial foothold in the industry; (2) the control by the trust over a number of plants; (3) the restriction of the area of employment for the men." While a few national unions have combated the trust with a considerable degree of success, trade unionism has for the most part made little progress in this field. As a consequence, some of the worst labor conditions of today are to be found in certain "trustified" industries.

Trusteeing of Wages. See GARNISHMENT OF WAGES.

Turn List or Turn Bulletin. A trade union device for ensuring an equal division of work among union members during a period of slack production. In the JOINT INTERSTATE AGREEMENTS IN BITUMINOUS COAL-MINING, for example, it is usually provided that "the OPERATOR shall see that an equal turn is offered each miner and that he be given a fair chance to obtain the same. The CHECKWEIGHMAN shall keep a turn bulletin for the turn keeper's guidance." (See WORK SHARING.)

Turn System. See SHIFT SYSTEM.

Turnout. A STRIKE is often thus designated by the workers, particularly in England. (See WALKOUT; DOWN TOOLS.)

Turnover. See LABOR TURNOVER.

Turnway Societies. These organizations of Thames watermen, the purpose of which is to regulate the "turns" or order in which the men plying at any particular "stairs" serve the passengers who present themselves, constitute the most primitive form or method of WORK SHARING.

Tutorial Class Movement. The method of adult WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION in England and other parts of the British Empire, consisting of weekly lesson classes under the direction of salaried tutors for three-year courses in various non-vocational subjects, is so called. This work is mainly carried on under the direction of the WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION; it is financed by grants from national and local educational authorities and from the universities, by income from endowments, and by nominal fees from students.

Twelve-Hour Day. A continuous working day of twelve hours was at one time the rule rather than the exception in industry. Through the pressure of working-class organization it has been gradually eliminated, until it now survives mainly in those industries which have successfully resisted UNIONIZATION—chiefly in the American steel industry, where not only the twelve-hour day but the seven-day week has long been common for large numbers of workers. The evil effects, both individual and social, of the twelve-hour day have been set forth in detail in the special report on the "long day" in the steel industry, made for the Cabot Fund and published in "The Survey" of March 5, 1921. (See LONG TURN.)

Twenty-One Articles of Faith. See LENIN'S TWENTY-ONE CONDITIONS.

Twicer. In the British printing trades, a compositor who is also a pressman is so nicknamed. The term is also applied to a trade union official who tries to fill two jobs at once—for example, as the secretary of a national union and a LABOR MEMBER of Parliament.

Two and a Half Internationale. See INTERNATIONAL WORKING UNION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES.

Two Day-Shift System. That form of the SHIFT SYSTEM under which industrial work is carried on from dawn until dark by two sets or shifts of workers. Thus, under the British "Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act, 1920," women and YOUNG PERSONS may be legally employed in factories or workshops at any time between six A.M. and ten P.M. on any week-day except Saturday, and on Saturday between six A.M. and two P.M., in shifts averaging not more than eight hours a day each—provided government permission has been granted upon joint application of the employer and a majority of the workpeople in each factory or workshop.

Two-Shift System. See SHIFT SYSTEM.

Two-Machine System. In many industries there are certain machine-tools which require the attendance of a skilled machinist, but on which when once the piece of metal is properly set, the work proceeds automatically until the time comes for setting another piece. It is thus possible for one skilled workman to tend more than one such machine, and by so doing he can of course greatly increase his output. This form of labor-saving is strongly objected to by trade unions, on the ground that it reduces employment and so tends to lower the general scale of wages in the industry. (See MACHINE QUESTION; LIMITATION OF OUTPUT.)

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U. G. T. See UNION GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES.

U. I. L. See UNIONE ITALIANA DEL LAVORO.

U. S. I. See UNIONE SYNDICALE ITALIANA.

Ulster Unionist Labor Association. See IRISH LABOR PARTY AND TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Ulster Workers' Union. See IRISH LABOR PARTY AND TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Under-Consumption Theory. As commonly understood, the theory that the workers lack the necessary purchasing power to satisfy their legitimate wants. Until such wants are satisfied, what is called general OVER-PRODUCTION is simply general under-consumption. Because of low wages, UNEMPLOYMENT, etc., the workers must do without many commodities which they would otherwise consume; hence over-production and industrial shutdowns; hence unemployment, low wages, and loss of profits. Until a greater consuming power is given to the masses, it is held, there can be no break in the vicious circle. "The working people simply live from hand to mouth and consume what they get. The wealthy classes, with their large incomes, do not in fact consume all that comes to them. They therefore invest a large part of their incomes in productive enterprises. They add to the productive capacity more than the market will stand. In the end more goods are produced than there is a market for, and collapse necessarily comes. If the working people, who consume all they get, had a larger purchasing power, the consuming power of society as a whole would be greater, and its producing power would be less; so the phenomenon of congestion would not appear."

Under-Cover Men. Industrial spies are commonly so designated by their employers. They are private detectives (sometimes in the permanent employ of large industrial corporations or EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS, sometimes hired from LABOR DETECTIVE AGENCIES)

who pose as workingmen, join the latter's organizations, and attend their meetings for the purpose of securing first-hand information regarding the activities of groups or individuals in the labor movement. They are particularly prominent in any industry—as for example, steel-making—which opposes UNIONIZATION. They have been largely employed by the government, notably during the past five years, in dealing with so-called "radical" activities. Their general character and methods are described in detail in the recent report on ESPIONAGE IN INDUSTRY made for the Cabot Fund. "Given an employer suddenly face to face with the probability of labor trouble in his plant, ignorant of the character and point of view of his employees, with no access to their plans, very fearful of their organization—the result is almost inevitable panic, and the labor spy exists to exploit this panic. He capitalizes the employer's ignorance and prejudice, and enters the plant specifically to identify the leaders of the labor organization, to propagandize against them and BLACKLIST them, and to disrupt and corrupt their union. He is under cover, disguised as a worker, hired to betray the workers' cause." It is a common practice of the industrial spy to secure control of or to disorganize local unions by bribing their officers. "There seems excellent reason," says the Cabot Report, "to believe that this kind of control goes high in the ranks of union labor executives." Under-cover men are known among themselves and their employers under a variety of names, such as "operatives," "representatives," "special contract operatives," "special agents," "special duty men," "efficiency men," "inside men," "cover-up men," etc. Of the printable names given them by those upon whom they spy, "stool pigeons," "stools," "gumshoes," and "finks" are perhaps the commonest. (See AGENT PROVOCATEUR.)

Under-Employment. Irregular, uncertain, or less than FULL TIME employment—either of an individual worker, or of all workers in a specific trade or industry. In connection with CASUAL LABOR, an under-employed worker is one who is hired often enough to prevent him from drifting away elsewhere, but not often enough to give him a decent living. All MIGRATORY LABOR represents a condition of under-employment. (See RESERVE OF LABOR; ON-AND-OFF SYSTEM.)

Underhands. All workers below the rank or grade of JOURNEYMAN are so designated in some trades.

Undertaker. See ENTREPRENEUR.

Undermining. This term is sometimes used by trade unionists in designation of any action, individual or collective, on the part of other workers which tends to dispossess unionists of their jobs, to reduce wages, or otherwise to injure their interests. The term "encroachment" is sometimes used in practically the same sense. (See DISCIPLINE.)

Unemployables. In connection with the general problem of UNEMPLOYMENT, careful distinction must be made between those unemployed persons who are able and willing to work, and those who for various reasons are classed as "unemployables." These latter, according to the staff report of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, "are really people who have dropped out of the ranks of industry, broken down by the unsteadiness of employment or other causes. Some are mentally defective or physically incapable or both. Others are 'down-and-outs,' who have lost the habit of working. Still others live by their wits, by begging, or by crime. During the most prosperous times, when labor is in great demand, these same people do not work. They are 'unemployed' in the same sense that young children, the old, and the sick, and those who live on incomes from investments, are unemployed. No amount of work that might be provided by public or private enterprise would have any appreciable effect on these unemployables. They need hospital or corrective treatment. In prosperous times they are considered the subjects of such treatment, but in every period of industrial depression they stand out as the most conspicuous element in the 'army of the unemployed.' The failure to distinguish these unemployables from those who are temporarily out of work on account of a slack season or the failure of a firm, and those casual workers who are employed for part of every week or month, leads to hopeless confusion." (See SUBSIDIZED WORKSHOPS; LABOR COLONIES; CASUAL LABOR.)

Unemployment. In the most obvious sense, absence from work, or the condition of being out of work. As usually considered, unemployment is an involuntary condition, and therefore must be carefully differentiated from the voluntary absence from work due to vacations, strikes, etc. A large percentage of unemployment is due to sickness, accidents, old age, intemperance, degeneracy, etc. Involuntary unemployment not arising from physical or mental disability on the worker's part is generally attributed to such immediate causes as (1) SEASONAL FLUCTUATIONS and weather conditions, (2) trade depressions, (3) introduction of labor-saving machinery

and improved methods of manufacture and transportation, (4) imperfect adjustments in the LABOR MARKET, (5) LOCKOUTS OR SHUTDOWNS on the part of employers. In addition, the continual shifting and displacement of individual workers involved in what is known as LABOR TURNOVER accounts for a large percentage of the total volume of unemployment at any given time. "The problem of unemployment," according to W. H. Beveridge, an English authority on the subject, "is the problem of the adjustment of the supply of labor and the demand for labor. The supply of labor in a country is, in the widest sense, the supply of population. It is at any moment, apart from the possibilities of emigration and immigration, a fairly fixed quantity. Moreover, it is fixed for each moment, not by anything then happening, but by the habits and actions of millions of disconnected households a generation back. The demand for labor, on the other hand, is an aggregate of thousands or tens of thousands of separate demands in the present. It fluctuates with the fortunes and the calculations of the host of rival employers. Discrepancy between two things so distinct in immediate origin is obviously possible. The problem has merely to be stated in order to shatter the simple faith that at all times any man who really wants work can obtain it. There is nothing in the existing industrial order to secure this miraculously perfect adjustment." With specific reference to the United States, Professor Commons and some other authorities consider IMMIGRATION to be the most obvious cause of unemployment. The staff of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS reached the following conclusions: "A careful analysis of all available statistics shows that in our great basic industries the workers are unemployed for an average of at least one-fifth of the year, and that at all times during any normal year there is an army of men, who can be numbered only by hundreds of thousands, who are unable to find work or who have so far degenerated that they cannot or will not work. . . . Fundamentally this unemployment seems to rise from two great causes, although many others are contributory. First, the inequality of the distribution of income, which leaves the great masses of the population (the true ultimate consumers) unable to purchase the products of industry which they create, while a few have such a superfluity that it cannot be normally consumed but must be invested in new machinery for production or in the further monopolization of land and natural resources. . . . The second principal cause lies in the denial of access to land and natural resources even when they are unused and unproductive, except at a price and under conditions which are practically prohibitive." Unemployment is

regarded by many as the most important social problem of the age, because of its fundamental connection with nearly all other social problems. As far as immediate causes are concerned, any comprehensive and workable plan for the prevention of unemployment should emphasize the following lines of activity: (1) Establishment of public LABOR EXCHANGES; (2) systematic distribution of public work; (3) REGULARIZATION OF INDUSTRY; (4) UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. (See EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS; UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE; UNDER-EMPLOYMENT; UNEMPLOYABLES; CYCLICAL FLUCTUATIONS; INDUSTRIAL CYCLE; LAND QUESTION; UNDER-CONSUMPTION THEORY; LABOR SURPLUS; CASUAL LABOR; MIGRATORY LABOR; LABOR COLONIES; PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYED; JOB SELLING; REGISTRY SYSTEM; DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR IN RUSSIA; CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT; BUFFER EMPLOYMENT; SHORT TIME; DISMISSAL WAGE; together with the various cross references under these headings.)

Unemployment Insurance. That form of SOCIAL INSURANCE which is intended to protect the worker against destitution during a period of involuntary idleness. Comprehensive national schemes of compulsory unemployment insurance, on a contributory basis, are now in effect in Great Britain and Italy. In other European countries public aid is given by municipal or national authorities to trade unions, MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES, etc., paying OUT-OF-WORK BENEFITS. In the United States unemployment insurance is mainly a trade union function. According to Commons and Andrews's "Principles of Labor Legislation," "the destitution due to UNEMPLOYMENT, until recently considered a matter of purely individual concern, or at best as an occasion for charitable activity, is now beginning to be recognized as an evil which must be met by the coordinated forethought of society as a whole. The demoralization of individuals and communities by prolonged and widespread deprivation of income due to involuntary idleness, it is now rather generally agreed, should no longer be allowed to continue unchecked." Among the results of the first GENERAL LABOR CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS in 1919 was the recommendation that each of the forty-one member countries establish "an effective system of unemployment insurance, either through a government system or through a system of government subventions to associations whose rules provide for the payment of benefits to their unemployed members." (See GHENT SYSTEM; FONDS NATIONALE DE CAISSE; TRAVELLING BENEFITS; UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT.)

Unemployment Insurance Act, 1920. A British Parliamentary enactment which came into operation November 8, 1920. The Act extends compulsory UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE to substantially all persons for whom health insurance contributions have now to be paid under the NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT, with the exception of OUTWORKERS and persons employed in agriculture and private DOMESTIC SERVICE. Benefits under the Act are payable for not more than fifteen weeks in any insurance year. Contributors under eighteen years of age are entitled to half the full rate. It is estimated that the total number insured against unemployment in Great Britain is now about 12,000,000 persons, including non-manual workers in receipt of remuneration not exceeding £250 a year.

Unfair, Fair. See FAIR, UNFAIR.

Unfair List. A list compiled by trade unions and containing the names of employers who do not comply with union regulations or conform to union conditions. Such lists were formerly widely published, in connection with the BOYCOTT; but for legal reasons they are now, when used at all, privately circulated among union members. In a general way the unfair list corresponds, on the trade union side, to the employers' BLACKLIST. (See FAIR LIST.)

Ungarländischer Gewerkschaftsrat (Trade Union Commission). The central organ of Hungarian trade unionism; established 1894. In 1914 the affiliated membership was 107,000. After the revolution of 1918 the membership increased rapidly, the figures being 500,000 at the end of 1918, and 800,000 during the Communist regime under Bela Kun. Since then the Hungarian labor movement has had to struggle under continual and bloody persecution on the part of the reactionary government. According to the "Report of the British Joint Labor Delegation on the White Terror in Hungary," based on investigations made in May, 1920, seventy per cent of the trade union officials were either killed or imprisoned after the fall of Bela Kun's government, and labor headquarters everywhere were burnt and the funds seized. By the end of 1919 the membership of the Trade Union Commission had fallen to 212,000. It has risen slightly since then—the figures reported in October, 1920, being 215,000.

Uniform Transfer Card. See TRANSFER CARD.

Union Busters. See UNION WRECKERS.

Union Button. See WORKING BUTTON.

Union Cards. See WORKING CARD; DUE CARD; TRAVELLING CARD; TRANSFER CARD; WITHDRAWAL CARD; LOAN CARD; COMBINATION CARD; EXEMPT CARD; UNION SHOP CARD; CARD SYSTEM.

Union Closed Shop. See CLOSED SHOP.

Union Contract. See TRADE AGREEMENT.

Union Départmentale. In France, a federation of SYNDICATS (local trade unions) in each of the eighty-seven *Départments* (provinces) into which the country is divided. Thus the *Union Départmentale de la Seine Inférieure* is a combination of the various local trade unions in the province of the Lower Seine. The *Union Départmentale* has much the same character as a STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR in the United States, and it allows the same autonomy to its constituent bodies. Since 1914 the *Unions Départmentales* have replaced the BOURSES DU TRAVAIL as part of the dual basis of the CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL.

Union General de Trabajadores (General Union of Workers). The leading national organization of socialist workers in Spain. It was founded in 1883, by the *Partido Socialista Obrero* (Socialist Labor Party). Until 1902 the two organizations were largely identical. The same officers continually served for both, and the periodical "El Socialista" is still the organ of both. The U. G. T. had in 1920 a membership of 300,000, distributed among 1,100 branches. It is strongest among the agricultural workers, and in the mining, building, and railway industries. Until recently its policy has been one of moderate OPPORTUNISM; but the developments of the past year or two have driven it far toward the radical camp. (See SPANISH LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Union Label. Originating in the United States in 1875, the use of this trade union device was for about five years confined to the cigar makers. Then, largely through the influence of the KNIGHTS OF LABOR, it began to be adopted in other trades. But until 1890 its use was decidedly limited, and its primary purpose was not as at present to secure the support of trade unionists and those sympathetic with organized labor, but to combat particular forms of competition—such as Chinese labor, PRISON LABOR, and TENEMENT-HOUSE WORK. The wide use of the label after 1890 was due to the change of policy in shifting its appeal from the public at large to members of trade unions. The label is now simply a public notice that the article to which it is attached is "union made,"

i.e., that it is made in a shop which complies with all the WORKING RULES of the local and national union in the particular trade involved, and employs only members of the union. Thus the label does not stand primarily for any particular set of conditions, but simply for those conditions which the unions of each trade have found it possible and desirable to establish. In many unions these conditions are by no means uniform in all the local unions, and in no union are they entirely uniform. Therefore, LABEL SHOPS and non-label shops are often found within the same national union, with different sets of requirements for the two classes. The use of the union label involves a considerable financial outlay. There is, first, the expense of making and distributing the labels; this is either borne entirely by the union, or in part by the union and in part by the employer. Much more important, however, is the expense involved in agitation for a wider use of the label, and for creating a demand for LABEL GOODS. This expense is usually borne, directly or indirectly, by the local label-using unions. Laws for the registration and protection of trade union labels are in force in nearly all states in this country. In at least four states it is required by law that the union label shall appear upon all state printing. In 1890 the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR adopted a label for the use of FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS and LOCAL TRADE UNIONS affiliated directly with the Federation. Labels have also been adopted by several alliances of trades which combine to produce a single product—as printing, for example. The technical methods of applying the union label vary with the character of the goods on which it is used. In most cases a printed paper label is pasted on each article or (as in the case of cigars) on the box or package. The Boot and Shoe Workers impress their label on the sole or insole of the shoe with a steel stamp, or print it on the lining of the shoe with a rubber stamp. In the garment-making trades a cloth label is sewed to each garment. The Hatters sew a paper label inside the hat under the band. A brass roller bearing the Bricklayers' label is attached to the brick-making machine, and this stamps the label into each brick as the soft clay passes under it. The Horseshoers use a steel stamp, with which they impress their label upon the hot shoe. The labels of the printers, furnished in the form of small electrotypes, leave their impression upon the printed sheet. In common trade union usage, the term "union label" generally designates not only the label proper but also UNION SHOP CARDS, WORKING BUTTONS, "or any device worn or exhibited to solicit patronage for union establishments or union members." (See LABEL ADMINISTRATION; LABEL JURISDICTION; LABEL AGREEMENT;

LABEL AGITATOR; LABEL UNIONS; LABEL TRADES; JOINT LABEL; UNIVERSAL LABEL; UNION STAMP; UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT; UNION LABEL LEAGUES; ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCILS; WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL UNION LABEL LEAGUE; MARQUE SYNDICALE.)

Union Label Advertiser. See LABEL AGITATOR.

Union Label Agitator. See LABEL AGITATOR.

Union Label Leagues. Local delegate bodies representative of trade unions affiliated with the UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. Such Leagues are chartered by this Department, and are devoted to the same general purposes. Representation is on the basis of three delegates for each local affiliated union. The usual officers are elected, and meetings are held at stated intervals. Also called "local label departments" and "label leagues."

Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Organized 1909, and composed of "national and international unions regularly chartered by and affiliated to the A. F. of L. using labels, cards, or buttons on the products of their members or to designate membership therein." According to its constitution, "the objects of this Department shall be to promote a greater demand for products bearing the UNION LABEL, and of labor performed by union workers; to investigate into, devise, recommend, and within the limit of its authority carry into effect methods for the advertisement of union label products; to educate the members of Trade Unions, their families and the general public upon the economic, social, and moral uplift furthered by the Trade Union movement; to further the general welfare of all affiliated organizations, and to aid in the work of organization among all the toilers for the common good." (See DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; UNION LABEL LEAGUES.)

Union Labor. The personnel and activities of trade union organizations, in a collective sense; or labor performed according to union requirements and under union conditions.

Union Ouvrière. In France, a combination of several *syndicats ouvrières*, or local working-class trade unions.

Union Printers' Home. See CHILDS-DREXEL HOME FOR UNION PRINTERS.

Union Regionale. In France, a delegate body made up of representatives from the SYNDICATS (trade unions) of a given district. It resembles, in the main, a TRADES COUNCIL, and occupies a place midway between the local BOURSE DU TRAVAIL and the UNION DÉPARTMENTALE.

Union Sacrée. See FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT.

Union Scab. One of the chief indictments brought by advocates of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, particularly of the revolutionary type, against CRAFT UNIONISM is that it involves what they call "organized scabbery" and makes of its members at times what are termed "union scabs" or "contract scabs." This is due to the fact that craft unions are bound, as a rule, by separate TRADE AGREEMENTS with their employer, and the members of a craft union must therefore usually remain at work at a time when the members of another craft in the same industry may be on strike, thus actually helping—however indirectly and involuntarily—to defeat the strike. On this same account, craft unions are sometimes dubbed "scab unions" by the revolutionaries. (See SCAB.)

Union Scale. See SCALE.

Union Shop. This term is variously defined by various authorities. But in the most obvious sense, it may be said to be an industrial establishment in which union conditions prevail—in which wages, hours, and other details have been made to conform to trade union standards, generally by joint agreement between employer and union. The CLOSED SHOP is of necessity a union shop. But so also, under this definition, is the OPEN SHOP conducted under a TRADE AGREEMENT establishing union hours, wages, and conditions, even though some of the workers are non-unionists. The PREFERENTIAL SHOP would also come under this head. (See NON-UNION SHOP; MIXED SHOP.)

Union Shop Card. A printed announcement for display in retail stores, theatres, hotels, restaurants, etc., stating that the establishment authorized to display this card conforms to trade union conditions. The union shop card is similar in its purposes to the UNION LABEL. It is used in those trades where the labor of the workman results in the rendering of a service rather than in the production of a commodity—for example, the work of a barber or of a retail clerk—and where from the very nature of the case no label could be employed.

Union Smashers. See UNION WRECKERS.

Union Stamp. The UNION LABEL, when stamped directly upon an article, instead of being pasted, sewed, or otherwise attached, is sometimes so called.

Union Wreckers. Those employers of labor who are consistently hostile to trade unions, or EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS of anti-union tendencies, are often so called. The term is also used among trade unionists in designation of an extreme form of SCAB. Thus, in the constitution of the Bricklayers' and Masons' Union, a union wrecker is defined substantially as one who goes into the jurisdiction of a union on strike and accepts employment and persists in retaining it, or who leaves a union to defeat a legitimate strike. The terms "union busters" and "union smashers" are also frequently used in the above-described meanings.

Unione Italiana del Lavoro (Italian Union of Labor). Formed in 1917, as a pro-war secessionist movement, under Alceste de Ambris, from the CONFEDERAZIONE GENERALE DEL LAVORO. It functions as an economic adjunct to the new pro-war socialist party, much as the C. G. L. functions for the old one. Its programme is a combination of SYNDICALISM and nationalism. A membership of 125,000 is claimed for the organization. (See ITALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Unione Syndicale Italiana. A national federation dating from 1912, of the anarchist-syndicalist labor organizations of Italy. With a constituent membership of about 100,000 early in 1919, the *Unione* has grown very considerably in numbers during the past two years. "Though the *Unione Syndicale* can not be compared, numerically, with the CONFEDERAZIONE GENERALE DEL LAVORO, it is a perpetual menace to the larger organization, being ready to gobble up its members the moment it ceases to respond to the increasingly revolutionary wishes of the workers. If the trades-unionists and Socialists make promises which they can not keep, the anarchists are on the spot to offer a new and more daring way. Indeed, the *Unione Syndicale* stands somewhat in the position of the I. W. W. in America." The "U. S. I.," as it is popularly known, is organized on a basis similar to that of the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro*, its constituent units being chambers of labor (CAMERE DEL LAVORO) and trade federations (FEDERAZIONE DEI MESTIERE). It advocates the local, autonomous fighting unit (trade union or chamber of labor), organization along industrial rather than craft lines, non-participa-

tion in politics, DIRECT ACTION, and the GENERAL STRIKE as a means of overthrowing CAPITALISM and the capitalistic State. It has come into frequent conflict with the Italian government. (See ITALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Unioni Cattoliche (Catholic Unions). See CONFEDERAZIONE ITALIANA DEI LAVORATORI; WHITE UNIONS.

Unionism. In a general sense, the association for joint action and mutual assistance of persons having in common the same economic and social interests or the same viewpoint in regard to economic and social matters. TRADE UNIONISM, which represents the common interests of wage-earners, is but a single phase of the universal tendency toward unionism. EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS, granges and farm bureaus, bar associations, chambers of commerce, and numerous other phases, are equally representative of the same tendency.

Unionization. The process or method of organizing non-union workers into trade unions. In regard to the ways and means by which unionization is brought about, according to Weyforth's "The Organizability of Labor," there are three problems involved. "First, individuals must be brought together for combined action. Here it is a problem of getting the men into the union. Second, this original combination of forces must be given stability and permanence. Here it is a problem of holding the men in the union. Problems of this sort are naturally present, although probably in different degrees, in forming any sort of association, trade union or otherwise. In the organizing of labor, however, still a third factor is found, namely, the attitude of the employer toward the organization of his employees. Since this attitude has usually been one of hostility and has led to efforts to prevent the formation of unions, the complete analysis of the mechanism of organizing requires also a consideration of the methods by which the opposition of the employer is overcome and of the difficulties and limitations in the way of the effective application of these methods." The initial work of unionization is now mainly conducted by salaried trade union officials known as ORGANIZERS. But their work is supplemented in large measure by a number of more indirect and occasional factors, of which the STRIKE, the CLOSED SHOP, the BOYCOTT, and the UNION LABEL are of chief importance.

Unitary Control. As opposed to TRIPARTITE CONTROL, this means the domination of a single set of interests (those of either employers, wage-earners, or "the public") in the management and control of industry.

United Communist Party. Organized in 1920, as the result of a merger between one wing of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA and the Communist Labor Party of North America. The third INTERNATIONALE recognizes this as the official communist organization of the United States, although the remainder of the Communist Party of America still maintains a separate existence. Both parties have been officially outlawed by the United States government, and aliens belonging to either organization are subject to deportation.

United Labor Education Committee. A body representative of trade unions and persons interested in trade unionism, recently formed in New York City to advance the interests of non-vocational WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION. The expenses are met by contributions from the affiliated organizations and individuals, the amount for each organization being based upon its membership and financial condition. The Committee is governed by an executive board made up of representatives of the affiliated organizations. Its educational programme includes lectures, classes for trade union officers, classes for the general membership, concerts, the theatre and opera, etc. Classes for the general membership are of the character of the British TUTORIAL CLASSES. They are formed at the request of groups of twenty-five or more persons, and are held in districts convenient to the workers making the request. Each course consists of ten weekly lectures. It is the ultimate aim of the Committee to become "the nucleus out of which the educational branch of the labor movement will grow."

United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation. A permanent body created in 1913, under the NEWLANDS ACT, for the settlement of such disputes between interstate railroads and their employees engaged in train service over questions of wages, hours of labor, or conditions of employment as may threaten serious interruption of business. The Board now consists of three salaried commissioners, appointed by the President and serving for seven years. Either party to a dispute may appeal to the Board for MEDIATION or for its services in bringing about ARBITRATION. Also the Board may at its discretion offer its services of its own initiative. The award must be accepted by both parties, though this provision is qualified so as to protect individual rights that might otherwise raise the question of constitutionality. Under the Transportation Act of 1920 it is provided that the powers and duties of the Board shall not extend to any dispute received for hearing and decision by the RAILROAD LABOR BOARD.

United States Department of Labor. One of the ten main executive divisions of the Federal government. Its historical genesis is as follows: As the result of long agitation on the part of wage-earners, a Federal "Bureau of Labor" was created in 1884, under the jurisdiction and control of the Department of the Interior. In 1888 this was promoted to independent status as a "Department of Labor," but without being given executive rank with the other governmental departments. In 1903 an executive Department of Commerce and Labor was created, and the previous "Department of Labor" became a "Bureau of Labor" under the jurisdiction of this new department. In 1913 the labor activities of the Department of Commerce and Labor were separately organized in a full-fledged executive Department of Labor. In the organic act of March 4, 1913, creating the Department it is stated that "The purpose of the Department of Labor shall be to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." Under this organic act, the Bureau of Labor, its title altered to BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, came under the jurisdiction and supervision of the Department of Labor. So did the CHILDREN'S BUREAU. The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization was also placed under the Department of Labor, its title being altered to Bureau of Immigration. To those three bureaus a fourth was added by raising the Division of Naturalization in the former Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization to the rank of a bureau—the present Bureau of Naturalization. Thus the bureaus placed under the jurisdiction and supervision of the Department of Labor by its organic act, and which still remain so, are the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the IMMIGRATION BUREAU, the Children's Bureau, and the NATURALIZATION BUREAU. Besides these four bureaus, other activities were later separately organized in the CONCILIATION DIVISION, the UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, the NEGRO ECONOMICS DIVISION, the WOMEN'S BUREAU (formerly known as the "Woman in Industry Service"), the INDUSTRIAL HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION BUREAU, the UNITED STATES TRAINING SERVICE, and the WORKING CONDITIONS SERVICE. Of these later sections, only the Women's Bureau has been placed upon a permanent statutory basis by Congress. Others, as well as some not mentioned above, were purely war-time services, which have now ceased to function; while the United States Employment Service and the Negro Economics Division maintain a precarious and uncertain existence on niggardly Congressional appropriations. At the head of the Department of Labor is the SECRETARY OF LABOR,

who is a member of the President's Cabinet. The subordinate officers include the Assistant Secretary, a News-Release Officer, the Solicitor (who is also Acting Secretary under certain circumstances), the Chief Clerk, the Disbursing Clerk, the Appointment Clerk, and the heads of the various bureaus, divisions, services, etc., which come under the Department's jurisdiction. (See PRESIDENT'S MEDIATION COMMISSION; NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD; WAR LABOR POLICIES BOARD; LABOR OUTINGS.)

United States Employees' Compensation Act. A Congressional enactment which extends the advantages of WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION to certain employees of the government who are injured in the performance of their duties. The BENEFITS provided are of three classes: (1) Medical and hospital treatment; (2) money compensation for loss of wages in excess of three days; and (3) money compensation to surviving dependents of employees dying as a result of injuries. The act is administered by an Employees' Compensation Commission, acting under control of the United States Public Health Service.

United States Employment Service. A non-statutory division of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR created by order of the SECRETARY OF LABOR on January 3, 1918, "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States by so conserving and distributing their industrial activities as to improve their working conditions and advance their opportunities for profitable employment, in harmony with the general good, with the necessities of war, with the just interests of employers, and with the development in practice of the recognized principle of a common responsibility for production and a common interest in distribution." For fifteen months the Service performed an exceedingly difficult task with remarkable success, building up a widespread system of Federal EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS in every part of the country, and coordinating the work of such state and municipal bureaus as were already in existence. Then Congress began its typical withdrawal of financial support. For a time the cooperation and backing of various welfare agencies, public authorities, and private citizens made it possible for the Service to "carry on" in its vitally important work. But in October, 1919, owing to lack of funds, the employment offices up to that time operated by the Service were turned over to the several states and municipalities in which they had been maintained, or, where this was not possible, they were abandoned. The system of cooperation with the states and municipalities which had been

established was, however, maintained and developed. (See NATIONAL CLEARING HOUSE FOR LABOR; ZONE CLEARANCE SYSTEM; INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT SURVEY; LABOR OUTINGS; HOUSEHOLD ASSISTANT SYSTEM.)

United States Housing Corporation. See INDUSTRIAL HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION BUREAU.

United States Training Service. This section of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR was a temporary war-time agency organized in July, 1918, in response to President Wilson's request that the SECRETARY OF LABOR should institute "a satisfactory method and administration for training of workers" and "an agency for DILUTION of skilled labor as and when needed." It was at first called the "Training and Dilution Service." The Service was abandoned at the end of June, 1919.

Universal Label. Instead of the present practice of having a separate UNION LABEL design for each label trade or industry, it has often been proposed that there should be a single uniform or "universal" label, to be used by all LABEL UNIONS affiliated with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. This proposal, however, has never made any very appreciable headway. The label used by the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD is a "universal label," the design, color, etc., being identical for all industries.

Université du Peuple (Paris). See WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.

Unlawful Persuasion. See PICKETING.

Unpractical Man. See PRACTICAL MAN.

Unrest. See INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

Unskilled Worker. One engaged in any form of industrial labor for which little if any preliminary training is required. Composed as it is mainly of skilled CRAFT UNIONS, American trade unionism has given but slight recognition to the unskilled worker—whose condition most needs amelioration. But due in part to the propaganda of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD and in part to other factors, this situation is now changing. To quote Dr. Glocker: "As DIVISION OF LABOR becomes more minute, as the old method of APPRENTICESHIP fails, and as the groups of skilled and semi-skilled are being recruited in an increasing number of instances by the promotion of the common laborers required for the many odd jobs

existing in every industrial establishment, the other trades are manifesting a growing tendency to admit such potentially dangerous competitors to their unions." (See SKILLED WORKER; SEMI-SKILLED WORKER; LABORER; COMMON LABOR; GREEN HANDS; GENERAL WORKERS; IMMIGRATION.)

Unternehmer. See ENTREPRENEUR.

Uplift Unionism or Friendly Unionism. Terms used by Professor Hoxie in designation of the functional type of labor organization that seeks to elevate the moral, intellectual, and social life of the worker as well as improve his conditions of labor. It employs COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, but resorts by preference to POLITICAL ACTION, and emphasizes MUTUAL INSURANCE, PROFIT SHARING, and COOPERATION. It is as a rule conservative and law-abiding, and shares many other of the characteristics of BUSINESS UNIONISM. (See OLD UNIONISM.)

Utility Man. In some industries, this is the common designation for "an experienced, all-round, handy employee who is shifted from one kind of work to another as needed, and fills in temporarily for employees who are absent from duty."

Utopian Socialism. In its dogmatic form, the doctrine that society should be reconstructed to conform to an ideal pattern devised by some individual thinker. The forms of socialism known as SAINT-SIMONISM and FOURIERISM are of this kind. As contrasted with SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, which holds that social institutions are moulded by material forces over which man has no conscious control, Utopian socialism holds that the future of society can be shaped by deliberate choice and action on the part of its members.

V

Vacant Book. See REGISTRY SYSTEM.

Vacationists. A term applied by strikers to themselves when they wish to avoid the technical admission that they are exerting economic pressure by concerted action. It first appeared during the New York printers' strike of 1919, which was not authorized by the international union officials; and was used again by the railroad men in 1920, who were wary of prosecution under the Federal law. Dissatisfied workers who, for one reason or another, are forbidden to strike now merely "take vacations." (See OUTLAWS; SECESSIONISTS; STRIKE IN DETAIL.)

Vagabond's Wage. A term sometimes used in designation of a sum sufficient to secure the minimum necessities of life, which under some future form of society would be paid to all persons equally, regardless of whether they work or not.

Value of Labor. See LABOR COST; WAGES.

Vertical Combination. See LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION.

Vested Interests Doctrine. Mr. and Mrs. Webb use this term in designation of the common trade union assumption "that the wages and other conditions of employment hitherto enjoyed by any section of workmen ought under no circumstances to be interfered with for the worse. It was this doctrine . . . which inspired the long struggle . . . against the introduction of machinery, or any innovation in processes. It is this doctrine which today gives the bitterness to DEMARCATION disputes, and lies at the back of all the Regulations dealing with the 'RIGHT TO A TRADE.' It does more than anything else to keep alive the idea of 'PATRIMONY' and the practice of a lengthened period of APPRENTICESHIP, whilst it induces the workmen of particular trades to cling fondly to the expedient of limiting the numbers entering those trades, even after experience has proved such a limitation to be impracticable. But the Doctrine of Vested Interests extends much further than these particular

Regulations. There is scarcely an industry in which it will not be found, on one occasion or another, inspiring the defence of the customary rates of wages or any threatened privilege. In some cases, indeed, we find the whole argument for Trade Unionism based on this one conception."

Vestibule Schools. Refers to a plan of training new workers, particularly women, in large industrial plants. Under this plan machinery is installed in a reserved section of the factory proper or in a separate building which is a part of the plant. In these instruction rooms working conditions are reproduced as nearly as possible, so that the workers may not only absorb a little of the shop atmosphere and conquer the timidity induced by new work in unusual surroundings but also acquire some degree of skill before beginning work in the shop. Vestibule training was widely practiced during the recent war, particularly in connection with the process known as DILUTION OF LABOR.

Vice Principal Doctrine. See SUPERIOR SERVANT DOCTRINE.

Victim Pay or Victimization Pay. A form of OUT-OF-WORK BENEFIT accorded to trade union members who, because of special zeal or activity in union matters, have been discharged by their employers. It is usually more liberal than the ordinary out-of-work benefit, and in a few unions is equal to the full wages of the "victimized" member. (See VICTIMIZATION.)

Victimization. As used in labor circles, this term usually refers to the dismissal, ordinarily on some petty or invented charge, of a workman who has offended his foreman or employer by undue zeal as a trade union official, strike leader, SHOP STEWARD, or in some other similar capacity. In a less extreme form, victimization may consist in unfair DOCKING or in assigning an undesirable job or place of work to an "offending" worker, or in various other practices known to foremen, superintendents, and employers. A trade unionist who has suffered from victimization is sometimes referred to by his fellow-unionists as a "sacrificed member." (See VICTIM PAY; ONE-MAN STRIKE; ALLOCATION OF WORK.)

Victorian Wages Board System. As adopted by the Australian state of Victoria in 1896, this is a method of compulsory industrial regulation by means of official wages boards for particular industries. The original act applied only to certain "sweated" trades, but since 1903 it has been extended to cover practically all the ordinary indus-

tries of the state. A wages board consists of an equal number of employers and workers, chosen by the government, with an IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN. Its function is to fix minimum standards of wages, hours, and working conditions in a single industry. The finding of the board becomes the common rule for that industry, and any employer who goes below the standard fixed is subject to cash penalties. The functions of a wages board indirectly give it a considerable source of control over industrial disputes; but the RIGHT TO STRIKE is not seriously interfered with. The British TRADE BOARDS ACT of 1909 copies the main outlines of the Victorian wages board system. (See WAGE BOARDS.)

Vienna Internationale. See INTERNATIONAL WORKING UNION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES.

Vigilance Committee. See WATCH COMMITTEE.

Villeinage. See SERFDOM.

Violence in the Labor Movement. Whether in the ordinary sense of "highly excited feeling or action," in the legal sense of "unlawful exercise of physical force," or in the extreme sense of "physical outrage or injury," violence exists in the labor movement to about the same relative extent, probably, as in any other definite section or group of society. The staff report of the FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS contains the following conclusions on the subject: "Violence is seldom, if ever, spontaneous, but arises from a conviction that fundamental rights are denied and that peaceful methods of adjustment can not be used. The sole exception seems to lie in the situation where, intoxicated with power, the stronger party to the dispute relies upon force to suppress the weaker. The arbitrary suppression of violence by force produces only resentment, which will rekindle into greater violence when opportunity offers. Violence can be prevented only by removing the causes of violence; industrial peace can rest only upon industrial justice. The origin of violence in connection with industrial disputes can usually be traced to the conditions prevailing in the particular industry in times of peace or to arbitrary action on the part of governmental officials which infringes on what are conceived to be fundamental rights. Violence and disorder during actual outbreaks usually result from oppressive conditions that have obtained in a particular shop or factory or in a particular industry. Throughout history where a people or a group have been arbitrarily denied rights which they conceived to be theirs, reaction has been inevitable. Violence is a natural form of protest

against injustice. Violence in industrial disputes is not immediately the product of industrial conditions, but of the attitude of the parties to the dispute after grievances or demands have been presented. The principal sources of an attitude leading to violence are: (1) Arrogance on the part of the stronger party. This may result immediately in violence through the use of force for the suppression of the weaker party. The force used may be physical or industrial. Physical force may be and is used by both employers and employees, through INTIMIDATION, assaults, or attacks on property. Such physical aggression is seldom used by employees, as they are strategically the weaker party and the results are negative; only under exceptional circumstances can an employer be coerced by the use of force or intimidation. The exceptions seem to lie in the use of secret means, such as dynamite, with the object of weakening the employer's resistance. The use of force by workers is normally directed not against the person or property of the employer, but against STRIKEBREAKERS and guards. Many instances of the use of physical force by the agents of employers have, however, come before the Commission, indicating a relatively wide use, particularly in isolated communities. Such acts of violence usually take the form of assaults upon the leaders of the workers or upon ORGANIZERS. . . . (2) Equally productive of an attitude leading to violence is the denial of the use of peaceful methods of adjusting grievances, or the creation of a situation in which their use becomes impossible. On the part of the employer the arbitrary acts which may be classed under this general head are: Denial of the right to organize; refusal to consider the complaints of workers; refusal to meet the authorized representatives of the workers. . . . On the part of the workers, the possibility of peaceful settlement may be destroyed by refusal to discuss claims, by internal dissensions which render collective and definite action looking to a settlement impossible, and by the issuance of ultimata which allow no time for consideration and negotiation. In any one of these situations the employer has only the choice between tame submission or absolute resistance to the demands of the workers. (3) The immediate cause of violence in connection with industrial disputes is almost without exception the attempt to introduce strikebreakers to take the place of the workers who have struck or who are locked out. The entire problem of policing industrial disputes grows out of the problem of the strikebreaker and the attitude of the State toward him. . . . (4) The greatest disorders and most acute outbreaks of violence in connection with industrial disputes arise from the violation of what are considered to be fundamental

rights, and from the perversion or subversion of governmental institutions." (See MOLLY MAGUIRES; MCNAMARA CASE; BISBEE DEPORTATIONS; POLICING OF INDUSTRY; ARMED GUARDS; AGENT PROVOCATEUR; STATE CONSTABULARY; PREDATORY UNIONISM.)

Visiting Committee. See MALINGERING.

Vocational Counsellor. See VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE.

Vocational Education. That form of instruction which aims toward the development of efficiency in a particular vocation or occupation, rather than towards general cultural development. Including, as it does, training for particular professions as well as particular trades, vocational education denotes the broad general field of which trade education, technical education, and professional education are merely special phases. Vocational education usually includes some general instruction, especially in subjects more closely related to the vocation to be followed. Under the Federal Vocational Education Act of February, 1917, the various states of the American Union are encouraged to make provision for the training of normal persons about to enter, or after entering, an employment, by Federal grants equal in amount (within certain limits) to sums appropriated by state and local authorities for this purpose. (See VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION; TRADE SCHOOLS; PART-TIME SCHOOLS; VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE; PREVOCATIONAL EDUCATION.)

Vocational Guidance. This term is applied to various forms of effort directed in general toward helping young people in the problem of preparing for a particular vocation and in finding a suitable and desirable entrance into that vocation. Such efforts are carried on by many different sorts of agencies—public school authorities, teachers' associations, chambers of commerce, etc. The officer in charge of such work is often called a "vocational counsellor."

Vocational Rehabilitation. The retraining, for remunerative occupations, of persons who have been so injured as to render them incapable of following their previous occupations. The movement for vocational rehabilitation received great impetus from conditions produced by the recent war. In June, 1918, Congress passed a Vocational Rehabilitation Act, under which the various states of the Union are encouraged to make provision for the industrial rehabilitation of disabled ex-service men by the offer of Federal grants, equal in amount to whatever sums may be appropriated by the state or local authorities for this purpose, within certain limits. Under

the Industrial Rehabilitation Act of June, 1920, the provisions of the previous Act were extended to apply to *all* disabled workers, whatever the cause of their disablement. The administration of these two measures, together with that of the Vocational Education Act of February, 1917, is placed in charge of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, consisting of the Secretaries of Labor, Agriculture, and Commerce, the U. S. Commissioner of Education, and three citizens appointed by the President to represent respectively agricultural, manufacturing and commercial, and labor interests. Some systems of WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION carry provisions for vocational rehabilitation, including surgical and medical aid, general reeducation, and assistance in finding reemployment.

Voluntary Arbitration. See ARBITRATION.

Voluntary Award. See AWARD.

Voluntary Benefit Associations. See ESTABLISHMENT FUND.

Voluntary Insurance. See MUTUAL INSURANCE.

Voluntary Relief Departments. See ESTABLISHMENT FUND.

Voluntary Socialism. See STATE SOCIALISM.

Vorbereitender Reichswirtschaftsrat (Provisional National Economic Council). See REICHSWIRTSCHAFTSRAT.

Voting by Card. The method followed by the BRITISH LABOR PARTY at its annual and special conferences, by which votes on important questions are taken according to cards issued by the Party on the following basis: Trade unions and other affiliated societies receive one voting card for each 1,000 members or fraction thereof in a single society; affiliated TRADES COUNCILS receive one voting card each; LOCAL LABOR PARTIES receive one voting card for each Parliamentary constituency within a party's area; central labor parties in "divided boroughs" receive one voting card each. Every card entitles the body holding it to one vote on any question before the Party conference. (See BLOCK VOTE.)

W

W. E. A. See WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

W. I. U. See WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION.

Wage Bill. See PRICE LIST.

Wage Boards. Joint bodies appointed to establish and regulate MINIMUM WAGE and other wage rates, either for all the industries of a particular geographical area or for a single industry. They are usually composed of an equal number of employers' and employees' representatives, together with an IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN or one or more "neutral" representatives. In some cases wage boards have jurisdiction also over hours of labor, general working conditions, etc. In Great Britain particularly, wage boards (or "wages boards," as they are called in that country) are an important part of the machinery of industrial CONCILIATION and ARBITRATION. Here the organization of such boards, which are mainly of a local character, is very generally established by permanent written agreement or constitution, while in the United States the methods of organization and procedure are usually left either to unwritten custom or are determined by the annual agreements regarding conditions of labor themselves. "Wages boards are to be distinguished both from mere occasional meetings or conferences between representatives or committees of employers and employed in a trade for the purpose of discussing wage rates or other points at issue, and from the joint committees which are frequently constituted in trades for the purpose of hearing and determining in a judicial manner questions arising between individual employers and those whom they employ. The object of a true wages board is to prevent conflicts by means of periodical and organized meetings of representatives of employers and employed for the purpose of discussing and revising general wage rates in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. . . Although the primary purpose of a wages board is the regulation of wages, it may also be made use of for the discussion of other general trade questions, and be, as it were, a parliament of the trade." The term "wage board,"

or "wage committee," is sometimes used in designation of a local body of trade union or employees' representatives, or of both workers' and employers' representatives, appointed to formulate or make adjustments in the wage scale for a particular industry or plant. (See TRADE BOARDS; VICTORIAN WAGES BOARD SYSTEM; MINIMUM WAGE LAWS; RAILROAD LABOR BOARD.)

Wage Committee. See WAGE BOARDS.

Wage Deductions. In general, these fall into four classes, as follows: (1) Deductions in payment of fines; (2) deductions as payment for damages; (3) deductions for use of tools and material; (4) deductions for medical and other BENEFITS. Laws governing one or several of the various forms of wage deductions exist in the United States and some other countries. (See HOSPITAL-FEE SYSTEM; COMPANY DOCTOR; CHECK-OFF SYSTEM; DOCKAGE SYSTEM.)

Wage Differential. A difference in wage levels maintained for different groups of workmen in the same general occupation. During the recent war, for instance, there existed a differential between the wages of machinists in shipyards and machinists in arsenals and navy yards.

Wage Earners. In arriving at the proper meaning of this term, the American economist Francis A. Walker excludes "first, the employing class; second, all who, having possession of the agencies and instruments of production, whether agricultural or mechanical, are not dependent on others for the opportunity to produce; third, those who, though not owning land, lease it, whether under the protection of law or subject to all the hardships of competition. These successive exclusions leave us the employed class, whether in agriculture or manufactures. From this we further exclude all who produce on shares, and all who are paid or subsist out of the revenues of their employers. We have left the wages class proper, including all persons who are employed in production with a view to the profit of their employers, and are paid at stipulated rates."

Wage Exemption. Under the laws of all states in the United States, wages are exempt in various amounts from attachment, execution, and GARNISHMENT for the payment of debts. This exemption applies also to the house and tools of a wage-earner. In order to make these laws effective for their purpose, the assignment of unearned wages on the part of a laborer is either forbidden or restricted in various ways.

Wage Fund Theory. As an attempt of economists to solve the problem of general WAGES, or what share of the total produce of industry goes to "labor," this theory may be summarized in three propositions, as follows: (1) In any country at any time there is a determinate amount of capital unconditionally destined for the payment of labor. This is the wage fund. (2) There is also a determinate number of laborers who must work independently of the rate of wages—that is, whether the rate is high or low. (3) The wage fund is distributed among the laborers solely by means of competition, employers competing with one another for labor, and laborers with one another for work; and thus the average rate of wages depends on the proportion between the wage fund and population. "There is supposed to be," wrote J. S. Mill, "at any given instant a sum of wealth which is unconditionally devoted to the payment of wages of labor. This sum is not regarded as unalterable, for it is augmented by saving and increases with the progress of society; but it is reasoned upon as at any given moment a predetermined amount. More than that amount it is assumed that the wage-receiving class cannot possibly divide among them; that amount and no less they cannot but obtain. So that the sum to be divided being fixed, the wages of each depend solely on the divisor, the number of participants." If this theory, as thus summarized, be accepted, it follows that wages can only rise either through an increase of capital or through a decrease of population. Hence, also, according to this theory, all combinations of labor are useless, since if one group of workers obtains more than the average rate of wages another group will have to take less. Although now rather completely abandoned by economic authorities, the wage fund theory still lingers in the public mind, and lies at the root of much of the uninformed middle-class hostility to trade unions. (See IRON LAW OF WAGES; MALTHUSIANISM; PRODUCTIVITY THEORY OF WAGES; LUMP OF LABOR THEORY.)

Wage Laws. Legislation, either state or national, governing such matters as the time, place, basis, and medium of wage payments, WAGE DEDUCTIONS, legal procedure for the collection of unpaid wages, WAGE EXEMPTION, assignment of wages, MECHANICS' LIEN, WAGE PREFERENCE, etc. (See TIME OF WAGE PAYMENT; PLACE OF WAGE PAYMENT; MINIMUM WAGE LAWS; TRUCK SYSTEM; FAIR WAGES CLAUSE; REMUNERATION OF LABOR IN RUSSIA.)

Wage Payment Methods. Broadly speaking, in G. D. H. Cole's summary, "there are two possible bases of payment within

the WAGE SYSTEM—payment for time worked and payment for output. There are indeed all kinds of modifications and minglings of these two principles; but they are none the less fundamentally distinct. A worker may be paid in strict accordance with the time spent on the employer's work at so much per hour, per day, per week, per month, or per year; or he or she may be paid in accordance with the work done at so much per piece, or per unit of effort. Again, the method of payment may be either individual or collective: the employer may deal separately with, and pay wages by time or output to, every worker individually, or a lump sum may be paid over to a single worker on behalf of a group, or to the group itself. These two systems are, I have said, in principle distinct, however they may mingle in practice. But, to a very great extent, they do possess a common basis. A time-work system is never wholly without relation to output; for the employer inevitably expects a certain amount of work from the worker whom he employs, and if this amount is not forthcoming, he finds his remedy in discharging the worker. Payment by output, again, is never wholly without relation to a time standard; for piece-prices are invariably determined to a great extent by the income which constitutes the normal STANDARD OF LIVING for the workmen concerned. This, however, is only to say that both time-workers and piece-workers are subject to the wage system." (See TIME WORK; PIECE WORK; TASK WORK; BONUS SYSTEM; PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM; TRUCK SYSTEM; SLIDING SCALE; STRAIGHT PAY; PAYMENT BY RESULTS; COLLECTIVE CONTRACT; together with the various cross references under these headings.)

Wage Preference or Wage Priority. The principle, specifically recognized in various state and national laws, that in cases of assignments, administrations, and receiverships due to death or bankruptcy, the wages of employees, up to a specified sum and for work done within a specified period, shall have either absolute preference or priority over all other claims or (as in some states) over all claims other than those for fees, costs, and taxes.

Wage Scale. See SCALE.

Wage Slavery. A term sometimes applied to the present industrial organization of society, under which the great mass of the people depend for their subsistence upon WAGES allotted them by a comparatively small group, the holders of capital, who own and control the means of production. (See CAPITALISM; EXPLOITATION; PROFITS SYSTEM; WAGE SYSTEM.)

Wage System. Defined by G. D. H. Cole as "the system under which the worker sells his labor to an employer in return for a wage, and by this sale is supposed to forego all right over the manner in which his labor is used within the terms of the wage-contract, all right to exercise control over the management of the industry or service in which he is engaged, and all claim to the produce of his labor or to the common product of the labor of himself and his fellow-workers." A briefer definition is that by Professor Fetter: "The organization of industry wherein some men, owning and directing capital, buy at their competitive value the services of men without capital." As SERFDOM gradually succeeded SLAVERY, so the wage system gradually succeeded serfdom. Underlying practically every phase of the LABOR PROBLEM is this system "which casts upon the laborer the responsibility for his own maintenance, which makes him merchant as well as producer, and compels him to take his chances and stake his welfare upon successful bargaining in the LABOR MARKET." (See CAPITALISM; NATIONAL ECONOMY; WAGE SLAVERY.)

Wages. In an economic sense, the remuneration of labor of any kind, whether manual or mental, and of any degree of skill. As commonly understood, however, the term is restricted in meaning to "the reward of those who are employed in production, with a view to the profit of their employers, and are paid at stipulated rates." The economic problem of wages is generally discussed under two main heads: (1) *General wages*, or the share of the total product of industry that goes to labor; and (2) *relative wages*, or the differences of wages in different occupations. Owing to variations in the purchasing power of money at different times and in different places, a very definite distinction is made between *nominal or "money" wages*, the amount of money a worker receives for his labor, and *real or "commodity" wages*, the amount of commodities and services that the money received will actually purchase at a given time. When a rise in nominal wages is accompanied by a steeper rise in the COST OF LIVING, real wages actually fall, or *vice versa*. There should also be kept in mind the distinction between *wages*, the concern of the worker, and the *value of labor* or *labor cost*, the concern of the employer; these two things being by no means synonymous. High wages do not necessarily mean a high labor cost or an increased cost of production, if the amount or quality of the services rendered in return is proportionately increased or improved. High wages may thus mean "cheap labor," and low wages "dear labor." It is impossible, in brief space, to go into a discussion of the various factors

and theories which have to do with the determination of wages. In general, however, it may be said that the commonest tendency in the industrial field as a whole is toward some approximate agreement between daily wage-levels and the current cost of living—in other words, toward an equalization of real wages and nominal wages. Ordinarily there is a rough conformity between the two, depending largely upon the varying conditions of prosperity and depression, but the fluctuations of prices are more extreme and sudden than those of wages. Wages follow at a considerable interval the rise and fall of prices. When prices rise as a result of prosperity, a considerable proportion of the succeeding rise in wages is counteracted by the increased cost of living; and when prices fall as a result of depression, the laborer does not enjoy all the fruits of low prices on account of the resulting lack of employment. It must be noted also that changes in the daily rates of wages are by no means a criterion of changes in the relative condition of the workers. More important than daily rates are the annual earnings. Annual earnings depend both on the daily rate and on the amount of employment throughout the year. Again, not even do annual earnings represent accurately the changing conditions of wage-earners. Perhaps the most significant feature of modern industry is the increasing intensity of exertion, owing to the introduction of machinery and minute DIVISION OF LABOR. Where formerly the workingman could change from one operation to another, he now is commonly limited to a very small operation in a large series. He acquires intense speed, and the force of competition compels employers to select only those who excel in physical vigor. The result is that the trade life of the workingman has been reduced in many industries. Plainly, if the increased exertion of the wage-earner shortens his period of earnings, there ought to be a corresponding increase in the daily rates of wages in order that he may retain throughout his life his original STANDARD OF LIVING. Finally it should be noted that money wages in cities must be considerably higher than money wages in the country, in order that the same standard of living may be maintained; and wages in growing cities must rise much more rapidly than country or village wages, in order that the condition of the workingmen may run a parallel course of improvement. Taking into account these observations, it must be concluded that the daily rate of wages is not a safe measure of the changing conditions of labor, and that in a discussion of the progress of the working population account must be taken of the amount of annual employment, depending on general conditions of prosperity and depression, the life-earnings of

the worker, depending upon the increasing intensity of exertion and OVERWORK, and the increased necessary expenses of city life. (For explanations of the three principal economic theories of wages, see IRON LAW OF WAGES, WAGE FUND THEORY, and PRODUCTIVITY THEORY. For other main references under this head, see WAGE SYSTEM; LIVING WAGE; MINIMUM WAGE; FAMILY WAGE; FAIR WAGE; STEWARD'S THEORY OF WAGES; EXCHANGE THEORY OF WAGES; SURPLUS VALUE THEORY; WAGE PAYMENT METHODS.)

Wages Boards. See WAGE BOARDS.

Waiting List. See REGISTRY SYSTEM.

Waiting Period. Under nearly all systems of WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION and other forms of SOCIAL INSURANCE, the payment of BENEFITS or compensation does not begin until a period of from one to several days after an accident occurs, an illness develops, etc. This intervening time is commonly known as the "waiting period," and its chief object is to prevent or discourage MALINGERING.

Walker. The foreman of a LABOR CAMP is commonly nicknamed "the walker."

Walking Delegate. A nearly obsolete term, originally applied to the representative of a trade union who was directed to visit the employers' establishments and see that union conditions prevailed. The modern equivalent of the walking delegate is the BUSINESS AGENT or STEWARD, who has many highly important duties. (See ORGANIZER.)

Walking Time. In the British building trades this is an extra payment, usually stipulated in the WORKING RULES, made to men who have to walk more than a certain distance to and from their work.

Walkout. A STRIKE is commonly so called in the United States. (See TURNOUT.)

War Chest. See STRIKE FUND.

War Labor Board. See NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD.

War Labor Policies Board. A Federal war-time agency organized in June, 1918, to reconcile interdepartmental differences as to administration with reference to labor matters and to recommend to the SECRETARY OF LABOR unified labor policies for harmonizing the

industrial activities of separate branches of the government. Although it was created by the Secretary of Labor and operated under his direction, it included representatives of the War Department, the Navy Department, the Department of Agriculture, the United States Shipping Board, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Fuel Administration, the Food Administration, the Railroad Administration, and the War Industries Board, as well as the Department of Labor. This body should not be confused with the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD.

Watch Committee or Vigilance Committee. In England, a committee made up of all the SHOP STEWARDS in a single large industrial works is sometimes so called. (See CONVENER.)

Watching or Besetting. See TRADE DISPUTES ACT.

Waterside Workers. As used in England, this term designates a class of workers which includes, broadly speaking, the men employed in loading, bunkering, and discharging all kinds of craft, men employed in conveying goods from ship to warehouse and from warehouse to ship, and any other labor immediately attendant upon this sort of work. (See TRANSPORT WORKERS; DOCKERS; STRAPPERS.)

Week Work. The system of wage payment under which the worker receives a specified sum for a working week consisting of a specified number of hours. The term "week work" is often used as a general synonym for TIME WORK. (See FORTY HOUR WEEK; FORTY-FOUR HOUR WEEK; FORTY-EIGHT HOUR WEEK; ENGLISH WEEK; STAB WORK; NORMAL DAY.)

Weekly Rest. See ONE DAY'S REST IN SEVEN.

Weighted Index Numbers. In computing the relative fluctuations of commodity prices by means of INDEX NUMBERS, it is necessary to take into account the fact that some standard commodities are regularly consumed in much greater quantities than others. Hence the practice has been largely adopted of "weighting" the figures which go to make up the index number according to some scale of relative importance. If there were in a room a number of men just five feet high and a number just six feet high, one would not find out the average height by adding five and six and dividing by two; one would find how many there were of each height, multiply the heights by the respective number of men, and divide by the total number. Similarly, it is easy to multiply the figure representing price by a number or "weight" representing its relative importance,

and divide the total of all the figures thus multiplied by the sum of the weights. The most suitable weights in such a case as prices would seem to be the proportions in which the several articles enter into consumption.

Weir Plan. An adaptation of the PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM, devised by a Glasgow firm of manufacturers, which is similar in nearly all essentials with the HALSEY PLAN. The worker receives his hourly rate of wages on one-half of the time saved under the standard allowance.

Welfare Committee. In England, a body representing as a rule all the workers in a single industrial establishment, which deals with matters that affect the comfort and physical well-being of the workman while engaged at his occupation—ventilation, sanitation, safety, etc. Such committees sometimes exercise control, also, over the social and recreational concerns of the worker; although these are often handled by a separate body, known as a SOCIAL UNION.

Welfare Manager. See WELFARE WORK.

Welfare Secretary. See WELFARE WORK.

Welfare Supervision. The common British equivalent for what is known in this country as WELFARE WORK. In the larger industrial plants, welfare supervision is the function of a special official called a "welfare supervisor," "welfare worker" or "social secretary," who (according to a British government bulletin) "has general charge of the working conditions that make for efficiency and well-being of factory and office employees. The duties include the oversight of hospitals, lunch rooms, wash rooms, libraries, housing conditions, etc., and often require visits to the homes of the workers. The welfare supervisor must have a knowledge of INDUSTRIAL HYGIENE, housing, education, club activities, and the general industrial environment." In some plants the welfare supervisor also performs most of the functions commonly assigned to an EMPLOYMENT MANAGER in the United States. (See WELFARE COMMITTEE.)

Welfare Supervisor. See WELFARE SUPERVISION.

Welfare Work. A general term applied to various kinds of voluntary effort on the part of employers "to improve, within the existing industrial system, the conditions of employment in their own establishments." It has been defined as including "all of those services which an employer may render to his work people over and

above the payment of wages." More specifically, it may include the provision of any or all of the following facilities or services: Wash rooms, rest rooms, lunch rooms, library, gymnasium, swimming pool, hospital and dispensary service, physical examinations, dental treatment, banking and loan service, housing, educational classes, playgrounds and other recreational facilities, music, lectures, and other entertainments. Properly speaking, welfare work is one of the two main fields or departments of PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION. In some large plants it is placed in direct charge of the PERSONNEL MANAGER; but more often, perhaps, it is organized and managed by a special official known as a "welfare manager" or "welfare secretary," who in some cases performs the duties of an EMPLOYMENT MANAGER as well. Occasionally the term "service department" is used in designation of the section devoted to welfare work, and the official in charge is called the "service director" or "service worker." Many trade unionists are distinctly hostile to welfare work ("helfare work" they often call it), regarding it as a form of PATERNALISM and an attempt to substitute charity for justice in industrial relations. By others it is considered an attenuated and indirect form of PROFIT SHARING. (See WELFARE SUPERVISION; COMPANY HOUSING.)

Welfare Worker. See WELFARE SUPERVISION.

Western Labor Union. See INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

White. In connection with political affairs in contemporary Europe, this color is commonly associated with anti-democratic, anti-labor, or other reactionary movements, persons, etc. Thus we hear of the "white terror" in Hungary, the "white government" in Finland, the "white army" in Russia, etc. On the industrial side, the Catholic organizations in some countries—*e.g.*, Italy—are dubbed "white" by the more radical elements. (See WHITE UNIONS.)

White-Collar Scabs. A term sometimes used by manual wage-earners in designation of clerks, college students, and other so-called "brain workers" who volunteer to take the places of men out on strike. (See GOLDEN SCABS.)

White Collars. In American labor slang, the equivalent of the British term BLACKCOATS—that is to say, middle-class salaried workers, as distinguished from manual wage-earners.

White Strike. See STRIKING ON THE JOB.

White Unions. In the Italian labor movement, the *Unioni Cattoliche* or Catholic unions are commonly called "white unions" by members of the socialist and syndicalist organizations. They are made up mainly of agricultural workers, and are nationally federated in the CONFEDERAZIONE ITALIANA DEI LAVORATORI.

Whitelist. A negative form of the BLACKLIST, corresponding on the employer's side to the trade union FAIR LIST. In its simplest form, it is a list of workers in a specified city or district who are in favor with employers and who are given first choice on available jobs. As elaborated by some of the more radical EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS, it often takes the form of a central card index, giving the "record" of practically every skilled worker in the particular industry involved, compiled from information supplied by the individual members of the association. Such an index is in reality both a whitelist and a blacklist in combination. "Other members of the association who desire to put on extra hands send to the headquarters for a list of eligibles, or get a statement of the history and character of any applicant for work who has ever been employed in the same town; and the association is thus enabled to weed out 'troublesome' workmen by simply refusing to recommend them, or by merely stating what is known of their past careers."

Whitley Councils. See WHITLEY PLAN.

Whitley Plan. In 1916 the British Ministry of Reconstruction appointed a Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Whitley, to investigate the problem of industrial relations between employers and employed and to make recommendations looking toward a more harmonious and equitable adjustment of such relations. In March, 1917, the Committee issued its first report, which proposed "the establishment for each industry of an organization, representative of employers and workpeople, to have as its object the regular consideration of matters affecting the progress and well-being of the trade from the point of view of all those engaged in it, so far as this is consistent with the general interest of the community." More specifically, the Committee recommended the formation of "joint standing industrial councils" (now often called "Whitley councils") in each trade or industry, organized by individual workshops, by districts, and nationally, as follows: (1) WORKS COMMITTEES, representative of the management and of the workers in particular workshops or industrial establishments; (2) DISTRICT COUNCILS, representative of the trade unions and of the employers' associations

of particular industries in particular districts or local areas; (3) NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS, representative of the trade unions and of the employers' associations in particular industries for the entire country. This triple organization is intended to function according to a common principle and on lines of close common action. JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS under the Whitley plan have now been established, on either an "interim" or a permanent basis, in some fifty major British industries. The general attitude of organized labor to the Whitley plan is well indicated in the following memorandum, signed by five members of the original Whitley Committee: "While recognizing that the more amicable relations thus established between capital and labor will afford an atmosphere generally favorable to industrial peace and progress, we desire to express our views that a complete identity of interests between capital and labor cannot be thus effected, and that such machinery cannot be expected to furnish a settlement for the more serious conflicts of interest involved in the working of an economic system primarily governed and directed by motives of private profit." (See GARTON FOUNDATION REPORT; INTERIM INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEES; WHITLEYISM.)

Whitleyism. The system of JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS under the WHITLEY PLAN is sometimes thus designated, particularly by those who are opposed to the plan.

Wholesale Cooperative Societies. In nearly all countries where CONSUMERS' COOPERATION has made marked progress, central wholesale societies have been organized by the retail cooperative associations for the purpose of doing away, in the interests of their members, with the profits of the "outside" wholesale trade. As perhaps the most conspicuous example, the British Cooperative Wholesale Society is a trading federation of the great majority of English cooperative retail stores, acting as the central agency from which they secure their supplies. Started on a modest scale in 1863, this society now has an immense capital and many thousands of employees. In addition to its purchases in open market, it carries on a large manufacturing and producing trade. It owns factories, mills, warehouses, mines, and land in various parts of Great Britain, tea plantations abroad, and the ships and wharfage by which its import trade is carried on. It is also the bank of the British cooperative societies. Net profits are returned to the individual retail societies as a dividend on purchases, and thence to the whole body of members. The English type of wholesale society is a federation of

independent retail societies, each remaining independent and in full control of its internal affairs and, through its delegates, of those of the wholesale society. Under the plan usually adopted in America, the wholesale society controls not only the wholesale but, in greater or less degree, the constituent societies, often delegating to them a large measure of local autonomy but retaining final control over them.

Widows' and Orphans' Insurance. A form of SOCIAL INSURANCE that provides for the surviving dependents of deceased industrial workers. This form has been most highly developed in the state insurance systems of Germany and France. (See MOTHERS' PENSIONS.)

Wildcat Strike. See INDEPENDENT STRIKE.

Wisconsin Apprenticeship System. Under a law passed by the Wisconsin state legislature in 1915, all minors learning any trade, craft, or business who receive instruction as part of their wages must be under written contract and the contract approved by the state. This is to prevent employers from claiming APPRENTICESHIP for boys who really do nothing but COMMON LABOR. These apprentices are required to take four hours instruction in a school each week, on the theory of trade. A special Supervisor of Apprenticeship, who sees to the enforcement of these provisions, is attached to the STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

Withdrawal Card. In most American trade unions, when a member in good standing retires from a local branch to become a foreman, to set up in business for himself, or to engage in some other trade, he is generally given a "withdrawal card" (also called "retiring card" and "honorary card") which is valid during the "good conduct" of the person receiving it and entitles him to certain privileges should he enter a new union or reenter his old one.

Wob. See WOBBLY.

Wobbly. The nickname by which members of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD are most commonly known, particularly in the West. It is said to have originated with Harrison Grey Otis, editor of the Los Angeles "Times." Frequently a shortened form, "wob," is used in the same sense. The term "wobblyism" is sometimes applied to the I. W. W. philosophy as a whole. (See WOBBLY HALLS.)

Wobbly Halls. The local headquarters and meeting places of the I. W. W. organization are so nicknamed. (See WOBBLY.)

Wobblyism. See WOBBLY.

Woman in Industry. As in the case of CHILD LABOR, the later stages of the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION and the introduction of the FACTORY SYSTEM led to the employment of women on a large scale in industrial work, at wages and under conditions that often resulted in brutal degradation. But the worst evils in this connection have gradually been eliminated or at least mitigated by the passage of laws in nearly all countries regulating the hours, wages, working conditions, etc., for women "gainfully employed." Such laws, particularly the various state enactments in this country, are still far from adequate. According to Commons and Andrews, "the working-woman's theoretical FREEDOM OF CONTRACT to dispose of her labor under whatever conditions she pleases has been restricted by the state through its POLICE POWER. Such a limitation is rightfully applied to women workers as a class, because as workers they do not stand on equal footing with their employers in bargaining and because as women their health is more quickly injured by excessive hours of work. Furthermore, the community suffers if the health of any large number of women is endangered, for on the health of women depends the vigor of the race. The reasonableness of the range of employments included in the laws has been affirmed, and hours may now be limited to as few as eight in daytime work." The chief social or economic evils accompanying woman labor have been briefly summarized as follows: "First is the employment of married women, which usually means the neglect of the home, if not of young children. Second, is the low, and often wholly inadequate, rate of remuneration. Partially dependent upon this, but introducing also serious economic consequences, is the competition of women with men, which means in many instances the underbidding of laborers with a high standard of life by laborers with a low standard of life, and which tends constantly to lower the plane of competition." The Report of the FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION says: "It seems to be unanimously admitted that, barring a few exceptional cases, the wages paid to women are lower than the wages paid to men for similar work. The existence of such a state of affairs is a disadvantage to both men and women; a disadvantage to men because the competition of women in present circumstances tends to reduce the wages of men, and a disadvantage to women because it results in their not receiving fair compensation for labor performed." According to fig-

ures recently quoted by the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, the employment of women in industry has increased fifty per cent since the beginning of the World War, and one in ten of all persons now "gainfully occupied" is a woman. (See HOME WORK; PARASITIC INDUSTRIES; DOMESTIC SERVICE; WOMEN'S BUREAU; INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WORKING WOMEN; NIGHT WORK; HOUR LAWS; PROHIBITED EMPLOYMENTS; FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS; FAMILY WAGE; MINIMUM WAGE LAWS; CONSUMERS' LEAGUES; DILUTION OF LABOR; PIN MONEY THEORY; MEANTIME WORKERS; EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.)

Woman in Industry Service. See WOMEN'S BUREAU.

Woman's Labor League. A propagandist organization, on a national scale, of the women workers of Great Britain, now constituting the women's section of the BRITISH LABOR PARTY. Its efforts are devoted to obtaining direct representation of women in Parliament and local government bodies, and advocating economic equality of the sexes.

Women's Bureau. Created by Congressional enactment of June, 1920, as a statutory integral part of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. A similar agency had been organized on a temporary basis in July, 1918, as the "Woman in Industry Service," for the purpose of developing standards and policies to insure the effective employment of women in essential war industries, while at the same time conserving their health and welfare; and after the armistice it rendered important service in the industrial readjustment of the country. This agency is now superseded by the permanent Women's Bureau, the duties of which, as stated in the creating act, are "to formulate standards and policies which shall promote the welfare of wage-earning women, improve their working conditions, increase their efficiency, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment." The Bureau has made a number of important investigations in various fields of women's labor, and published numerous reports, pamphlets, charts, etc.

Women's International Union Label League. An American organization, formed in 1899, devoted particularly to supporting and extending the use of the UNION LABEL. It also stands for the encouragement of union-made goods, the universal EIGHT-HOUR DAY, EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK, early closing and Sunday closing, and the sustaining of FAIR employers. Its membership includes not only women members of trade unions, but the wives and daughters of

unionists also. The League works in close cooperation with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and is represented in the annual conventions of the Federation.

Women's Trade Union League (British). See NATIONAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN WORKERS.

Women's Trade Union League of America. See NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

Wop. American slang for an Italian of the common laboring class. (See DAGO; GINNY.)

Work Fund Theory. See LUMP OF LABOR THEORY.

Work Sharing. As a palliative for UNEMPLOYMENT, this is the process of distributing all available work as equally as possible among all the members of a trade during a slack period. Regulations in regard to "work sharing" are often formulated and enforced by trade unions. (See TURN LIST; TURNWAY SOCIETIES; SHORT TIME; LAY-OFF SYSTEM.)

Work-to-Rule Movement. As developed among European workers, the railwaymen in particular, this is an organized movement for "slowing down" industrial operations by adhering to the strict letter of certain safety rules and regulations of employers which, in the interests of speed, are usually ignored—such, for instance, as walking around the entire length of a freight train instead of slipping through between cars. It is, of course, a mild and perfectly legitimate form of SABOTAGE—one of the many variations of CA' CANNY and STRIKING ON THE JOB—and a form against which employers are practically defenceless.

Workers' College of Seattle. An organization for WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION, founded in 1919 by the Central Labor Council of Seattle. Under the direction of an educational committee of seven, appointed by the Council, regular courses are given in special economic and labor subjects, and these courses are supplemented by lectures, dramatic work, etc. Nominal fees are charged for some courses; the other activities are financed by voluntary contributions and assessments on the local unions.

Workers' Control. Probably no other term in the entire labor movement is so variously and loosely used as this, and certainly no other is so difficult of precise definition. At the outset, however, much confusion will be avoided by limiting the word "control" to

its precise dictionary meaning—*i.e.*, the power or means of direction, command, authority, restraint. This makes it possible to banish at once from the realm of workers' control such "hyphenated" inhabitants as JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS, SHOP COMMITTEE systems, EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION plans, etc. Such experiments as these, whatever their other merits and advantages, obviously do not place the *control* of industry in the worker's hands. Even if workers' control be interpreted as a joint rather than an exclusive function, it necessarily involves participation not merely in the regulation but also in the direction of industry. In the larger and only legitimate sense, the term "workers' control" summarizes a new and revolutionary idea that has gradually come to the forefront of the labor movement in nearly all industrial countries—the idea of a gradual shifting of industrial power from the employing or capitalistic class to the working or employee class. The demand which it embodies or represents is, according to G. D. H. Cole, "a demand that there shall be a transference of control from the present rulers of the economic system to the mass of the industrial workers, and an institution of democracy in industry as well as in the political sphere. Secondly, it is an assertion that this transference must be won in the main by the workers' own endeavors, and cannot be conceded from without. It is only by winning their own emancipation by their own efforts that the working classes will gain the power to direct industry when they have won it. In the third place, it is in effect a repudiation of those claims for INDUSTRIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT which seek merely to entrench the existing industrial order by admitting the organized workers through the present Trade Union leaders to a limited and illusory share in the councils of industry, through joint bodies representing the employers and the working class. It does not necessarily repudiate joint machinery; but it does most clearly repudiate the idea that such joint machinery can be an instrument of the sort of control which it desires to establish. In the fourth place, it is a demand by the workers for knowledge as the source of power—knowledge of their position in the industrial order, and knowledge of the means by which alone they can assume executive control." Workers' control, in this large sense, may be considered the main objective toward which the present-day labor movement is consciously or subconsciously directed. The paths are many and various, but the goal is essentially one. At the right lies the path of SOCIALISM or (as it is sometimes called) COLLECTIVISM; at the left is the path of SYNDICALISM or REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM; in the centre lies the path of GUILD SOCIALISM. But

there are millions of wayfarers who follow the main current of travel without holding to any beaten path. What they are all seeking, whether vaguely or clearly, is "a system fundamentally different from the capitalistic system, in that under it the complete control of industry will be placed in the hands of the workers themselves, to administer as a trust for the community." (See LABOR PROBLEM; ENCROACHING CONTROL; INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY; WORKERS' CONTROL IN RUSSIA; ITALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT; SHOP STEWARD MOVEMENT; NORFOLK IDEA.)

Workers' Control in Russia. Soon after the revolution of October, 1917, the workers in Russian factories, etc., took control of the establishments, in many cases displacing the management and technical staffs entirely and substituting in their stead WORKS COMMITTEES or factory committees made up wholly of workers' representatives. The effect of this step was in many cases disastrous to production. But with the rapid development of trade unions, following the revolution, the unions began to assume an increasing measure of control—both directly, by means of factory boards of management, in which the works committees and the former owners or directors participated with the trade unions; and indirectly, through a close linking-up with the governmental machinery in which the national control of industry is centralized. Thus there has been a gradual though fairly rapid evolution from local and direct WORKERS' CONTROL to a broad centralized scheme of workers' administration. The works or factory committee is now mainly a local nucleus of the trade union, though it seems still to exercise some direct control over working conditions in the individual establishment.

Workers' Councils. WORKS COMMITTEES and SHOP COMMITTEES are sometimes so called. More commonly, however, the term refers to a larger and looser form of PROLETARIAT grouping, which is political rather than economic in function, and whose purpose it is to form the bridge or transition means from a capitalistic to a proletarian government. Workers' councils, in this latter sense, were largely in control in both Russia and Germany, between the downfall of the monarchy and the establishment of the republic.

Workers' Education Bureau of America. Organized April, 1921, at a meeting in New York City attended by two hundred labor officials, trade unionists, teachers, and others interested in WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION. The purpose of the Bureau, according

to its constitution, is "to collect and disseminate information relative to efforts at education on any part of organized labor; to coordinate and assist in every possible manner the educational work now carried on by the organized workers, and to stimulate the creation of additional enterprises in labor education throughout the United States." The Bureau will act as a clearing-house of information; an organization for publicity; a register of teachers; a laboratory on text-books, syllabi of courses, methods of teaching, etc.; and an agency for the collection and coordination of statistics.

Workers' Educational Association. This British organization to promote the higher education of adult workers in non-vocational subjects was formed (though under a different name) in 1903—largely through the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Mansbridge. It aims to bring within the reach of all who desire them tutorial classes and lectures on any branch of higher education which the students themselves may select. Its classes and lecture courses, which are carried on mainly in the large industrial centres, are so arranged as not to interfere with the wage-earning occupations of the students. In the 1919 report of the Association, its specific character and aims are thus set forth: "The association coordinates existing agencies and devises fresh means by which working people of all degrees may be raised educationally, step by step, until they are able to take advantage of the facilities which are and may be provided by the universities. It is a missionary organization working in cooperation with education authorities and working-class organizations. It is definitely unsectarian, non-political, and democratic. It is a federation consisting at present of 2,526 organizations, including 1,071 trade unions, TRADES COUNCILS, and branches; 384 cooperative societies and committees; 199 adult schools, brotherhoods, etc.; 8 university bodies; 35 local education authorities; 100 WORKINGMEN'S CLUBS, institutes, etc.; 176 teachers' associations; 73 educational and literary societies; and 328 various societies, mainly of workpeople. (These figures are exclusive of organizations affiliated to the Workers' Educational Association overseas.) It seeks to fulfill its objects in the following principal ways: (*a*) By arousing the interest of the workers in higher education and by directing their attention to the facilities already existing; (*b*) by inquiring into the needs and desires of the workers in regard to education generally and by representing them to the Board of Education, universities, local education authorities, and educational institutions; (*c*) by providing, either in conjunction with the aforementioned bodies or

otherwise, facilities for the study of subjects of interest to the workers for which necessity arises; (*d*) by the publication of literature and by such other means as from time to time may be considered expedient." The Association—popularly known as the "W. E. A."—maintains offices in London. (See TUTORIAL CLASS MOVEMENT.)

Workers' Industrial Union of Australia. Formed in 1918, "to bind together in one organization all wage-workers in every industry to achieve the purposes set forth in the preamble." The preamble declared that the primary purpose of the organization was to secure the "abolition of capitalistic class ownership of the means of production—whether privately or through the State—and the establishment in its place of social ownership by the whole community." Four of the six clauses of the preamble are almost identical in phrasing with that of the American I. W. W. The Workers' Industrial Union is definitely committed to the ONE BIG UNION idea. (See AUSTRALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT.)

Workers' International Industrial Union. In 1908 the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD split into two distinct factions. One of these, known as the "Detroit group" or "Detroit I. W. W.," consisted of the milder or SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY elements in the original I. W. W. movement—those who favored POLITICAL ACTION as a temporary expedient, and who would "capture" the government by constitutional means rather than by DIRECT ACTION and the GENERAL STRIKE. In 1915 this faction adopted the title of Workers' International Industrial Union. Its members are often called "De Leonites," because of the fact that their leader for several years was Daniel De Leon, one of the founders of the original I. W. W.

Workers' Internationale. See INTERNATIONALE.

Workers' University. This, the first systematic scheme of non-vocational WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION undertaken by organized workers in the United States, was inaugurated in 1916 by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York City. The work consists largely in evening classes and lecture courses for members of the union and their families, carried on in various parts of the city. English is the favorite subject; but literature, economics, public speaking, gymnastics, etc., are also covered. A special class for BUSINESS AGENTS of the union, library facilities, reduced rates to theatrical entertainments, and an extension educational service for union locals, are other features. For the payment of the current expenses of the University and for the purpose of stimulating greater

desire for education on the part of its members, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union makes an annual appropriation of $10,000. Inasmuch as it is from the union dues that this appropriation is made, the classes and all other activities are free to members. A similar "workers' university" has been established under the same union's auspices and control in Cleveland, Ohio.

Workers' Welfare League of India. Established in 1918, as a means of representing in Great Britain the interests of Indian wage-earners. The League maintains permanent headquarters in London.

Working Agreement. See TRADE AGREEMENT.

Working Button. In certain occupations (as for example, among street railway employees, teamsters, chauffeurs, etc.) where the use of the UNION LABEL or the UNION SHOP CARD is impracticable, the purpose of these latter devices is served by the so-called "working button," which is worn by the workers as a public notification that they are trade union members "in good standing." Such buttons are generally issued monthly by the unions concerned, the date and usually the color being changed each month. Also called "union button." (See BUTTON STRIKE.)

Working Card. Nearly all American trade unions issue to their members a card which serves as notice that its possessor is a union MEMBER IN GOOD STANDING, and which must be shown on request to any BUSINESS AGENT, SHOP STEWARD, or other member of the union. Such cards are issued monthly, quarterly, or every six months, the color being usually changed each time. In some cases the working card contains a record of dues and assessments paid by the holder, and sometimes of his attendance at union meetings as well. Such cards are, as a general rule, issued by the local unions. In the case of the building trades, working cards in the larger cities are issued by the local BUILDING TRADES COUNCILS, which often make a specific charge for the cards—thus in effect licensing union members to work at their trades. (See COMBINATION CARD.)

Working-Class Education. One of the most important developments of the past decade or so in the labor movement is the creation of a network of educational institutions by and for the workers themselves. This development should be carefully distinguished from any form of purely INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION—its purpose is not technical but general. One promoter of working-class educa-

tion describes its purpose as "the emancipation of the workers from the control of the governing class over their education." Another pronouncement on the subject reads as follows: "Labor education must differ radically from education given at ordinary universities and colleges. Education in our universities and colleges is essentially capitalistic, in that it glorifies competition and seeks to produce an efficient individual. Education that may properly be called labor education is essentially socialistic, in that it glorifies cooperation and seeks to produce an efficient social and industrial order. For this reason the workers' college must arise to get away from old academic traditions and ideals, and must be a pioneer in education by its democracy, by its seeking to give students what they want, not what some academic group thinks they ought to have." The more important American and British institutions for working-class education are separately described in this book under their respective names (see cross references below). The following summary of continental developments in this field is taken from an article by Henry de Man in "The New Republic" (March 2, 1921): "In Germany and in Austria the *Arbeiterbildungsausschuss*, the *Parteischule*, and the *Gewerksschaftsschule* probably represent the most systematic and powerful attempt at creating an instrument of proletarian culture that has ever been undertaken anywhere. Its pedagogical method, however, marks a less radical departure from that of official academic Germany than its clear theoretical formulation, in Marxian terminology, of the revolutionary aim of the labor movement in the field of human science would seem to call for. Perhaps the most comprehensive effort in that respect is that of the Belgian *Centrale d'Education Ouvrière*, which lays as much stress as German social democracy does on the cultural autonomy of the labor movement, but pursues an ideal of proletarian education which is less purely rationalistic and doctrinal, and pays more attention to individual character formation and to the ethical and æsthetic side of its work. . . . France's most recent and characteristic contribution to this movement is the Paris *Université du Peuple*, recently inaugurated with an address by Elie Faure in which he claimed that 'proletarian education is not a continuation, but a beginning; it is a revolt against the decadence of bourgeois culture—the revolt of a class that, just because of its present ignorance, constitutes humanity's reserve of candor and curiosity, and promises to start it on a new quest for a new ideal.' Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, and the Scandinavian countries also have a system of labor education more or less copied from the German or Belgian model. . . . In Soviet

Russia, lastly, what Lunacharsky, Alexandra Kollontay, and the 'Commissariat for Proletarian Culture' are trying to achieve in the face of tremendous odds is a system of labor education that, if Russian conditions had allowed of its normal development previous to the revolution, would possibly have lessened some of the difficulties which now hamper Russia's democratic development." Many, though by no means all, of these experiments in autonomous working-class education may be considered as part of the nucleus of a new and different social system. If this be true, as Mr. de Man remarks, "then they promise a revolution of pedagogy, an adjustment of its aims and methods to the demands of modern science, which the existing system seems to be increasingly powerless to effect. Labor brings with it an unquenchable thirst for knowledge, and the labor movement directs this new desire towards an aim that is no longer individualistic and competitive, but altruistic. Hence the inspiration of a new ethical social aim, the lack of which is the fundamental cause of the shortcomings of the present school system, which trains for individual competition in a society where individual competition has ceased to be the way out for the masses." (See WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION; CENTRAL LABOR COLLEGE; RUSKIN COLLEGE; WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA; WORKERS' UNIVERSITY; UNITED LABOR EDUCATION COMMITTEE; BROOKWOOD COLLEGE; BOSTON TRADE UNION COLLEGE; RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE; TRADE UNION COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON, D. C.; WORKERS' COLLEGE OF SEATTLE; DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OF THE PENNSYLVANIA FEDERATION OF LABOR; MINING INSTITUTES; AKADEMIE DER ARBEIT.)

Working Conditions or Conditions of Employment. The chief concern in COLLECTIVE BARGAINING is the fixing of uniform wage scales and the determination of uniform "working conditions" or "conditions of employment." The latter phrases cover a wide field, which is difficult of precise delimitation. Of main importance, however, in this connection are non-unionist, APPRENTICESHIP, and DEMARCATION questions; the various expedients for meeting UNEMPLOYMENT; DISCIPLINE, dismissals, and the handling of grievances; promotion and the choice and authority of foremen; methods and payment and the measurement of results; restrictions on technique; etc., etc.

Working Conditions Service. A war-time agency of the UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, organized to suggest and

supervise plans for INDUSTRIAL SAFETY, particularly in the production of munitions. It passed out of existence June 30, 1919.

Working Hours in Germany. A national EIGHT-HOUR DAY for all German industrial workers was ordered by the act of November 23, 1918, on the basis of the decree of the council of *Volksbeauftragten* (people's commissioners) and put into effect for salaried employees in the same way by the law of March 18, 1919. The maximum working day for agricultural workers was placed by the Temporary Rural Workers' Statutes of December 20, 1918, and January 23, 1919, in four months of the year at an average of eight hours daily, in another four months at ten, and in the remaining four months at eleven hours. At the same time in all these cases a regulation of the REST PERIODS in the working day was brought about. To the already existing regulations against NIGHT WORK there was added through the decree of the council of *Volksbeauftragten* of December 23, 1918, the important regulation against night work in all large bakeries and confectionary establishments. Especial limitations on the hours of labor, particularly for women and children, have been imposed in the case of certain hazardous industries.

Working Hours in Russia. Under the Soviet labor code, the normal working day for manual workers in Russia is eight hours for day work and seven hours for NIGHT WORK; while for employees in offices it is six hours. The normal working day for persons under eighteen years of age is six hours. In especially hard and DANGEROUS OCCUPATIONS the normal day for adult workers is six hours. No persons under eighteen years of age nor any women are permitted to work OVERTIME or on NIGHT WORK. All hours over the normal day are paid as overtime, and each shop is allowed to vote on the number of hours to be worked overtime. All wage earners are allowed a weekly uninterrupted rest of not less than forty-two hours. Every worker is entitled to a two weeks' vacation with pay every six months, regardless of whether he has worked in one or several employments. Women are excused from work eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement, and receive full pay during this period. (See SUBBOTNIK.)

Working Papers or Working Permits. See EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES.

Working People's Non-Partisan League. A Minnesota organization, formed in July, 1919, "to unite members of organized and unorganized labor into a political league together with those in sym-

pathy with the interests of the common people, in order that representatives may be elected to office who will enact, interpret, and enforce laws that will serve the general welfare in accordance with the platform and programme adopted by this organization." It works in close association with the national NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE.

Working Rules. The definite stipulations of a national or international trade union in regard to such matters as the hours of beginning and ending work, CLASSIFICATION of workers, MINIMUM WAGES, payment for OVERTIME, age and number of APPRENTICES to be taken, arrangements as to PIECE WORK, holidays to be allowed, notice to be given by employers or workmen terminating engagements, accommodations to be provided for meals and the safe custody of tools, allowances or extra payments, etc., etc. Such rules are often supplied to all members of the union in a printed "rule book," the provisions of which must be strictly observed. Also called "trade rules." (See BY-LAWS; BLACK MONEY; GRINDING MONEY; WALKING TIME; DINNER MONEY; COUNTRY MONEY.)

Working Stiff. See STIFF.

Workingmen's Clubs. In England, local societies for social intercourse, mutual helpfulness, mental and moral improvement, rational recreation, and other similar purposes. In 1915 there were about 1500 such clubs in Great Britain, with a total membership of about half a million. Most of them are federated in a Working-Men's Club and Institute Union.

Workingmen's Party of America. See SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF NORTH AMERICA.

Workmen's Compensation. Under the common law of EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY, the rights of a worker in securing damages for an industrial accident are much more closely restricted than those of an outsider. The unjust and demoralizing workings of this system led to a gradual recognition, beginning in Germany about 1879, that "industrial accidents presented not so much a legal as an economic and social problem, that the wear and tear of the human machine, like the wear and tear of the inanimate machinery, should therefore be considered a necessary part of the cost of production, to be provided for out of the price, before profits may be computed" (Rubinow: "Social Insurance"). As a result, laws have been passed in nearly all European countries and by the Federal government and nearly all state governments of this country, which make the employer

automatically liable for at least a part of the economic loss caused by industrial accidents, regardless of initial fault or responsibility. In such laws the amount of compensation to an injured worker is generally determined within a maximum and minimum limit by specified schedules of compensation fixed in the law, and are graded on a basis of a certain percentage of the loss or impairment of the injured worker's average weekly wage. Jury trials are either largely or wholly eliminated, and the compensation to which the worker is entitled under the law is usually determined by a board, commission, or official either created or specified by the act. The principle of workmen's compensation (sometimes called "industrial accident insurance," and "employees' compensation") is now so generally accepted that at least fifty foreign countries and provinces, including practically all of any industrial importance, have laws of this character. Beginning with the year 1909, compensation legislation has been enacted in forty-two states of the American union, besides the District of Columbia (public employees only), the territories of Alaska and Hawaii, and Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. The rapid growth of American compensation legislation, involving, as it has, the almost simultaneous enactment of laws in a number of states, has operated to prevent the adoption of any one form of law as a type, so that, although a single fundamental principle underlies the entire group of laws of this class, its expression and application present great diversity of details in the different states. No fixed form of analysis or summary presentation can give in complete detail the provisions of the laws under consideration. They relate not only to the compensation of accidents, but to accident reporting, safety provisions, the enforcement of safety laws, the establishment of insurance systems, premium rates, investments, the scaling of payments in cases of certain forms of negligence or their increase under certain conditions, procedure in arbitration, forms of appeal, and a great variety of subjects on which it would be impossible to generalize, and which can be discovered only by a reading of the individual statutes. Compensation laws may be classified first as compulsory or elective. A compulsory law is one which requires every employer within its scope to accept the act and pay the compensations specified. Usually but not always, the employee must also accept the provisions of the act. An elective act is one in which the employer has the option of either accepting or rejecting the act; but, in case he rejects, the customary common-law defenses under employer's liability are abrogated. In other words, the employer is subjected to a higher degree of liability if he does not elect. In most states the employee also

has the right to accept or reject the act. None of the compensation laws covers all employments. Usually AGRICULTURAL LABOR, DOMESTIC SERVICE, employments that are casual in nature or are not conducted for the purpose of the employer's business, and in some laws non-hazardous employments, are exempted from the provisions of the act. It may be provided, however, that such employments may come under the provisions of the law through the voluntary acceptance of the employer or the joint election of employer and employee in these exempted classes, but the employer loses no rights or defenses if he does not accept, and to this extent the compensation law is a voluntary one. Thus a law may be either compulsory or elective as to the employments covered, and voluntary as to other employments. Furthermore, an act may be elective as to private but compulsory as to public employments. Besides the distinction as to the compulsory or elective application of the law, it may require the employer coming under it, whether voluntarily or by compulsion, to insure his liability to make payments, or it may leave the matter of insurance to his own choice. Thus the state may make provision for the carrying of such insurance, and require all employers coming under the act to avail themselves of such provision; or the state fund may simply offer one of alternative methods. Again, the state may refrain entirely from such action, but require insurance in private companies, stock or mutual; and lastly, self-insurance may be permitted—*i.e.*, the carrying of the risk by the individual, subject to such safeguards as the law may prescribe. Compensation for OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES contracted in the course of employment is now a generally recognized factor in workmen's compensation laws. (See UNITED STATES EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION ACT; CONTRACTING OUT; ACCIDENT-REPORTING LAWS; VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION; WAITING PERIOD; BERUFSGENOSSENSCHAFTEN.)

Workmen's Insurance. See SOCIAL INSURANCE.

Works. The British equivalent of an American PLANT—that is, an entire factory or other industrial establishment in a given locality, including all units and operations known separately as SHOPS.

Works Bonus. See COLLECTIVE BONUS SYSTEM.

Works Committee or Works Council. In the European sense, (1) a body representative of all the workers in a single industrial WORKS or PLANT; or (2) a joint body representing both the workers and the management of a single industrial plant. In either case, the works committee is usually carefully differentiated in Europe from

the SHOP COMMITTEE, which is representative of the workers in only one department or unit of an establishment. In the United States, such a differentiation is rarely observed, and the terms "shop committee" and "works committee" or "works council" (where the latter terms are used at all, which is seldom) generally denote the same thing—a committee representative of all the workers of an entire establishment. In England, a works committee may be either (1) a body elected by all the workers of an establishment, each department or "shop" being treated as a separate constituency and often electing a number of members proportionate to its size; or (2) in a large works where SHOP STEWARDS are numerous, a body elected by the shop stewards; or (3) a body consisting of all the shop stewards of a single works. The main functions of a works committee are to adjust grievances and differences arising in the course of daily work, to consider wage changes and working conditions, and in general to contribute the collective experience and judgment of the entire personnel of the establishment toward greater harmony, efficiency, and welfare throughout the works.. Under the WHITLEY PLAN, the works committee is directly correlated with the DISTRICT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS and the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL in each large industry, all questions relating to the industry in general (such as wages, hours, work, etc.) being dealt with by the district and national bodies. It is an important essential of the Whitley plan and of other European works councils schemes that both the workers and their representatives shall be members of trade unions. In other words, the RECOGNITION and cooperation of trade unions are fundamental to the works committee plan. In the United States, on the other hand, the shop or works committee system is most commonly adopted by employers who uncompromisingly oppose trade unionism; thus, whatever other merits it may have, the movement in this country is practically incapable of effecting any radical improvement in the economic status of the working class. Even in Europe a large section of the labor movement views the works committee plan as a sop or compromise, intended to delay or defeat true INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. Works committees or councils are often known as "factory committees" or "factory councils." The designation, "plant committee" or "plant council," is not uncommon in the United States. (See GERMAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW; NORWEGIAN WORKS COUNCILS LAW; INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL SYSTEM IN BELGIUM; AUSTRIAN WORKS COUNCILS; WORKERS' CONTROL IN RUSSIA; ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFTEN; COUNCILS OF EXPLOITATION; BOMBACCI PLAN; JOINT SHOP COMMITTEE; COMPANY COUNCIL.)

Works Council. See WORKS COMMITTEE.

Works Schools. In England, CONTINUATION SCHOOLS or PART-TIME SCHOOLS for young persons organized in the particular works where they are employed. Provision for compulsory works schools is contained in the British Education Act of 1918. Works schools are much opposed by the majority of British trade unionists, who hold that workers' education should not be thus placed under the control of employers.

Y

Yard Committee-Man. See SHOP STEWARD.

Yeggs. See MIGRATORY LABOR.

Yellow. An adjective often applied in an opprobrious sense, generally by those who are RED, to moderate and OPPORTUNIST groups, policies, etc., in the European socialist-labor movement; also to labor organizations initiated or fostered by employers. (See YELLOW UNION.)

Yellow Internationale. See INTERNATIONALE.

Yellow Union. In the United States, this term is usually applied by trade unionists to a labor organization directly initiated or fostered by employers, or one which is considered to further the interests of employers. It is often used in this sense in the European labor movement also; though more commonly it denotes in Europe merely a *conservative* labor organization—one opposed to socialistic or other radical policies and devoted to improvements in working-class conditions without fundamental change in the economic and social structure. (See COMPANY UNION; SYNDICAT; FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT; RED UNION.)

Young Communist Internationale. Before the war what was commonly known as the "Young Socialist Movement," comprising the younger elements in most socialist parties, was organized internationally in a separate "International Secretariat" (established 1907), which affiliated with the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU in 1910. In December, 1919, the left-wing elements among the "Young Socialists" met in an international congress at Berlin and constituted an International League of Young Communists, usually known as the "Young Communist Internationale." This organization now includes the greater part of the Young Socialist movement in most countries. It is subject to the control of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE and its executive committee.

Young Person. As used in British FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS, public health legislation, etc., this term denotes a person between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. One who is less than fourteen years old is, in the legislative sense, a "child"; while one above the age of eighteen is an "adult."

Young Socialist Movement. See YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE.

Yuai Kai. See JAPANESE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Z

Zentralarbeitersekretariat (Central Workers' Secretariat). See ARBEITERSEKRETARIAT.

Zentralverband der Bulgarischen Gewerkschaften (Central Federation of Bulgarian Trade Unions). The national organization of SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNIONS in Bulgaria, with an affiliated membership of about 28,000. The communist movement, on the other hand, claims 40,000 trade unionists.

Zentralverbände (Centralized Unions). The separate national organizations of affiliated GEWERKSCHAFTEN or SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNIONS of Germany are so called. The thorough-going centralization policy of German trade unionism is well shown by the fact that the approximately eight million members of the *Gewerkschaften* are nationally organized in only about fifty-two *Zentralverbände*. These latter are not merely national federations, but close amalgamations, along both craft and industrial lines, and including men and women, skilled and unskilled workers, alike. The *Zentralverbände* are affiliated in the ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND.

Zimmerwald Movement. In September, 1915, an international congress of socialist-labor groups opposed to the war met at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, upon an invitation of the Italian Socialists. Resolutions of an uncompromising anti-war character were passed, and a permanent Commission established. At a later meeting of the same groups, held in April, 1916, the movement developed a decided revolutionary tendency. The Commission met in Stockholm the following year and decided that a new INTERNATIONALE must be formed, the result of this decision being the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE, organized at Moscow in March, 1919.

Zone Clearance System. To facilitate the work of the UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT BUREAU in its present function as a NATIONAL CLEARING HOUSE FOR LABOR, the continental area of the United States (exclusive of Alaska) has been divided into thirteen "labor clearance zones," corresponding in the main to the various

Federal Reserve Bank districts. As soon as funds are made available for the purpose it is proposed to put a paid zone clearance officer in charge of each of these districts. It is assumed that each state will have its own system of labor clearance, and will supply its immediate needs from its own resources of workers and of industrial opportunities. The process of labor clearance within the state is supposedly a continuous one, day by day, if not hour by hour. Any surplus of either opportunities or applicants remaining undisposed of at the close of the day is then to be reported to the zone clearance officer and, so far as it is not promptly disposed of by him within the zone, is to be reported to the national clearing house at Washington. The duties of zone clearance officers involve merely the coordination of the activities of the Federal directors for the various states within their zones, and do not extend to soliciting opportunities for employment, recruiting workers, or PLACEMENT WORK of any kind. The matching of the LABOR SURPLUS against the "labor wanted" takes place daily within each zone, while inter-zone or national clearance will be effected by the national clearing house at Washington on the basis of weekly or more frequent reports of "labor surplus" or "labor wanted." The zone clearance officers are also required to report weekly, or more frequently, the condition of the LABOR MARKET in all parts of their respective zones. While the zone clearance officer usually communicates only through the national office at Washington, he is permitted in case of emergency to communicate directly with the zone clearance officer of an adjoining zone with a view to effecting directly and without loss of time the adjustment of labor surplus and demand as between such two or more zones.

THE END

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